THE PAPERS OF

Andrew Jackson

VOLUME XI, 1833

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EDITORS

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How to Use This Volume

HISTORY AND SCOPE OF THE PROJECT

This eleventh volume of *The Papers of Andrew Jackson* is the fifth of Jackson’s presidency and also the fifth produced by the team of Editor Daniel Feller and Associate Editors Laura-Eve Moss and Thomas Coens. We wish also to acknowledge the invaluable aid of Dr. Jesús F. de la Teja, University Distinguished Professor Emeritus of History at Texas State University, in translating several documents from the Spanish. Our editorial policies, here explained, continue unchanged from the previous volume.

Our aim is to systematically present Andrew Jackson’s full extant literary remains. We define “papers” broadly to mean everything written to, by, or for Jackson, or annotated by him—every piece of paper, so to speak, on which Jackson left his DNA. This includes letters sent and received, official documents, drafts, memoranda, and financial and legal records. (For a fuller definition, including some exclusions peculiar to Jackson’s presidency, see “What is a Jackson Document?” below.)

The project began years ago with a worldwide canvass for Jackson papers. This search yielded photocopies of thousands of documents held by hundreds of libraries, archives, and private owners. In 1987, when the search was essentially complete, we produced *The Papers of Andrew Jackson: Guide and Index to the Microfilm Editions* (Scholarly Resources, 1987), an alphabetical index of all Jackson’s papers then known. It listed each document by name of author or recipient, by its date, and by its location on one of three microfilm series: the Library of Congress’s 78-reel film of its large collection of Jackson’s private papers; the National Archives’ various M and T series films of federal government records; and a 39-reel Microfilm Supplement produced by our project and containing everything else we had found. As of 1987, then, every known Jackson document had been filmed and listed in the *Guide and Index*. This index may now be viewed at https://thepapersofandrewjackson.utk.edu/jacksone-papers-on-microfilm/.

Meanwhile our project embarked on its plan to publish a carefully chosen selection of Jackson’s papers in sixteen chronological volumes:
six pre-presidential, one for each of the eight presidential years, and two post-presidential. This volume is part of that series. Presenting the most significant documents in full annotated text, and summarizing the rest in calendar form, the volume is designed both to stand on its own as a compilation of Jackson’s most important papers in 1833 and to offer those who wish to delve further an easy window into the full corpus of papers available on microfilm and now, in some cases, online.

Although our project’s initial search for Jackson’s papers was painstakingly thorough, new documents continue to surface at a surprising rate. Those discovered in time are incorporated into the chronological volumes, including this one, as they appear. We also plan to gather images of all the documents found since 1987, and therefore absent from the microfilms, in a concluding digital supplement when the volume series is complete.

WHAT IS A JACKSON DOCUMENT?

The following types of papers lie within our corpus:

- Documents written or signed by Jackson, except those excluded below.
- Documents composed for Jackson, such as drafts of his messages.
- Documents addressed, written, or delivered to Jackson.
- Documents annotated, inscribed, or endorsed by Jackson.
- All documents in the Library of Congress Jackson Papers. These were, with no known exceptions, papers received and kept by Jackson even if not addressed to him.

Other items that were microfilmed and included in our Guide and Index, especially some civil commissions signed by Jackson and job applications and recommendations addressed to his private secretary, Andrew Jackson Donelson. Even if these do not meet our present definition of Jackson documents, they are retained herein to preserve, as much as possible, a one-to-one correspondence between the listings in the Guide and Index and this volume. On the other hand, a very few items that were included as Jackson documents in the microfilm and the Guide and Index not by a variant definition but by simple mistake have been omitted.

We exclude the following:

- Routine official documents bearing Jackson’s signature as president (unless appearing in the microfilm and Guide and Index, as above). These are often printed forms with handwritten insertions. They include civil and military commissions, land patents, proclamations of federal land sales, diplomatic credentials, consular exequaturs, and ship passes.
- Reported utterances, conversations, or remarks by Jackson, unless made from a written text.
Communications made by others in Jackson’s name, such as a letter from a government official beginning “the president directs me to say . . .”

Published materials ostensibly addressed or inscribed to Jackson or to the president, unless known to have been sent to him or seen by him.

Spurious documents, either faked, forged, or misattributed. We have encountered no prominent spurious documents for 1833.

**ORGANIZATION AND PRESENTATION**

This volume contains three parts. The main body presents full texts of Andrew Jackson’s most significant papers from 1833 with explanatory notes. Following afterward is a calendar—a chronological listing of all the papers, with a brief content synopsis for each document that is not printed in the main text and an italicized page reference for each one that is. The calendar thus also functions as a table of contents for the main text. Together, text and calendar account for every 1833 Jackson document falling within our definition of his papers. The index at the back provides full coverage of document authors, recipients, and contents for both text and calendar.

**Selection of Documents for Printing**

Of a total of 2,026 Jackson documents in the year 1833, we present 498 here in full text. The rest are calendared. We have selected for printing what we judge to be the most significant papers, defining significance by the broadest possible criteria: those documents that most illuminate Jackson, his presidency, his country, and his times. In general we have made our decision to print a document without regard to whether it has been previously published. However, Jackson’s official public papers constitute a special case.

**Jackson’s Official Papers**

Jackson’s presidential public papers in 1833 include his second inaugural address, his fifth annual message to Congress, his September 18 Cabinet paper, a veto message, messages to the Senate concerning nominations for office or treaties with foreign powers or Indian nations, and other special messages to one or both houses of Congress, often transmitting documents or reports. Nearly all these papers have been published in one or more of three official series. First, many messages to Congress with their attachments were immediately printed by order of the House or Senate and included in the consecutively numbered volumes of congressional
documents known as the Serial Set. Secondly, messages concerning nominations and treaties, received by the Senate in executive session, were later collected and published in Volume IV of the *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America*. Lastly, at the end of the nineteenth century James D. Richardson published under congressional auspices *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789–1897* in ten volumes, the second and third of which embraced Jackson’s presidency. Richardson’s compilation was itself included in the Serial Set (*House Miscellaneous Document 210, 53d Congress, 2d session, Serial 3265*) and was reissued in several later editions. (These editions were variously repaginated. All page citations herein are to the original, official Serial Set version.)

Today all three publications are widely available, not only in print but in searchable electronic text. (As of this writing, the *Senate Executive Proceedings* and portions of the Serial Set, along with the *Statutes at Large* and House and Senate journals and records of debates, can be found on the Library of Congress website titled “A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation.”) The texts in these official series are reliable and authoritative. It would be pointless for us here to reproduce published government documents that readers can find at their fingertips; and to do so would consume much precious space. Accordingly we have determined not to print the final, official texts of any presidential papers that appear in the Serial Set, the *Senate Executive Proceedings*, or Richardson. The manuscript originals of these documents, residing mostly in the National Archives, were microfilmed by our project and listed in the *Guide and Index*. They are calendared here, and their publication in official series is uniformly noted. But they are not printed. However, we do print the rare presidential message that escaped official publication; and we also print drafts, where such exist and differ significantly from the final versions. Readers may trace the evolution of, for instance, Jackson’s distribution bill veto, his Cabinet paper, and his fifth annual message by comparing the drafts herein to the final texts in the Serial Set or Richardson. We also, of course, print surviving drafts of messages to Congress that Jackson composed and then decided not to send.

For a full listing of Jackson’s 1833 public papers with their official publication record, see the table “Jackson’s Presidential Public Papers” below.

**Ordering of Documents**

The general order of documents is chronological. In the calendar, inferred dates are bracketed; estimated ones are preceded by *c* (*circa*). Within each day, letters from Jackson, arranged alphabetically by recipient, come first, followed by letters to Jackson alphabetically by author, then other Jackson documents, and lastly third-party correspondence. However,
where a chronology can be established within a day—an exchange of
notes back and forth, for instance—the documents composing it are
grouped in sequence. Documents with spread dates, such as running finan-
cial accounts, are placed at their opening date. Items within a month, or
within the year 1833, that cannot be dated more precisely go at the end of
the month or year respectively. Undated memoranda and message drafts,
including entries in Jackson’s presidential memorandum book, are either
placed at their most likely date of composition or grouped in sequence at
the date of their final versions.

Transcription

Each document printed here is presented in full, including all endorse-
ments or notations by Jackson on documents written by others. The origi-
nals of most documents are handwritten. Where the original is a printed
text, for instance a letter published in a contemporary newspaper, its
appearance and typography have been replicated as closely as possible.

Converting handwriting to print is an inexact process. It requires ren-
dering a nearly limitless array of pen markings into a finite set of typo-
graphic characters. In Jackson’s day, even practiced writers often used
punctuation marks that lay somewhere between clear dashes, periods,
commas, or semicolons; and they formed letters such as c, m, and s not
simply in upper or lower case but in a variety of styles and gradations of
size. Jackson, for instance, had at least three, not two, distinct ways of
making an a and a t.

That said, within the limits of the medium, our policy is to reproduce
the original text as closely as possible, retaining its peculiarities of gram-
mar, spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. When Jackson reversed
“the” and “they,” as he sometimes did, we have transcribed just what
he wrote, without comment or [sic]. The following are exceptions and
clarifications. Inadvertent word repetitions (“and and”), nonfunctional
dashes following other punctuation, and addressees’ names at the end of
a document have been omitted. Superscript characters have been brought
down to the main line. Dates placed at the bottom of a document have
been moved up to the top, and interlined or marginal additions have been
inserted in the text at the spot marked by the writer. Cross-outs, where
decipherable, are represented by lined-through text. Interpolated read-
ings of missing or obscured text are bracketed; where conjectural, they
are also italicized. Complimentary closings to letters (“your obedient
servant”) have been run onto the preceding text. Implied but unpu-
punctuated sentence breaks, as at the end of a line, are represented by elongated
spacing.
Annotation

Each printed document is followed by a source note that identifies its type, its repository or owner, its location on microfilm (in parentheses), and its place of previous publication, as shown in the sample below. Where more than one version of a document exists, the one we print is listed first.

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-75). AL draft, THi (12-1456); LC, DLC (60). Globe, July 29, 1833. Doe Papers, 18:243.

In this example, our printed text is from an Autograph Letter Signed (ALS)—a letter handwritten and signed by its sender—housed in Record Group 59 of the National Archives (DNA-RG 59) and filmed on Reel 75 of National Archives microfilm series M179 (M179-75). There is also an unsigned draft of the letter in the sender’s hand (AL draft) in the Tennessee Historical Society (THi) and filmed on Reel 12, frame 1456, of the Microfilm Supplement produced by this project; and also a letterbook copy (LC) held by the Library of Congress (DLC) and filmed on Reel 60 of the Library’s Jackson Papers microfilm. The letter was published contemporaneously in the Washington Globe and also in the modern Papers of John Doe.

For lists and explanations of document types, repositories, microfilm series, and publication titles, see “Codes and Symbols” below. Our general policy in noting previous publication of a document is to cite the first or earliest known contemporary printing and the most authoritative modern one. For items we print, we do not cite previous appearance in John Spencer Bassett’s Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, which our series supersedes.

The source note also presents information germane to or explanatory of the document as a whole. Numbered footnotes, keyed to callouts in the text, give further information on particular points. Our aim is to offer only what facts are necessary to make a document intelligible and to place it in immediate context, leaving the rest to the reader.

We have tried to briefly identify, with full name and dates, each person named in the text at the point of his or her first significant appearance. A caution is however in order. Regular government recording of births, deaths, and legal names began long after 1833. In the absence of official records, family researchers have assembled a plethora of genealogical data of highly variable provenance and quality. We have used such information only with extreme care. Still, readers should be aware that dates and full names for many people appearing in this volume are less than certain.

We have not routinely employed cross-referencing footnotes to link up related documents within the volume, as these may be located by using the index and calendar. When Jackson writes to Smith, “I have received yours of the 17th instant,” that letter, if extant, will appear in the calendar at
its proper date ("instant" means this month; "ultimo" means last month); and it, with all other mentions of Smith, will be indexed under his name. Likewise we have not noted "not found" for Smith’s letter if it is not extant or not known to us. The calendar includes all found documents. Any letter not listed in it was not found.

**Calendar**

In the calendar, each entry for a document printed in the volume is italicized, with a page reference to the main text. For a document not printed in the volume, the calendar presents the same identifying and locating information as a text source note (see “Annotation” above), followed by a brief synopsis of contents. To show their common origin, we have in a few cases combined the entries for substantively identical documents of the same date, such as multiple copies of a petition. Routine Jackson notations on incoming documents—for instance, referring a letter to one of the executive departments—are not mentioned in the calendar. However, we have noted substantive Jackson endorsements, and also those on third-party letters where the endorsement is what makes the item a Jackson document.

**Index**

In the index, a reference to a single page in the calendar may signify more than one item on that page. To guide the reader directly to Jackson’s correspondence with a particular person or group appearing in the main text, the index entry for that party begins with page numbers for the printed correspondence, in bold italics.
Codes and Symbols

DOCUMENT TYPES

Abbreviations

A  Autograph—written in the author’s hand
D  Document—a manuscript document other than a note or letter
L  Letter—a manuscript letter
LC Letterbook copy—a handwritten copy recorded in a letterbook
N  Note—a brief informal manuscript message or memorandum
S  Signed—bearing the author’s signature

Other Notations

Abstract  A précis of a document
Copy  A handwritten copy
Draft  A handwritten draft
Duplicate  A document created in identical multiple versions
Extract  A copied or printed excerpt from a document
Facsimile  A pictorial image of a manuscript document
Fragment  A partial document
Printed  A printed document

Sample Combinations

AL  Autograph Letter—an unsigned sent letter, written by the sender
ALS Autograph Letter Signed—a sent letter, written and signed by the sender
ALS copy Autograph Letter Signed copy—a copy of a sent letter, written and signed by the sender
ALS draft Autograph Letter Signed draft—a draft of a sent letter, written and signed by the sender
LS Letter Signed—a sent letter, signed by the sender but written in another hand
REPOSITORIES

CSmH  Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
CrY   Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
CrY-A Yale University, School of Fine Arts, New Haven, Conn.
CU-BANC Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley
DeU   University of Delaware, Newark
DLC   Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
DNA   National Archives, Washington, D.C.

RG 11, General Records of the United States Government
RG 15, Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs
RG 21, Records of District Courts of the United States
RG 26, Records of the United States Coast Guard
RG 28, Records of the Post Office Department
RG 42, Records of the Office of Public Buildings and
      Public Parks of the National Capital
RG 45, Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval
      Records and Library
RG 46, Records of the United States Senate
RG 49, Records of the Bureau of Land Management
RG 50, Records of the Treasurer of the United States
RG 56, General Records of the Department of the
      Treasury
RG 59, General Records of the Department of State
RG 60, General Records of the Department of Justice
RG 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs
RG 76, Records of Boundary and Claims Commissions
      and Arbitrations
RG 77, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers
RG 84, Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the
      Department of State
RG 94, Records of the Adjutant General’s Office
RG 104, Records of the U.S. Mint
RG 107, Records of the Office of the Secretary of War
RG 108, Records of the Headquarters of the Army
RG 112, Records of the Office of the Surgeon General
      (Army)
RG 125, Records of the Office of the Judge Advocate
      General (Navy)
RG 153, Records of the Office of the Judge Advocate
      General (Army)
RG 156, Records of the Office of the Chief of Ordnance
RG 206, Records of the Solicitor of the Treasury
RG 217, Records of the Accounting Officers of the
      Department of the Treasury
The Papers of Andrew Jackson

RG 233, Records of the United States House of Representatives

FHi Florida Historical Society, Cocoa
G-Ar Georgia State Department of Archives and History, Atlanta
ICHi Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.
IEN Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
IHi Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield
InFwLw Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum, Fort Wayne, Ind.
InHi Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis
KHi Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka
LNT Tulane University, New Orleans, La.
LU Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge
MaSaPEM Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.
MB Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass.
MdAA Hall of Records Commission, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis
MdBSAr Sulpician Archives, Baltimore, Md.
MdHi Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore
MeB Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine
MHi Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
MiU-C William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
MiU-H Michigan Historical Collection, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
MoSHi Missouri Historical Society, Saint Louis
MoSW Washington University, Saint Louis, Mo.
MWiW-C Chapin Library, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
N New York State Library, Albany
Nc-Ar North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh
NcD Duke University, Durham, N.C.
NcU University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
NhD Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H.
NhHi New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord
NHi New-York Historical Society, New York, N.Y.
NIC Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
NjHi New Jersey Historical Society, Newark
NjMoHP Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, N.J.
NjP Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.
NN New York Public Library, New York, N.Y.
NNC Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
MICROFILM SERIES

Microfilm citations (in parentheses) are of four types:

42 The Library of Congress Andrew Jackson Papers microfilm, listed by reel number (reel 42). For contents of reels cited in this volume, see below.

M179–75 or T967–1 National Archives microfilms, listed by publication series and reel number (series M179, reel 75, or series T967, reel 1). For series titles cited in this volume, see below.

12–1456 The Papers of Andrew Jackson Microfilm Supplement, listed by reel and frame number (reel 12, frame 1456).
mAJs Items acquired since 1987 and therefore not included on the Library of Congress, National Archives, or project microfilms. These will be collected in an addendum at the project’s conclusion.

Library of Congress Andrew Jackson Papers Reels, 1833

41–43 General correspondence
58–60 Undated correspondence
64 Memorandum book
73–75 Correspondence
76–77 Presidential message drafts
78 Bank book and financial records

National Archives Microfilms

M7 RG 107: Confidential and Unofficial Letters Sent by the Secretary of War, 1814–1847
M21 RG 75: Letters Sent by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1881
M22 RG 107: Registers of Letters Received by the Office of the Secretary of War, Main Series, 1800–1870
M25 RG 49: Miscellaneous Letters Sent by the General Land Office, 1796–1889
M30 RG 59: Despatches from U.S. Ministers to Great Britain, 1791–1906
M34 RG 59: Despatches from U.S. Ministers to France, 1789–1906
M35 RG 59: Despatches from U.S. Ministers to Russia, 1808–1906
M37 RG 59: Despatches from Special Agents of the Department of State, 1794–1906
M38 RG 59: Notes From the Department of State to Foreign Ministers and Consuls in the United States, 1793–1834
M39 RG 59: Notes From the Russian Legation in the United States to the Department of State, 1809–1906
M40 RG 59: Domestic Letters of the Department of State, 1784–1906
M41 RG 59: Despatches from U.S. Ministers to Denmark, 1811–1906
M50 RG 59: Notes from the British Legation in the United States to the Department of State, 1791–1906
M53 RG 59: Notes from the French Legation in the United States to the Department of State, 1789–1906

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M273  RG 125: Records of General Courts-Martial and Courts of Inquiry of the Navy Department, 1799–1867
M296  RG 59: Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Mexico City, Mexico, 1822–1906
M303  RG 59: Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tabasco, Mexico, 1832–1874
M415  RG 56: Letters Sent to the President by the Secretary of the Treasury (‘A’ Series), 1833–1878
M472  RG 45: Letters Sent by the Secretary of the Navy to the President and Executive Agencies, 1821–1886
M567  RG 94: Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series), 1822–1860
M601  RG 28: Letters Sent by the Postmaster General, 1789–1836
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T1          RG 59: Despatches From U.S. Consuls in Paris, France, 1790–1906
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T229        RG 59: Despatches From U.S. Consuls in Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, 1823–1906
T494        RG 75: Documents Relating to the Negotiation of Ratified and Unratified Treaties With Various Indian Tribes, 1801–1869
T967        RG 59: Copies of Presidential Pardons and Remissions, 1794–1893

PUBLICATION SHORT TITLES

Burke                 Pauline Wilcox Burke, Emily Donelson of Tennessee. 2 vols. Richmond, Va., 1941.
Duane

Globe

Hamilton

House Journal

HRDoc
U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, House Documents.

HRExdoc
U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, House Executive Documents.

HRRep
U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, House Reports.

Indian Treaties

Jackson Papers
Harold D. Moser et al., eds., The Papers of Andrew Jackson. 11 vols. to date. Knoxville, Tenn., 1980–.

Nat. Intelligencer

Niles
Niles’ Weekly Register.

Papers of John Ross

Papers of Thomas Jefferson

Polk
Herbert Weaver et al., eds., Correspondence of James K. Polk. 13 vols. to date. Nashville and Knoxville, Tenn., 1969–.

Register of Debates

Report of the Convention

Richardson

SDoc
U.S. Congress, Senate, Senate Documents.

Senate Executive Proceedings

Serial  United States Congressional Serial Set.


US Telegraph  Washington, D.C., United States’ Telegraph.


Writings of Sam Houston  Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker, eds., The Writings of Sam Houston, 1813–1863. 8 vols. Austin, Texas, 1938–1943.

ABBREVIATIONS

AJ  Andrew Jackson
BUS  Bank of the United States
GLO  General Land Office
1833 CHRONOLOGY

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<td>Jan 16</td>
<td>AJ asks Congress for revenue collection measures to counter nullification</td>
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<td>Jan 25</td>
<td>Senate passes Henry Clay’s land revenue distribution bill</td>
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<td>Feb 12</td>
<td>Clay introduces Compromise tariff bill in Senate</td>
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<td>Feb 20</td>
<td>Senate passes revenue collection “Force Bill”</td>
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<td>Feb 25–26</td>
<td>House of Representatives takes up and passes Clay’s Compromise tariff in place of its own Verplanck bill</td>
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<td>Mar 1</td>
<td>House Ways and Means Committee reports on BUS investigation. House passes Force and distribution bills; Senate passes Compromise tariff</td>
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<td>Mar 4</td>
<td>AJ is inaugurated for a second term, with Van Buren as vice president</td>
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<td>Mar 15</td>
<td>South Carolina convention rescinds nullification ordinance</td>
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<td>Mar 18</td>
<td>South Carolina convention nullifies Force Bill</td>
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<td>Mar 19</td>
<td>AJ circularizes Cabinet on removing federal deposits from BUS</td>
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<td>Mar 31</td>
<td>Treasury building burns</td>
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<td>Apr 12</td>
<td>Death of John Overton</td>
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<td>Apr 18</td>
<td>AJ dismisses Lt. Robert B. Randolph from the Navy</td>
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<td>May 6</td>
<td>Randolph pulls AJ’s nose</td>
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<td>May 7</td>
<td>AJ lays Mary Washington monument cornerstone at Fredericksburg</td>
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<td>May 24</td>
<td>Death of John Randolph</td>
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May 29  AJ shuffles Cabinet: Edward Livingston to France, Louis McLane secretary of state, and William J. Duane Treasury secretary
Jun 6  AJ goes to Baltimore, partly by train, to begin northeastern tour
Jun 7  AJ meets Black Hawk in Baltimore
Jun 8  AJ goes on to Philadelphia; to New York Jun 12 and New England Jun 15
Jun 21  AJ arrives in Boston
Jun 26  AJ receives Harvard degree
Jun 26  AJ directs Duane to prepare for deposit removal
Jun 28  AJ reaches Concord, N.H. Suspends tour and leaves Jul 1 for D.C., arriving Jul 4
Jul 7  Death of John Coffee
Jul 23  At AJ’s direction, Duane instructs Amos Kendall for his mission to state banks
Jul 27– Aug 22  AJ vacations at the Rip Raps
Aug 19  BUS government directors report to AJ on its political expenses
Sep 18  AJ reads Cabinet paper announcing decision for deposit removal
Sep 20  Globe announces deposit removal
Sep 21  Duane refuses to order deposit removal or resign
Sep 23  AJ replaces Duane with Taney; Globe publishes Cabinet paper
Sep 26  Taney orders deposit removal, effective Oct 1
Oct 8  Felix Grundy reelected Tennessee senator over John H. Eaton
Nov 14  Marriage of Andrew J. Hutchings and Mary Coffee
Nov 15  Benjamin F. Butler of New York appointed attorney general
Dec 2  Twenty-third Congress convenes
Dec 3  AJ delivers fifth annual message. Duane publishes his defense
Dec 4  AJ delivers distribution bill veto message
Dec 12  AJ refuses Senate call for his Sep 18 Cabinet paper
Dec 26  Clay introduces Senate resolutions censuring AJ
## J ACKSON’S PRESIDENTIAL PUBLIC PAPERS, 1833

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1. Presidential communications to Congress are as follows. “Annual Message” is the general message reviewing the state of the Union, delivered to both houses of Congress at the opening of its regular annual session. “Nomination” is a message to the Senate, received in executive session, submitting or discussing nominations of civil or military officers whose appointments require Senate advice and consent. “Treaty” or “Indian Treaty” is a message to the Senate, received in executive session, submitting or discussing treaties whose ratification requires Senate advice and consent. “Veto” is a message rejecting a bill passed by Congress and returning it to the house where it originated. “Message” is any other message to either or both houses of Congress.


4. Volume numbers within the United States Congressional Serial Set. For a document’s number and location within the Serial Set volume, see the calendar listing for it herein.

5. Page numbers in this volume of The Papers of Andrew Jackson.
JACKSON’S DONELSON FAMILY CONNECTIONS, 1833

(ages on January 1, 1833)
(deceased persons in italics)
(Volume XI correspondents in boldface)

First generation: children of John Donelson and Rachel Stockley
  Second generation
  Third generation

Alexander Donelson, 81

Catherine Donelson, c80, m. Thomas Hutchings
  John Hutchings m. Mary Smith
  Andrew Jackson Hutchings, 21

John Donelson m. Mary Purnell, 69
  Tabitha Donelson, 51, m. George Smith, 56
  John Donelson, 45, m. Eliza Eleanor Butler, 41
  Rachel Donelson m. William Eastin
    Mary Ann Eastin, 22, m. Lucius Junius Polk, 30
  Mary Donelson, 39, m. John Coffee, 60
    Mary Donelson Coffee, 20
    John Donelson Coffee, 17
    Andrew Jackson Coffee, 13
  William Donelson, 37, m. Elizabeth Anderson, 23
  Elizabeth Donelson, 36, m. John Christmas McLemore, 42
    Mary McLemore, 16
  Catherine Donelson, 33, m. James Glasgow Martin, 41
  Stockley Donelson, 27, m. Phila Ann Lawrence, 23
  Emily Tennessee Donelson, 25, m. Andrew Jackson Donelson
    Andrew Jackson Donelson, 6
    Mary Rachel Donelson, 3
    John Samuel Donelson, infant

Mary Donelson m. John Caffery
  Jane Caffery m. Ralph Eleazar Whitesides Earl, 44

William Donelson m. Charity Dickinson
  Martha H. Donelson, 23, m. Robert Minns Burton, 32
  Andrew Jackson Donelson, 17
Jane Donelson, 66, m. Robert Hays
Rachel Hays, 46, m. Robert Butler, 46
Stockley Donelson Hays m. Lydia Butler, 44
Sarah Jane Hays, 18
Richard Jackson Hickory Hays, 10
Martha Thompson Hays, 42, m. William Edward Butler, 42
Narcissa Hays, c40
Samuel Jackson Hays, 32, m. Frances Pinckney Middleton, 21
Elizabeth Hays, 27, m. Robert Johnstone Chester, 39

Rachel Donelson m. ANDREW JACKSON, 65
Andrew Jackson Jr. ² (adopted), 24, m. Sarah Yorke, 29
Rachel Jackson, infant

Samuel Donelson m. Mary Ann Michie Smith, 51
Andrew Jackson Donelson, 33, m. Emily Tennessee Donelson ¹
Daniel Smith Donelson, 31, m. Margaret Branch, 21

Severn Donelson m. Elizabeth Rucker
Rachel Donelson m. William Donelson ³
John Donelson, 25
Andrew Jackson Jr. ²
Thomas Jefferson Donelson, 24, m. Emma Yorke Farquhar, 27
Samuel Rucker Donelson, 22
Lucinda Rucker Donelson, 20, m. George Washington Martin, 40
Andrew Jackson Martin, 1
Alexander Donelson, 16

Leven Donelson, 56

This listing is selective. The marriages of Rachel Jackson’s brothers and sisters produced several dozen children and innumerable grandchildren. Only those who figured in Jackson’s correspondence around 1833 are shown here.

1. Emily Tennessee Donelson married her first cousin Andrew Jackson Donelson.
2. Andrew Jackson Jr., adopted in infancy by Andrew and Rachel Jackson, was the son of Severn Donelson and birth twin of Thomas Jefferson Donelson.
3. William Donelson’s first wife was his cousin Rachel Donelson. He married Elizabeth Anderson after her death.

¹ Emily Tennessee Donelson married her first cousin Andrew Jackson Donelson.
² Andrew Jackson Jr., adopted in infancy by Andrew and Rachel Jackson, was the son of Severn Donelson and birth twin of Thomas Jefferson Donelson.
³ William Donelson’s first wife was his cousin Rachel Donelson. He married Elizabeth Anderson after her death.
The Papers, 1833
PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS

The Cabinet
Secretary of State Edward Livingston, of Louisiana, followed by Louis McLane
Secretary of the Treasury Louis McLane, of Delaware, followed by William John Duane of Pennsylvania and by Roger Brooke Taney
Secretary of War Lewis Cass, of Michigan
Secretary of the Navy Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire
Attorney General Roger Brooke Taney, of Maryland, followed by Benjamin Franklin Butler of New York
Postmaster General William Taylor Barry, of Kentucky

In Washington
Vice President Martin Van Buren, of New York
Francis Preston Blair, editor and publisher of the Globe
Joseph Gales and William Winston Seaton, editors and publishers of the National Intelligencer
Duff Green, editor and publisher of the United States’ Telegraph
Elijah Hayward, Commissioner of the General Land Office
Elbert Herring, War Department Commissioner of Indian Affairs
Amos Kendall, Fourth Auditor of the Treasury
William Berkeley Lewis, Second Auditor of the Treasury
Nicholas Philip Trist, State Department clerk

Diplomats Abroad
James Buchanan, minister to Russia
Anthony Butler, chargé d’affaires to Mexico

Family
Andrew Jackson Jr., Jackson’s adopted son, and his wife Sarah Yorke Jackson
Andrew Jackson Donelson, Jackson’s nephew and private secretary, and his wife and cousin—
Emily Tennessee Donelson, Jackson’s niece
Mary Ann Eastin Polk, Jackson’s grandniece
Andrew Jackson Hutchings, Jackson’s grandnephew

Companions, Confidants, and Correspondents
John Coffee, in north Alabama
Ralph Eleazar Whitesides Earl, with Jackson
John Henry Eaton, in Washington and Tennessee
Henry Dilworth Gilpin, in Philadelphia
James Alexander Hamilton, in New York City
Joel Roberts Poinsett, in Charleston, S.C.
Henry Toland, in Philadelphia
Hugh Lawson White, senator from Tennessee
January

To Mary Ann Eastin Polk

January 2nd. with the joys of the season—1833—

Dear Mary,

The inclosed letter being handed me to enclose to you reminds me of your note of congratulations to Mr V.Buren & myself. I will convey yours to him when I have time to write him—for those to myself I sincerely thank you—but my dear Mary, the opposition will not be quiet, but by the continuation of my course, “of taking truth & principle for my guide, & the public good my end,” I trust, under the auspices of a kind providence, I will put nullification & American systems down, & restore the administration to the original reading of the constitution¹

My Dr. Mary, I beg that you will not let your spirits droop under your melancholy truth, made known to your aunt. I cannot help congratulating you & Mr. P. in advance upon what I hope & trust in God will be a joyful one to all your friends & particularly to my friend Major Polk, to whom present me kindly[.]² affectionately yours

Andrew Jackson

ALS, Raab Collection (mAj). Envelope, Ebay item #181070968483, 2013 sale (mAj).

Polk (1810–1847), née Eastin, was AJ’s grandniece. Her grandfather, John Donelson (1755–1830), was the brother of AJ’s late wife Rachel. At a White House ceremony in April 1832, Mary had married Lucius Junius Polk (1802–1870), a planter and state senator in Maury County, Tennessee. Mary had written AJ on December 18, 1832, to congratulate him and running mate Martin Van Buren (1782–1862) of New York on their victory in the November presidential election (Jackson Papers, 10:735).

1. AJ quoted a maxim he had favored since at least the mid-1820s. The American System was the program, first named by Henry Clay, of fostering economic development through a protective tariff and federally funded internal improvements.

2. Mary’s aunt was Emily Tennessee Donelson (1807–1836), AJ’s niece and White House hostess. Emily was married to her first cousin, AJ’s nephew and private secretary Andrew Jackson Donelson. Mary was pregnant with her daughter Sarah Rachel Polk (1833–1905), born January 24.
[In 1829 Jackson appointed Anthony Butler (1787–1849) as U.S. chargé d'affaires in Mexico, replacing recalled envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary Joel Roberts Poinsett (1779–1851). Butler’s official instructions, reinforced by private urgings from Jackson, included acquiring the Mexican province of Texas for the United States. Political turmoil in Mexico erupted into civil war in January 1832, when the garrison at Vera Cruz under General Antonio López de Santa Anna (1794–1876) rose against the government of vice president and acting president Anastasio Bustamante (1780–1853), who had overthrown president Vicente Guerrero in December 1829. The conflict ended when Bustamante and Santa Anna signed the Plan of Zavaleta on December 23, 1832. The agreement declared a general amnesty and restored Manuel Gómez Pedraza (1789–1851) as president. He had been elected in 1828 to a term ending April 1, 1833, but had been compelled to resign in favor of Guerrero before taking office.]

Mexico 2. January 1833

My dear Sir,

The detention of the British courier who will carry this, enables me to say that by an official communication made to all the public functionaries in Mexico on yesterday, we are informed that Gen. Pedraza will make his entry into the Capital on tomorrow the 3d. instant. He took the Oaths of office in Puebla on the 26 ulto. and delivered his inaugural address which is enclosed to the Department of State, and ought to be published in “the Globe” which is understood here to be the official paper.¹

The party of the late Administration are already engaged in forming materials for a new Revolution. They have already had two secret meetings, have named the leaders, and to a certain extent, have determined on the objects which the movement is designed to sustain. As we have means here of finding out every thing no matter how secretly conducted—And as I must presume that the friends of Gen. Pedraza have much greater facilities than I can possess, there is no doubt that he has been apprised of those meetings and of their objects—this opinion is strengthened, by the concluding observations in his inaugural address that points evidently at the intrigues and machinations which the meetings were intended to promote. But his threats will avail nothing, the intrigue will proceed, the party at the bottom of it, will continue to make every effort to put down the present Administration unless indeed Gen Pedraza will consent to unite himself to them, in which event an effort will be made to have him reelected—if he refuse as I have no doubt he will—then it will be attempted to run Gen. Bravo. Should Gen Pedraza assent to the Union with the Escosese, or rather the Spanish party, as they are now designated, then his present friends with Genl. Santa Anna at their head
will proclaim War against him. So that take the thing either way, and a new Civil War is the inevitable result. It is possible that peace may be maintained during the three months of Gen. Pedraza’s time, but the new Election will as certainly produce commotion as that the Sun performs its round. Gen. Bustamante is execrated by the party to whom he has been so recently attached, and he has gained but little with the Santa Anna party, so his situation is by no means an enviable one at present. His officers speak of him in hard terms—whilst Santa Anna seems the Idol. I have no doubt that Gen. Santa Anna can be the next President if he will consent to be run for the office, and I have as little doubt he will be able to sustain himself in the office if any man can—still I am forced to say that popular as he is at present, he might be compelled to undergo a hard struggle in maintaining his seat, and the corruption of the Army, (and what is more probable) might precipitate even Santa Anna from the Elevation.

Mr. Alaman has left his hiding place and is again in Mexico but still in some alarm for the future, notwithstanding the oblivion promised in the pacification. So soon as matters are so far settled, as to allow me to renew the subjects that have been for some time lying over with this Governt. I shall do so—and if Mr. Alaman is here and at liberty I shall make him useful. Gen. Pedraza it is said has been hitherto very much opposed to any extension of our boundary West—and it was he as I understood who denied Mr. Poinsett the privilege of even discussing the question relative to a Treaty stipulation for the inland Trade between Santa Fé and Missouri. If he continues so strait laced on these subjects, it will give me some trouble to bring matters to the point we desire—even should it be practicable to do so at all. I have one road however by which I hope to reach him and vanquish his scruples, should they remain as strong as it is said they formerly were, and I have besides the very Man provided to do the underworking with him. He is represented to me as a very firm or rather an obstinate man; so that it is impossible to say in advance, what we shall be able to do with him; if he is perceived to be impracticable the better way will be to let the affair stand over for the new Administration that comes into power on the 1st. April next.

I may meet with difficulties and great ones—under the present Administration I count on them—I expect them. But I will succeed in uniting T____ to our Country before I am done with the subject or I will forfeit my head. I know them all well, and I know how to manage them. And after my success with Alaman, who Mr. Poinsett said “nothing could conciliate” I do not allow myself to doubt. Bonaparte said that “to determine to succeed” was the first step, and seldom failed. I have made it my maxim in this matter.

In the hope of soon hearing from you I remain My dear Sir ever and faithfully yours

A. Butler

1. Butler enclosed Gómez Pedraza’s December 26 inaugural address to Secretary of State Edward Livingston on December 31, 1832 (DNA-RG 59, M97-7). The address hailed the return of peace and liberty to Mexico and pledged to put down the continuing plots against constitutional government. The Globe, edited by Francis P. Blair, was the administration newspaper in Washington.

2. Nicolás Bravo Rueda (1786–1854) was a general and former vice president of Mexico. The escoseses, or Scottish Rite Masons, were a Mexican political faction with centralist and aristocratic leanings. They were opposed by the more liberal and democratic yorquinos, or York Rite Masons, with whom Poinsett had been associated.

3. Lucas Alamán (1792–1853) had been Bustamante’s foreign minister. He resigned in May 1832 and fled Mexico City in October on Santa Anna’s approach. A commercial treaty concluded by Butler and Alamán in 1831 provided for regulating and protecting the overland trade between Missouri and New Mexico (Treaties, 3:621–22). A previous treaty negotiated by Poinsett in 1828, which Mexico did not ratify, included no such provision (ASP Foreign Relations, 6:952–57).

4. Butler had written AJ repeatedly in 1832 of his success at managing Alamán and his confidence of bringing him to a Texas settlement (Jackson Papers, 10:314, 426, 457).

From John Catron

[In 1828 Congress had passed a highly protective tariff, a tax on imports that provided most of the federal government’s revenue while also aiding American producers by boosting the price of competing foreign (largely British) goods. Many southerners strenuously opposed the tariff, charging that it was a sectional measure designed to enrich northern manufacturers at their expense and that the manipulation of a revenue law to such ends was both oppressive and unconstitutional.

Anticipating a reduced need for revenue with the pending discharge of the national debt, and retreating from his previous support of some protection for its own sake, Jackson in his third annual message to Congress in December 1831 advocated “a modification of the tariff which shall produce a reduction of our revenue to the wants of the Government” (Richardson, 2:556). In July 1832 Congress passed, and Jackson signed, a new tariff law that moderately lowered overall rates.

The new tariff did not satisfy South Carolina, where hostility to protection was most extreme. On October 26, 1832, the state legislature authorized a constitutional convention to address the issue. The convention met at Columbia and on November 24 adopted “An Ordinance To Nullify certain Acts of the Congress of the United States,” along with addresses to the people of South Carolina and of the United States. The ordinance declared the tariff laws of 1828 and 1832 to be unconstitutional and therefore “null, void, and no law, nor binding upon this State, its officers or citizens.” It prohibited any attempt by state or federal officers to enforce them beginning February 1, 1833. The ordinance forbade any appeal of its own validity to the U.S. Supreme Court and required all state civil and military
officers, legislators excepted, to take an oath pledging “to obey, execute and enforce” its own provisions. It further declared that any forcible federal measures to coerce tariff collections would be deemed “inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union,” and that in that event the people of South Carolina would consider their connection with the United States dissolved and would “forthwith proceed to organize a separate Government, and do all other acts and things, which sovereign and independent States may of right do” (The Report, Ordinance, and Addresses of the Convention of the People of South Carolina, Adopted, November 24th, 1832 [Columbia, 1832], pp. 25–27).

Jackson responded on December 10 with an official presidential proclamation declaring that “the power to annul a law of the United States, assumed by one State,” was “incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed.” Jackson attacked the “absurd and dangerous doctrine” of nullification, affirmed his constitutional duty to enforce the laws, exhorted South Carolinians not to forsake their patriotic allegiance, and warned of consequences if they did: “Disunion by armed force is treason. Are you really ready to incur its guilt?” (Richardson, 2:640–56). Quietly, Jackson also ordered measures to strengthen nearby U.S. military and naval forces.

Undeterred, the South Carolina legislature on December 20 passed three laws to implement nullification. The first, known as the replevin act, created procedures to thwart the collection of tariff duties. The second provided for administering the loyalty oath required by the nullification ordinance. The third authorized the governor to mobilize the state militia and volunteers against federal coercion (Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina Passed in December 1832 [Columbia, 1832], pp. 15–27).

Private

Nashville 2d. Jany. 1833.

My dr. Sir,

We have had a very large meeting to discuss the subject treated of in your Proclamation, in the closet preperations for which I took some part. Gov. Carroll was so kind as to ask my aid, which I thought it my duty to afford. The Resolutions offered were without a dissenting voice adopted.1

The first denying the right of secession. The 2d. adverse to nullification—the 3d. declaring the right of the Supreme Court to pronounce on the constitutionality of acts of Congress—and the fifth, approving the doctrines maintained by the Proclamation. Should they be questioned in Tennessee, I will attempt to sustain; yet I do not believe the proclamation needs any aid. I has met the sanction of the opposition. Mssrs. F. B. Fogg, Washington, & Erwin of that side, Hunt Brown, Lacy & myself of the
other, were the committee who drafted the preamble and resolutions. It is deemed of the utmost importance that an unanimous public opinion should be fixed on the side of the Union party, so that if it comes to open rebellion, a force can be readily commanded by the Fedrl. government, so very large as to deter resistance at the onset. A division into parties in the surrounding states, would tend to encourage the nullifiers, whereas entire unanimity would leave no hopes. If we are to have a civil war in S. C., I wish to see no irritating street, & company fights, but and over-whelming military force at once brought out to suppress the Rebellion.

The morbid excitement however is such, as to require great caution in reference to the nullifying party: and southern sympathy such, as to require much address in giving direction to public opinion, in the commencement of its formation, with a view of suppressing revolt—to shoul-dering the musket. I take it for granted the main object of the proclama-tion was to inspire moral courage—to fix determination, preparatory to action in the field. I state these views not to obtrude opinions, but because I am shaping my conduct to them; and because, a man situated as I am, is intimately acquainted over the state, especially with the lawyers, and his opinions have from his situation, something of weight, on subjects involving the powers of the Government.

Should I be in any respect be mistaken as to the views of the Executive, will you intimate it to our friend Mjr. Eaton, show him this scrall, & say to him to write me. It is deemed of importance that the advocates of the measures of the government should not misunderstand it, in reference to this particular transaction. Ordinarily it would be a matter of little moment.

Mrs. Catron and myself have visited, your son, daughter, grand daugh-ter, &c. The ladies, mrs. Jackson, & mrs. Donelson, promised ere this to spend a week with mrs. Catron, but the pevalence of scarlet fever here has prevented, I imagine.

I am, as are the ladies of my family, much gratified at the addition of two such women to our society. I do not recollect to have met with more interesting ladies. In the chapter of accidents, and a young man’s geting a wife, certainly belongs to it, it was most fortunate, thinks mrs. Catron, for the Hermitage, to obtain such a mistress as mrs. Jackson.

Accept my best wishes for your health, & prosperity—and happyness, if this be possible in your circumstances. I have the honour to be, yr. frd. & obt. servt.

Jn. Catron.

ALS, DLC (41). Catron (1786–1865) was chief justice of Tennessee’s supreme court and later an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

1. Tennessee governor William Carroll (1788–1844) chaired a public meeting in Nashville on December 29, 1832. It adopted resolutions condemning nullification and secession and supporting AJ’s proclamation (Nashville Republican and State Gazette, December 28 and 31, 1832).
2. Francis Brinley Fogg (1795–1880), Thomas Washington (1788–1863), Morgan Welles Brown (1800–1853), and Thomas J. Lacy (1803–1849) were Nashville attorneys. Jackson opponent John Patton Erwin (1795–1857) was a former and future Nashville mayor, and William Gibbes Hunt (1791–1833) was editor of the Nashville National Banner.

3. Former U.S. senator John Henry Eaton (1790–1856) of Tennessee was AJ’s biographer and confidant and had been his secretary of war from 1829 to 1831. He was at this time in Washington.

4. Catron’s wife was Matilda Childress Catron (c1802–1872). AJ’s son was Andrew Jackson Jr. (1808–1865), one of twin brothers born to Rachel Jackson’s brother Severn Donelson and his wife Elizabeth. AJ and Rachel had adopted him in infancy. His wife was Sarah Yorke Jackson (1803–1887), and their daughter was Rachel Jackson (1832–1923). The family were presently at the Hermitage, AJ’s plantation home near Nashville. Mrs. Donelson was Sarah’s cousin, Emma Yorke Farquhar Donelson (1805–1880), who in September 1832 had married AJ Jr.’s birth twin, Thomas Jefferson Donelson.

From Edward Silas and John D. Hart

To his excellency the President of the United States

The petition of Edward Silas and John D. Hart, prisoners, now confined in the jail of Henrico County in the State of Virginia, under the authority of the United States, humbly represents—that for imputed offences said to be committed on the High Seas your petitioners were brought in a ship of war belonging to the United States to the port of Norfolk in Virginia in the month of December 1831 and were on the 12th day of that month committed to the jail of the Borough of Norfolk in order that they might be brought to trial for the said offences. That some time thereafter your petitioners were removed from the said last mentioned jail to the said jail of Henrico to be tried for the said offences at the bar of the District Circuit Court of the United States holden at Richmond Virginia—that since your petitioners were committed to the jail last aforesaid the said Court has been twice holden in the said City of Richmond and no witness appearing against your petitioners no bill of indictment was upon either occasion sent against them to the grand jury nor has are any other means which have been taken to bring your petitioners to trial at all likely to prove effectual. In this your petitioners impute negligence to no one but attribute it to the impossibility of bringing their accusers before the Court as the said accusers are seamen unknown to any one in these parts and are doubtless now pursuing their occupation in foreign seas. Your petitioners are well aware that assertions of innocence from those charged with offences have but little weight, but feeling as they do a consciousness of having committed no offence for which they should have been deprived of their liberty and a deep sense of the injury and injustice they have sustained and are now suffering, they are impelled to declare their innocence of the crime of unlawful stabbing imputed to them and to throw themselves on the clemency of your excellency to relieve them of a confinement that will never end if it depended upon the production in court of their
accusers. In consideration of the premises your petitioners pray that your excellency will grant them and each of them a free pardon for the said
offences & direct that they may be discharged from their present confine-
ment, and they will as in duty bound ever pray &c

Edwd. his X mark Silas
John his X mark D Hart

Richmond Jan 3. 1833

The case of these petitioners was informally mentioned to the court at
the last term, and both Judges expressed their entire willingness to con-
cur in a memorial to the President of the United States, praying for their
discharge, on account of the trivial nature of the crimes with which they
stand charged, & the strong probability that no witnesses will ever appear
against them. The prisoners have already suffered a long confinement; &
I concur in recommending them to the clemency of the President of the
United States.

Th. E. Burfoot
Dist. Atto.

[Endorsed by Edmund Christian on January 12.]

[Endorsed by AJ:] The within case of Edward Silas, and John D. Hart has
been duly considered, & the following conclusions drawn

The prisoners deny being guilty of the crime for which they are con-
fined. There has been no conviction by a jury, no guilt confessed—by
the laws of our land, all persons are presumed innocent until guilt is
established against them, by the finding of the a jury, or their own confes-
sion—in this being the case, there is no crime for the President to pardon,
& he has no power over the subject. It is presumed to be the duty of the
atto. for the District, if he has not proof to sustain an indictment against
the prisoners, that he will make it known to the court, whose duty I
would presume it is, forthwith to order the prisoners to be discharged,
and liberated from confinement, as they must be presumed innocent as no
charge has been proven against them, & the atto for the District has made
known to the court, that he is unable to prosecute farther for the want of
proof. The Secretary of State will return this to the atto. for the District of
Virginia. Janry 14th. 1833 A. J.

DS, DNA-RG 59 (21-1312). Thomas E. Burfoot (d.1833) was the U.S. attorney for the
eastern district of Virginia, and Edmund Christian (c1780–1851) was the U.S. marshal.
Christian’s endorsement echoed Burfoot’s. The State Department sent Burfoot a copy of AJ’s
decision on January 26 (DNA-RG 59, M40-23).
From John Coburn

[In December 1817, John Caldwell Calhoun (1782–1850), then secretary of war under president James Monroe (1758–1831), ordered Jackson, who was then U.S. major general commanding the Army’s Southern Division, to take direct command of troops on the southern frontier and suppress the Seminole Indians, who had been raiding into Alabama and Georgia from Spanish Florida. Calhoun’s directive alluded to orders sent earlier to General Edmund Gaines, Jackson’s predecessor in field command, which authorized pursuing the Seminoles into Florida but forbade attacking the Spanish there without further instruction (Calhoun Papers, 2:20, 39–40; Jackson Papers, 4:163–64).

From March through May of 1818 Jackson campaigned through Florida, not only pursuing the Seminoles but also assailing and capturing Spanish bastions at St. Marks and Pensacola. In July Monroe and his Cabinet considered privately whether to discipline or repudiate Jackson for transcending his orders, but decided against it. Instead the administration subsequently defended Jackson against heated domestic and foreign criticism, justifying his conduct as a response to Spanish provocation in inciting the Indians. Privately, both Monroe and Calhoun told Jackson that in their view he had acted beyond his orders, though with commendable motives.

For his part, Jackson always claimed, both in private and public, that he had full authority from the administration for everything he did in Florida. The issue erupted into controversy in 1830, when Jackson suddenly accused Calhoun, now his vice president, of treacherously posing as his friend for many years after secretly attempting to sabotage him in Monroe’s Cabinet. Jackson’s charge triggered a long and testy correspondence with Calhoun that also drew in ex-president Monroe and other members of his late Cabinet as witnesses. Calhoun made the rupture public by publishing some of the letters in February 1831. In the course of this controversy Jackson introduced a new claim, that Monroe had privately pre-authorized his Florida conquest through then Tennessee congressman John Rhea (1753–1832), and that Calhoun knew it. Monroe denied the Rhea story on his deathbed in June 1831. The controversy subsided in 1832, not resolved but superseded by more recent events.]

Washington Jan 5th 1833

Honored sir

I have lately heard and seen with astonishment that there yet remains some doubt on the minds of a part of our Community as to your authority from the Executive of our Government for your conduct in the siminole war. indeed it seems a point contested by some. considering that I was present at an interview and much conversation and discussion by and
between yourself and the then venerable Chief Magistrate (Mr Monroe) soon after the war in 1819, relative to the instructions and communications sent to you by the Executive during the Campaign—I feel it my duty not to withhold the information I obtained on the subject. I perfectly recollect how decidedly he approved whilst we were at your house whither I attended him for some days in the month of June in the above year—and how ably he justified all your movements and operations throughout the Campaign—you afterwards traveled in company with him in the same Carriage to Louisville in Kentucky—during which time, having the management of, and being also in, the Carriage I was enabled to hear and to understand distinctly every thing that passed between you—the conversations were frequent on this subject, and more particularly interesting near the small town of Springfield.¹ you stated some reasons for your crossing the Florida line and occupying the Fort of St Marks, as also the mud fort at the Barrancas in Pensicola. in relation to which I well recollect his reply was that you were perfectly justifiable in doing so from the orders and communications transmitted to you by the Executive. and he stated at great length what would have been the evil consequences had you not done so. among which he specified, as one, the necessity of keeping an army stationed in that quarter to prevent the frequent butcherys of the Inhabitanic of the frontier. he also dwelt at length upon the impracticability of conveying limited or special orders to you, to suit current circumstances, and in time to prevent the hazard of the enemy’s obtaining advantages over you. he declared explicitly that it was the intention and expectation of the Executive, from the orders and communications sent to you, that you should put a speedy end to the war. he gave many other reasons and explained them fully—throughout the whole of which his own plans as well as your’s appeared to have been executed in a manner most satisfactory to him. as to the particular case of the execution of Arbuthnot & Ambrister—President Monroe explicitly and unequivocally approved it; and observed that they were fairly tried and punished. and that many others had ben Justly hung for crimes less offensive than these abandoned wretches had committed.² I repeat that finding it pretended at this time that any movements or procedings of yours in that Campaign were in the least contrary to the views and expectations of President Monroe—and recollecting as I do, the manner in which he complimented you in my presence for your gallant and patriotic achievements in that trying moment I cannot refrain from the liberty I take to refresh your memory of the unqualified and cordiall approbation he expressed (at the time alluded too) of every step of your’s during the whole Campaign—a fact which the multitude of your important engagements of late years may have partly, if not wholey, obliterated from it. I am sir with sentiments of Profound Respect your obedient servant

John Coburn
[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. Coburn—Statement of the conversations that passed between Mr Monroe & Genl Jackson in 1819—on the subject of the Seminole campaign—to be carefully filed A. J. with Genl vaness introduction A. J. This with the Mr Rheas & judge overtons closes all cavil on the subject—A. J.

ALS, DLC (41). Coburn (1796–1867) had been a friend of James Monroe.

1. Monroe had stayed some days at the Hermitage while touring the South and West in June 1819. AJ had then accompanied him to Kentucky.

2. In Florida AJ had captured Scottish trader Alexander Arbuthnot (c1748–1818) and former British Marine lieutenant Robert Christie Ambrister (c1797–1818) and hastily court-martialed them for inciting the Seminoles. Both were found guilty and executed by AJ’s order on April 29, 1818, Arbuthnot by hanging and Ambrister by firing squad. AJ’s action was subsequently criticized as peremptory, unjust, and illegal.

3. On November 23, 1832, Washington mayor John Peter Van Ness (1769–1846) had written AJ introducing Coburn and vouching for his character (DLC-41). Among the documents AJ had collected in his defense in 1831 were letters from John Rhea and from AJ’s longtime friend and counselor John Overton (1766–1833), supporting AJ’s contention that he had sought and received from Monroe, through Rhea, prior authorization to attack the Spanish in Florida (Jackson Papers, 9:282, 286–88).

**From Sidney Fayette Chapman**


Sir:

I have the honor to enclose you, the proceedings of one of the largest and most respectable meetings of the citizens of Fauquier, ever known, on any political occasion, in this part of Virginia.

You will at once perceive Sir, the Constitution and the Laws, have friends among us; and that on no spot of our hitherto happy and favored land, will the patriotism of its people, be more efficiently and zealously exerted, than in that, which we claim as our birth place and home, the glorious soil, of our own Virginia. Descended from the Whigs of the Revolution, instructed from our infancy to love our country and obey its Laws, deeply imbued with the principles bequeathed us by Washington, we view with detestation and horror, the disorganising and sanguinary Spirit, displaying itself in South Carolina, and we proclaim a sentiment, universal among us, That the Union is in danger, unless South Carolina, be taught to obey.

Confiding in that patriotism and energy, which have borne and upheld you, in so many tryals and difficulties, we shall draw around you, unappalled by the threatening dangers before us, and without calculating, what it is worth, we say with you, the Federal union—it must be preserved.¹

That Almighty God, who disposeth of human events, according to his infinite pleasure, and who hath been so signally bountiful to us, as a
Nation, may make you the favoured instrument in his hands, to save us from Civil War and Disunion, is the unaffected prayer of him, who has The Honor to be respectfully yr. obt. st.

S. F. Chapman, Ch’m’n
Wm. Thompson Secty

[Endorsed by AJ:] S. F. Chapman Chairman meeting Morrisville—inclosing resolutions approving the P. proclamation & pledging their support. These are the sentiments of true patriots determined to preserve the union and the constitution as the paladium of their liberties—let them be preserved on file. A. J.

ALS, DLC (41). Richmond Enquirer, January 17, 1833. Chapman (c1786–1868) was a lawyer and William Thompson was a doctor. Chapman had chaired a January 1 meeting of Fauquier County citizens that adopted resolutions upholding AJ’s proclamation and condemning both South Carolina’s nullification and Virginia governor John Floyd’s public sympathy for it (Globe, January 15, 1833).

1. At a political dinner in Washington on April 13, 1830, AJ had famously toasted “Our Federal Union—It must be preserved” (Jackson Papers, 8:190). Widely quoted, the toast was understood as a rebuke to the nullifiers.

From Henry Lee

Paris 6th. Jany 1833
dear Genl,

I have had a glimpse at your message which has reached us by the way of London—but I could only hold the paper ½ a minute to look of the nullification. You can hardly conceive the anxiety that prevails even among foreigners on that subject. You appear to think the Union safe—at least the glance I got gave me that impression. God be thanked. If the people will only feel the proper value of the Union to their interest honour, respectability and peace—a million of men would follow you to extinguish the flame of incendiarrism which has burst out around your cradle, and on the footsteps of Genl. Greene & my forgotten unthanked and calumniated father. The first spark of this conflagration was struck by Jefferson and I trust it is reserved to you to put it out for ever.

The southern people have a right to complain of the tariff in that I join them—it is a foolish as well as an unjust policy. But has a child a right to cut his mothers throat to rip open the womb which conceived him—because his mother may have exhibited a momentary partiality for his brothers, especially when that mother shows a sense of her injustice and is endeavouring to readjust the balance of her affections. The failure of the Nullifiers will cover them with confusion and popular odium—but their success would consign them to eternal infamy and endless execration. Forgive the earnestness of my language—but this nullification is a
cancer in my heart, & I believe in that of every Citizen of the U. States who finds himself absent from that dear Country. I cannot sleep for it—and I sometimes think of going home immediately—for if there should be a civil contest I should feel myself bound in honour to take my part in all its melancholy horrors.

Things however I trust will not come to that painful, tremendous extremity—your popularity your energy & prudence, and the good fortune which providence has hitherto permitted us to enjoy, assure me, that American hands are not yet to be stained with American blood—and that the metaphysical fallacies of a few conceited and disappointed men—who stimulate my by mutual adulation their common extravagance of vanity & selfishness, will not succeed in frustrating the glorious work of Washington & his followers, in disappointing the hopes of all lovers of freedom on this planet, and in overwhelming themselves as well as their posterity with a flood of ruin, which may have consequences that ages of patriotic struggles might would not be able to repair. I am ever dear Genl. yr faithful servant.

H. Lee

I have read & answer the enclosed—

ALS, DLC (42). Lee (1787–1837) was the son of Henry “Light-Horse Harry” Lee (1756–1818), Revolutionary hero and later Federalist governor of Virginia. Robert E. Lee was his half-brother. Lee had been named consul general to Algiers by AJ in 1829 and remained abroad after the Senate unanimously rejected his nomination in March 1830.

1. Lee had perhaps seen AJ’s fourth annual message to Congress of December 4, 1832, which passed briefly over nullification in anticipation of the proclamation six days later (Richardson, 2:599).

2. Lee’s father had suffered financial and political disasters in later years. He was imprisoned for debt in 1808 and in 1812 was severely beaten by a Republican mob in Baltimore. Major General Nathanael Greene (1742–1786) had commanded American forces in the South in the Revolution. The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798, drafted respectively by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison in response to the Alien and Sedition Acts, laid out the theory of the federal Union as a compact under which each state retained the right to “interpose” its authority against unconstitutional usurpations of power by the federal government. The resolutions furnished the foundation for subsequent state’s-rights doctrines, including nullification.

3. Lee explained further on February 10 (below).

From John S. Lewright

Morganfield 6th Jany. 1833

Gen. Jackson

The author of the following request is a total stranger to you. I am however well known to Col. Lyon who is the representative of the congressional district in which I reside, to whom I refer you for a delineation of my moral character and qualifications to fill office.¹ If you have an
office in your gift vacant worth 1000 or 1500 dollars, and you should feel disposed to intrust it to me, You will place me under ceaseless obligations to you. In order to enable you to judge of my standing with the people amongst whom I live, I will state a few facts. In 1827 I was chosen by the democratic party of Unon Cty. their delegate to represent their will, in the convention, that met in Frankfort for the purpose of nominating suitable persons for Governor and Lieutenant Governor of Ky. Gen. Barry and Col. Breathitt ware the persons chosen by the convention. The result is known to you. In 1829 I was the Jackson candidate to represent the counties of Union and Henderson in the lower house of the General assembly of Ky, and was elected by a handsome majority. I have recited the above facts not by way of boasting but to convince you the people of Union and Henderson have confidence in me and to strengthen my claims to your approbation and confidence.

The presidential election is over in Ky. and terminated differently from what was anticipated and ardently wished for by your friends—which I attribute in part to the power and influence of the United States-Bank wielded by the corrupt and impure aristocracy in Ky. I rejoice Gen. that the people through you will be able to destroy the Bohon-Upass that is constantly emitting an odor which if it is not cut down by your hand will saturate the republican atmosphere, in which aristocracy alone can dwell—and in which democracy will sicken, languish and die.  

Your Proclamation has reached Ky. and excited much pleasure in the minds of your friends. The zealous and deluded friends of H. Clay affect to be pleased with it but to the eye of the acute observer it is plain to be seen they are pained at heart! And why; because they have unblushingly charged you with winking at and secretly abetting nullification; and because they predicted you would not take such steps as would tend to suppress nullification in South-Carolina. Yes Gen. the monocrats in Ky. are sorely mortified because you will do right, their predictions to the contrary not-withstanding. They would as I verily believe prefer seeing every american interest prostrated than that their diabolical predictions should not be fulfilled. Yours most Respectfully

John. S. Lewright

P.S. Please answer this letter as soon as your convenience will permit.

Direct to Morganfield Union Cty. Ky. J. S. L.
in the campaign. The bohon upas was a mythical tree whose poisonous vapors killed everything for miles around.

To Lewis Cass

Janry. 7th. 1833

The President has read with regret & astonishment Genl Scott’s letter of the 31rst. ult., wherein he states that the Troops that were to embark on the 10 or 11th. ultimo had not reached Fort Moutrie on the 31rst. and had not sailed from Norfolk on the 24th.

Punctuality is every thing in military movements; & the President requests the Secretary of War to enquire how this has happened, & by positive orders prevent the like occurrence for the future.

AN, THi (21-1342). Cass (1782–1866), former governor of Michigan Territory, had been AJ’s secretary of war since 1831. AJ had placed Brevet Major General Winfield Scott (1786–1866) in charge of readying federal defenses at Charleston, S.C., in November 1832. In early December, Major General Alexander Macomb, commanding general of the Army, had ordered five companies of artillery from Fort Monroe near Norfolk, Va., to Fort Moultrie on Sullivan’s Island, at the entrance to Charleston harbor (SDoc 71, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 6–8, Serial 230). On December 31, Scott wrote Cass from Fort Moultrie of his “astonishment” that the companies had not arrived and apparently as of the 24th had not yet sailed (DNA-RG 94). The ship carrying them reached Charleston on January 2. On January 9 Cass submitted to AJ a report from Macomb on the movement (DNA-RG 107, M127-2).

To [Thomas Ritchie]

My dr. Sir,

I see published in your paper of 28th. of Decbr. 1832 a letter from Washington very discreditable to me, and unjust to my secretaries and I am warrented to believe it must have been written by some one of high standing in your estimation and I think I am entitled to his name—but be it from what source it may, it is an unfounded calumny—there is not a principle in the proclamation but is my own, and which I am ready to act out & defend, as the true republican doctrine of 1798 & 1799, to which nullification & secession is in direct opposition & makes our Government worse than a rope of sand.1 If you it is meant that the people have the right by nature to resist oppression, then I agree with the doctrine but not as a reserved right, either in the confederation of perpetual union or the more perfect union based upon the confederation the present constitution, but a natural right of resisting oppression, which is war & revolution, not peaceful and constitutional—and a state has the phisical power, she will succeed in changing the Government if she fails, those concerned &
found in hostile array against the laws of the United States will be brought before the Judicial authority of the country for Treason & rebellion

AL draft, DLC (43; 21-1288). Thomas Ritchie (1778–1854) edited the Virginia Richmond Enquirer. This letter was likely not sent, its purposes superseded by January 7 instructions to Francis P. Blair appearing immediately below.

1. On January 1 the Enquirer had printed extracts from a December 28, 1832, letter from an unnamed Virginian in Washington. The writer surmised that “his Secretary” had drafted AJ’s December 10 proclamation and that AJ had not attended closely to its “doctrinal points,” as its assertions of federal supremacy and its threat of force against nullification contradicted his own record of steadfastly upholding Virginia state’s-rights principles. The Kentucky resolutions of 1799 had further explicated the Virginia and Kentucky doctrines of 1798, employing the word “nullification” for the first time.

Andrew Jackson Donelson
to Francis Preston Blair

Private

January 7th. 1832

Dr. Sir,

The President thinks it important that the enclosed should have a place in the mornings paper as the surest corrective of the intimation to which it refers, and which in various forms elsewhere have been made with a view of seperating the President in some degree from the responsibility involved in the Proclamation as the act of the administration.¹ He requests that you will not fail to insert it. yrs. truly

Andrew J Donelson

ALS, NjP-Blair-Lee Papers (mAJs). Donelson (1799–1871) was AJ’s nephew and private secretary. Blair (1791–1876) edited the Washington Globe, the unofficial voice of AJ’s administration.

¹ Various newspaper reports had attributed the proclamation’s authorship to Cabinet secretaries Edward Livingston, Lewis Cass, and Roger Taney, to congressman John Quincy Adams, and to former president James Madison.

[Enclosure]

We have noticed with regret in the columns of the Richmond Enquirer.

We regret to have seen, in the columns of the Richmond Enquirer, some countenance given to the idea, that the President may not have considered with the care due to so important a measure as his Proclamation all the consequences that legitimately flow from it. We feel authorised in saying that that document, both in its argument and its practical views, reflects as truly the settled opinions of the President as any which has ever proceeded from him, and that there is not one perhaps in the support of which any cabinet was ever more united than the present.

Any intimation therefore, such as is expressed by a correspondent of the Enquirer published in that paper of the 1st. inst, that the proclamation
contains “doctrinal points” which the President may have overlooked and which may be laid at the door of “his Secretary” is obviously unjust, and is calculated, tho no doubt not so designed, to deceive the public by circulating erroneous views of the responsibility involved in that important measure.

It is not intended to undertake here a defence of the principles of the Proclamation as declaratory of the views of the Executive relative to the powers of the Government, or their effect upon the rights of the states as interpreted by the correspondents of the Enquirer. We simply mean to assure the country that the President and his cabinet were united in issuing the Proclamation just as it is, and that every sentiment and principle in it met the approbation of each and will be sustained by each and all of them.

[Addition by Blair:] At the same time however we are bound to say, that the paper is not considered by the President or any member of his cabinet as authorizing the inferences against State rights which have been drawn from it—or those unfounded interpretations of its principles which tend to a consolidated convert our federative Government system into a consolidated Government.

[Addition by Louis McLane:] It would be unjust however, unreasonable, to expect any one to be answerable for all the inferences which others may draw from & which can in no wise be justified by the paper itself.¹

Draft by AJ Donelson, NjP-Blair-Lee Papers (mAJs). On January 8 the Globe printed the text as follows: “We regret to have seen in the Richmond Enquirer some countenance given to the idea that the President may not have considered with the care due to so important a measure as his Proclamation, all the consequences that legitimately flow from it. We feel authorized in saying that that document, both in its argument and its practical views reflects as truly the settled opinions of the President as any which has ever proceeded from him, and there is not one perhaps in the support of which any cabinet was ever more united than the present. At the same time we feel bound to say, that the paper is not considered by the President as authorizing those unfounded interpretations of its principles which tend to convert our federative system into a consolidated government. It would be unreasonable to expect any one to be answerable for all the inferences which others may draw, and which can in no wise be justified by the paper itself.”

¹. Louis McLane (1786–1857) of Delaware was secretary of the Treasury.

From William Carroll

Nashville, January 7, 1833.

My dear Sir,

[ . . . ] integrity, and has given entire satisfaction in his Judicial career. I need not add that he has always been your warm and devoted friend. Should he be appointed it will be very gratifying to a large portion of your friends in Tennessee, and I am persuaded that the government would find in him a most valuable officer.

• 19 •
I wrote you a hasty note in answer to your last letter, in which I believe I stated that I could organize and march at a moments warning, eight or ten thousand volunteers against South Carolina, should a military movement become necessary. My meaning was, that I have in the State Arsenal muskets, swords, and pistols, and artillery sufficient to arm that number of men, and that I would take upon myself the responsibility of using them if the emergency required it. As Chief magistrate of the State, you will never find me avoiding responsibility, when the Union is assailed, either by a foreign or domestic enemy. I shall not stop to enquire whether the State has passed a law or not authorizing me to use the Arms.

It will be sufficient for me to know, that our happy form of government is in danger, and I will endeavour to contribute my mite towards its preservation. The conduct of South Carolina is so universally deprecated in Tennessee that if it was necessary, forty thousand men would march to put down her revolutionary movements. I have only again to say, that you can command my services on a moments notice, and if you deem it in any respect necessary for me to revisit Washington for any purpose, your wishes will be promptly obeyed. Still hoping that the unpleasant difficulty with South Carolina will be amicably adjusted, and that you may enjoy health and happiness I am, dear Sir, Respectfully, your friend

Wm. Carroll


ALS fragment, DLC (75; 21-1336), and printed extract, John Spencer Bassett, ed., Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, 6:512–13. The surviving manuscript is on two torn pages, the first containing parts of two paragraphs at the head of the letter and the second its closing text and signature. The rest—the dateline, salutation, and intervening text between the two fragments—is here supplied from Bassett’s printed extract, which he labels as taken from a “Copy” without location. Neither the manuscript nor Bassett preserves the letter’s opening passage after the salutation. Bassett’s printing closely matches the manuscript text where the two overlap.

1. The first manuscript page cuts off here.
2. The manuscript resumes here and runs through the end. The partially torn-off words “be promptly” are supplied from Bassett’s printing.

From John Slidell

(Private)

New Orleans. 7 Jany. 1833.

Sir!

As appointments are to probably soon be made in all instances of commissions expiring in the interval between the 4th of March & the
next meeting of congress, I beg leave respectfully to state that it will be agreeable to me to receive a reappointment to my present office of District Attorney for the Eastern District of Louisiana. It is not for me to speak of the manner in which the duties of my office have been performed but I may perhaps be permitted to say that on that point I can appeal with confidence to the records of the court & the unanimous suffrage of the community. There is but one quarter from which I can even suppose the possibility of an unfriendly report. I will not name the individual because, although I well know the vindictiveness of his feelings, I think him too prudent to attempt an act of hostility which could only recoil upon himself.¹ If however I should be mistaken in this, I am sure that you will not think that I make an unreasonable request in asking, to be advised of any communication that may be made to you on the subject of my reappointment. I should value a second nomination more as a mark of your confidence and approbation than for any advantages that I may derive from the office which for reasons unnecessary for me to detail, I shall probably not continue to hold to the end of a second term. I am a decided advocate of the principle of rotation in office but when the usual course is to reappoint officers who are willing to retain their situations, a deviation from that course necessarily carries with an implied censure of the incumbent. It gives me great pleasure to inform you that public opinion is now nearly unanimous in this state in favor of your administration, indeed our numbers are swelling so fast that your old & tried friends will almost be lost in the crowd. If we could now have a general election, we could entirely reform our delegation to congress. as it is we must submit to the misrepresentation for two years longer.² I am—


¹. This was New Orleans customs collector Martin Gordon (c1773–1852). AJ wrote him about Slidell on April 9 (below).

². Jackson had carried Louisiana handily in 1832. Congressmen Henry A. Bullard, Philemon Thomas, and Edward D. White, elected in July 1832, were all anti-Jackson.

Andrew Jackson Donelson to Edward Livingston

Jary. 7th. 1832

Dr. Sir,

The President requests me to suggest the propriety of causing your report of the officers embraced within the call of the house of the 26th. ulto. to be put into 2 classes—the first including those who are actually members of congress when they were offered Executive appointments—
the second those who were out, but were offered Executive appointments within 12 months thereafter and for this purpose I return the report agreeably to his direction[..] yrs. truly

And J Donelson

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Livingston (1764–1836) was AJ’s secretary of state. On December 26, 1832, the House of Representatives had requested a list of congressmen who, since April 13, 1826, had been appointed to executive office during or within twelve months after their congressional terms. AJ passed the request to Livingston and directed him to extend the starting date back to March 3, 1825, the beginning of John Quincy Adams’s presidency (Jackson Papers, 10:757). On January 5 Livingston submitted names of fifteen sitting or recent congressmen who had received appointments since April 13, 1826, and four more between then and March 3, 1825 (DNA-RG 59, 22-0032). Pursuant to this instruction from Donelson, he composed revised lists of eight sitting and eight former congressmen appointed in the later period and one sitting and three former members in the earlier (one new name was added, a former member appointed federal judge in 1831). Livingston submitted his report on January 23, and AJ sent it and a similar Treasury Department report to the House the same day (HRDoc 76, 22d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 234).

Joel Roberts Poinsett to [Louis McLane?]

private.

Charleston
7 January 1833

My dear Sir

I have this instant received yours of the 4th. Inst. and understanding from the district attorney that the Messenger will return this afternoon I hasten to reply. I wrote to the President two or three days ago, and shall write again by this occasion and will not therefore repeat here what you will see in that letter.¹

As you think the bill reported by Mr. Verplank is likely to pass, I will bring to your view one alteration which is of great importance to us in the South and which if it had been made in the last act would have occasioned a change in favor of the administration and silenced the clamours of many, both planters and merchants. The second paragraph of the second section of the tariff of the 14th. July 1832 fixes the duty on Plains, Kersey or kendal Cloths of which wool shall be the only material the value not exceeding 35 cents the square yard at 5 pr. Ct. ad val. Now the Manufactures used by in So. Ca. for cloathing the Negroes cannot generally be imported for 35 cents the square yard, especially since the value of the Pound sterling has been fixed at 480 cents. All the cloaths of good quality, such as are used by our Planters for their slaves cost this year over 35 cents the square yard and were of course charged with the high rate of duty, so that the modification of the tariff in 1832 increased the discontent among the importing merchants & planters instead of diminishing it, as was intended. If the value of such manufactures as consist entirely of wool which are to pay a duty of 5
pr. Ct. were to be extended to 40 cents it would give more satisfaction here than any other modification Congress could adopt. I sincerely hope some new law of revenue will pass, as that will compel our nullifiers to make another move and increase their difficulties. The bullying and ranting of their Leaders in So. Ca. ought not to affect the result of the deliberations of Congress, nor even our fears, that the nullifiers will take to themselves the credit of having frightened the general government into their measures, and by that means preserve their popularity and their power over the state. That is an evil of minor importance.

You will have perceived that the Legislature did not carry out the intentions of the convention. The Senate were disposed to compromise and refused to give the power to the Sheriff of breaking open doors in the execution of the writ of replevin, or to provide any penalty for the act of compliance with the revenue laws of the U.S. I do not believe, that any merchant of credit will refuse to pay the duties or to comply with the laws of the U.S. The question will be made by agents of the nullification party. The object of these rash and reckless men is to bring on the question of secession, in which they think they will be aided by Virginia. To acknowledge this right would be virtually to destroy this government and we ought to be prepared to put this party down the day after their convention shall declare So. Ca. a separate govt. and this must be done in part by the Union party to be aided by the federal govt. We are not idle I assure you, and our attitude keeps the nullifiers in check.

I am going into town to see if there is any news of interest to communicate to you. I am Dear Sir, with sentiments of the highest respect & esteem ever yours truly

J. R. Poinsett

There is nothing of moment to add. I have stated to the Presidt. my opinion of the rumours of the movement of forces. He shall be hereafter kept informed of rumour and facts more frequently.

ALS, DLC (41). Poinsett, once minister to Mexico, was now a leading Charleston Unionist and AJ's principal informant about developments in South Carolina.

1. Robert Budd Gilchrist (1796–1856) was the U.S. attorney for South Carolina. On this day Poinsett forwarded to AJ a December 25, 1832, letter to himself from James R. Ervin of Cheraw, S.C. It told of a large Unionist meeting in Chesterfield District and of preparations to oppose nullification by arms if necessary (DLC-41).

2. Gulian Crommelin Verplanck (1786–1870) of New York chaired the House Ways and Means Committee. On December 27, 1832, he had introduced a bill, drawn in consultation with Treasury secretary McLane, to lower most import duties to between ten and twenty per cent by 1835, with the aim of reducing annual federal revenue from around $26 million to $15 million (HRRep 14, 22d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 236). The 1832 tariff had set a duty of fifty per cent ad valorem on woolen manufactures generally and on ready-made clothing, but only five per cent on certain cloths valued at thirty-five cents a square yard or less. The Verplanck bill left the latter provision unchanged, but lowered the rate on higher-priced woolens to forty per cent in 1833, thirty per cent in 1834, and twenty per cent in 1835 (Statutes, 4:584; Register of Debates, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 958–59).
3. The December 20, 1832, replevin law provided that anyone whose goods were seized or detained for failing to pay federal duties could file for a writ of replevin authorizing the sheriff to recover the property. The law gave legal protection to violators of the customs laws, but did not directly criminalize voluntary compliance with them (South Carolina Acts and Resolutions, December 1832 session, pp. 15–20).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington. Jan’ry. 8th. 1833

My son.

yours of the 22nd. ult. has been recd. My health for a few days has not been good—the labour has been very oppressive which I have been obliged to meet since my return to the city—and altho, thus far a mild winter, it has been variable & damp, and has occasioned many colds, from which I have not been exempted. I have had a bad cough & pain in my left side, from which I am not relieved, but slowly mending.

My former letters advised you that you were authorised to draw on me for a certain amount to close the contract with Alexander Donelson about his Lot of land, and also for any other real wants, you might have, and to pay for the Pork.¹ Should you want funds for your journey here, or pocket mony at home, before the cotton is sent to markett & sold, you can draw upon me for the same, keeping in view the amount so drawn for, to meet these two last objects, must not exceed five hundred dollars.

I write as usual with many interruptions & must close with my love to Sarah & the sweet little Rachel—to Thomas Emma, John & all our connections—our houshold including Earle & Breathit with Major Donelson & ladies, Join in kind respects to you all & friends generally.² I shall expect you to give me as early as possible the real amount of cotton made & what you have done with your mills[.] affectionately yours

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I have written Col Mansel White of Neworleans, that you would as early as possible, and as soon as it could be spared prepared ship our crop of cotton, subject to his judgment when & at what price to sell & to remit the amount as usual to Mr Josiah Nichol. I should have said, to remit to you, but I expect you will be here before a sale can be effected³

I wish you to present to Sarah for her & my dear little Rachel all the jewelry of your dear Mother, and her dear namsake.⁴ write me often. I am so surrounded with business & perplexities, that I have no time for letter writing yours affectionately

A. J.

your filly is in good condition. I have no doubt next spring she will make a noise, if she lives & is in good condition & well rode, she will suceed
on any turf. My poor guelding begins to grow & get over his illusage & promises to be a good horse—he will be 16 hands high.

ALS, Joseph S. Stern (21-1374).

1. Alexander Donelson (1816–1887) was AJ Jr.’s youngest brother by birth. AJ had been negotiating to purchase his land adjacent to the Hermitage for AJ Jr. since 1831.

2. Thomas Jefferson Donelson (1808–1895) was AJ Jr.’s birth twin, and John Donelson (1807–1879) was their elder brother. Ralph Eleazar Whitesides Earl (1788–1838), a well-known artist and widower of a niece of AJ’s late wife Rachel, was AJ’s close companion and resided at the White House. George Breathitt (1807–1833) was a Post Office Department clerk and AJ’s sometime private secretary.

3. Maunsel White (1783–1863) was AJ’s cotton factor at New Orleans, and merchant and banker Josiah Nichol (1772–1833) was his business agent in Nashville.

4. AJ’s wife, Rachel Jackson (1767–1828), had died at the Hermitage on December 22, 1828.

5. The filly Polly Baker had been brought to Washington in 1832 and run in fall races there. In the spring AJ sold her to Alfred Ingraham of Pennsylvania for $1,500.

**From Martin Van Buren**

Albany Jany 9th 1832

My dear Sir

As I anticipated in my last our friend Mr Wright has been elected with perfect unanimity amongst our friends, & I have the pleasure of sending this to you by him. You will find in him every thing that you desire, & I beg of you to speak to him with perfect freedom upon all public subjects, & be assured that you will never be disappointed either in respect to his capacity or the purity of his views. He is so perfectly consistent of with mine, & thinks in the main, upon public questions as much like myself, that you may safely test my opinion by his. I will answer for it that in respect to appointments, no mistake will be made in this State, if his opinion is respected. I shall endeavour to supply his place here for a few weeks as well as I can—a matter in the present aspect of affairs of no little importance, & will be with you as early, before the 4th. of March, as a decent respect to circumstances will admit of.1 In the mean time I shall drop you a line when I have any thing to say. Many of our friends (at Washington) are alarmed at the idea of a communication from you to Congress which they apprehend may be converted into a fire brand by the opposition, who are every where, as far as I can learn, as mischievous as ever. The present condition of the nullifiers is perhaps as far as it respects public opinion the very worst state they can be in, & I am certain that you will not make a new move before it is absolutely necessary. Our friends appear to think that such necessity cannot exist until after the 1st. of Feby at least.2 Of this you can judge better than I but, as my letters are very anxious I could not do less than touch the point. The appointment of DeWitt has been very badly recd. here. He is a well disposed man.
but vastly inferior, in the general estimation of the people, to a station like the one in question, & I think there must have been blame in some quarter in respect to the nomination recommendation, but enough of this.\(^3\) Remember me affectionately to all your family & believe me to be as ever truly yours

M Van Buren


1. Following the unanimous recommendation of a party legislative caucus, the New York legislature on January 4 had elected Silas Wright (1795–1847) to fill the U.S. Senate seat vacated by newly elected governor William L. Marcy. March 4 was inauguration day, when Van Buren would join AJ as vice-president for his second term.

2. The South Carolina nullification ordinance had designated February 1, 1833, as the date for nullification to go into effect.


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From Levi Woodbury

Navy Department
January 9th. 1833

The undersigned would respectfully state to the President, in pursuance of his request, the views entertained by the undersigned on the subject of Mr. Serrurier’s communication concerning his seat at the dinner parties given by the President.

The undersigned believes it to be the right of the President to regulate the hospitalities of his own table, without making it in any degree the topic of diplomatic or official discussion with any person.

This seems to apply as well to dinners at which Foreign Ministers are a part of the company—as those where they are not; all dinners being announced invariably in the same way in the notes of invitation and all being usually attended by some guests, who are neither agents from other governments or members of the Presidents Cabinet.

No guest has a right to interrogate the President whether the dinner be technically—a dinner for Foreign Ministers—for the Cabinet—for members of Congress—for all combined—or for none of them—and the seats of the guests at his table—under such invitations as before named—must be left exclusively to the host, either requesting them to be seated as convenient to each, or to be seated in some prescribed order.

Should the President at any time be pleased to adopt any particular form and the seat assigned to any gentleman not be agreeable to him personally, it is if complaint at all be proper, a subject of personal complaint, and not according to the official situation of the individual, a subject of diplomatic, cabinet or congressional consideration.
On the other hand The undersigned would further observe, that if the President should consider it proper to issue dinner invitations to gentlemen, stating, that they were requested to attend in their official capacities and if in that event he should deem it proper to arrange their seats at his table in strict accordance to their official rank—it is believed—that the adjustment of that rank is a subject at his own table exclusively to be fixed by the Head of every government according to its own views and having decided it in any particular way it becomes the duty of all foreign agents, who choose to be present on such public occasions, to acquiesce in the forms and etiquette adopted on those occasions by the government near which they reside.

Such forms under similar and especially under different kinds of government may in some respects differ and in others agree. But each country must be left to settle them for itself—and if it treats all foreigners of like rank in a similar manner as regards those forms—none of them have cause, either in a social or political point of view, to interfere.

So far as relates to the forms heretofore established by the Executive government in this country on the occasions of its public dinners—the undersigned would advise that if any such forms exist they should continue unchanged—the subject in his opinion being of too small importance for discussion and revision.

If none such have been established, it would then seem proper to the undersigned, that on any public occasions, where foreign ministers are invited in their official capacities to the Presidents House—he should, as usual, treat them like representatives of other and independent governments and being also strangers, that they should have assigned to them, as matter of courtesy, seats next to the Chief Magistrate and his own family.

If the public occasion be of a social character in his own house the Cabinet Secretaries would not seem to the undersigned to be deemed a part of his family.

But if the occasion were a political one or not within his own house the Cabinet might with propriety be considered as belonging to his official family and in that case be entitled to precedence over the Foreign Ministers.

In either case, however, whether they receive precedence or not, which to the undersigned seems very immaterial, no reason can be seen for separating the members of the Cabinet from each other they being all equally members of his official family.

Levi Woodbury

LS copy, DLC-Woodbury Papers (24-0831). Woodbury (1789–1851) was secretary of the Navy. Louis Barbé Charles Sérurier (1775–1860) was the French minister to the United States and head of the diplomatic corps at Washington. Around November 1831, Livingston had informed Sérurier that henceforth Cabinet officers would take precedence over foreign diplomats in entering and seating at ceremonial occasions and formal dinners. Sérurier had
protested the change as a departure from universally accepted practice and an indignity to foreign governments. Pending a further resolution, at several dinners in 1832 Cabinet members and diplomats entered and were seated alternately.

On December 12, 1832, Sérurier received an invitation to a White House dinner at which, as the Cabinet had determined that day, its members and the presiding officers of Congress would enter and be seated first. Sérurier declined to attend and wrote Livingston in protest on December 16, saying that if the practice persisted he would be compelled to consult his government (DNA-RG 59, M53-8). Livingston replied on February 5, 1833, that granting domestic secretaries precedence over foreign ministers had first been adopted as the rule in 1814, when it was believed to accord with European practice, that AJ saw “no reason to change” it now, and that he could not accept official communications on the subject (DNA-RG 59, M38-5).

From William Chase Barney

Baltimore Janry. 12th. 1833

Sir,

I hope you will not deem me too presumptuous in thus throwing myself upon your generosity. I am the son of Major Barney formerly Naval Officer of the Port of Baltimore. Having almost completed my education, and about to commence the active duties of a man, I see around me a large family of helpless sisters, all younger than myself and wholly dependant upon my Mother. I consider the obligation upon me to contribute to their support too strong to be resisted. I am therefore induced to apply to your excellency, under the hope that something might be granted me in one of the departments of the government to which a salary is affixed not more than proportionate to the services I might render. For my qualifications I recommend the accompanying letter to your consideration, and should you deem me worthy of your favour, your generosity will forever prove the themes of gratitude to your obedient Servant

William Barney Junr.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Refered to the Department of State. The Grandfather of this youth had many claims upon his country—his grandson being a fine youth part of the debt, may be cancelled by some office to his grandson A. J.

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-2). Barney (1814–1892) was attending St. Mary’s College in Baltimore. His enclosure was probably a letter of high praise that St. Mary’s president Samuel Eccleston had written to his mother, Mary Chase Barney (1785–1872), on December 16, 1832 (DNA-RG 59, M639-2). Barney was the grandson of Joshua Barney (1759–1818), a celebrated naval hero of the American Revolution and the War of 1812, and the son of William Bedford Barney (1781–1838), who had been naval officer (a customs post) at Baltimore from 1818 until AJ removed him in 1829, inspiring a scathing protest from Barney’s mother (Jackson Papers, 7:281–86).
From Maunsel White

New Orleans Jany. 12th. 1833.

Dear Sir,

Your very kind & friendly communication of the 22nd Decembr. I duly received and regret to learn therefrom that your Crop of Cotton had in part failed; when it arrives here, you may rely on my best exertions to promote your Interest in the sale and comply with your Instructions in remitting the proceeds with the least possible delay. I had the Honor to address you on the 14th. Decembr. last since when the price of Cotton has declined a little, & the market is now heavy owing to the apprehension entertained that a genl. war in Europe may grow out of the Belgium Question.¹

Your proclamation, was hailed here, by all parties, with the greatest enthusiasm & a public meeting called to express the peoples sentiments on the Occasion. It was one of the most numerous I ever saw in this City, & during the passage of the Resolutions & the delivery of the Speeches the countenances of the audience seemed to have been lighted up with bursts of the most enthusiastic expression of feeling & the Spirit of Resolution to support the Government, & preserve the Union, while they made the Welkin ring with applause at the mention of your name, & the services you rendered your country.² I never saw any thing so animating, interesting or expressive of the feelings which developed themselves on the Occasion: at one time when an Orator touched on the unhappy delusion which led our Brethern of South Carolina astray, the feelings of each mans Soul seemed to be depicted on his countenance expressive of the deep sorrow & regret he felt for their unhappy situation, but which passed away like a cloud that for a moment obscures the brightness of the Sun, leaving the features animated with a Fixt & steady resolution to support & protect the Union, whether menaced by Domestic or Foreign Foes. Such is the public description of the meeting the resolutions of which, have no doubt long ere this, met your Eye, but which nevertheless I take the liberty of inclosing you a copy of. From what I have seen, & what I have heard, I hazard nothing in saying that the sons of Louisiana will unite with you in preserving the Union, & on which point, they are all united.

It must indeed be a source of the greatest Satisfaction to you, to see that thro=ut the whole united states, with the exception of Virginia the people have responded to the sentiments of your Proclamation; But the Virginia doctrines are too metaphysical to bear the test of practice or be susceptible of any satisfactory constitutional explanation; were they to be admitted as contended for by them the result you point out (“the destruction of the Union”) would inevitably follow but you have appealed to the Wisdom & good sense of the people, they have responded, & with the blessing of an almighty Providence the Union will be Preserved.³
sentiments of the most sincere esteem, & profound respect I remain, your ever devoted & sincere Friend & obt St

Maunsel White

[Endorsed by AJ:] Col M. White N.O. L—inclinging resolutions approving proclamation, & against nullification & disunion—to be filed with others on this subject. A. J.

ALS, TNJ (21-1407).

1. AJ had written White on December 22, 1832, giving news of his small cotton crop and directing White to use his best judgment when to sell it and to direct the proceeds to Josiah Nichol or AJ Jr. in Nashville. White had written AJ on December 14 with news of current cotton prices (Jackson Papers, 10:745–46, 725–26). Belgians had revolted against Dutch rule in 1830 and the Kingdom of Belgium was established in 1831. King William I of the Netherlands had refused to accept Belgian independence and threatened war. Britain, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia had cooperated, so far unsuccessfully, to try to impose a diplomatic settlement confirming Belgian independence.

2. White had been a vice president at a public meeting in New Orleans on January 2 that reportedly drew 1500 people. It adopted resolutions approving AJ's proclamation, sustaining his efforts to uphold the laws and preserve the Union, and applauding South Carolina Unionists' resistance to nullification (Charleston Courier, January 15, 1833; Philadelphia National Gazette, January 22).

3. AJ's proclamation had charged that the nullification ordinance prescribed for South Carolinians “a course of conduct in direct violation of their duty as citizens of the United States, contrary to the laws of their country, subversive of its Constitution, and having for its object the destruction of the Union” (Richardson, 2:640). AJ had written White on December 22 that “if really the virginia doctrine prevails, that a state has a right to seede, & the others have no right to preserve the Union, it reduces every thing to anarchy & strikes at the very existance of society” (Jackson Papers, 10:745). Support for nullification was reportedly strong in Virginia. On December 13, Governor John Floyd had conveyed the South Carolina ordinance to the Virginia legislature with approving commentary. On December 20, a committee had reported resolutions reproving nullification but also denouncing the doctrines of AJ's proclamation as unconstitutional. Debate on them continued through January.

To Martin Van Buren

(Private) Washington January 13th 1833—

My Dr. Sir,

yours of the 9th. instant was handed to me by Mr. Wright last night, with whom I had some conversation on our general concerns, and I congratulate your state & my country, for sending us a man of his integrity, talents & firmness, at the present crisis—it will give me pleasure to consult him on all your local concerns—and here I would remark that the Secretary of State and many of your friends in Newyork were the cause of the selection of Mr Dewit.
I have recd. several letters from you which remain unanswered. you know I am a bad correspondent at any time—lately I have been indisposed by cold, & surrounded with the nullifiers of the south, & the Indians in the south, & west; that has occupied all my time, not leaving me a moment for private friendship, or political discussion with a friend.

I beg of you not to be disturbed by any thing you hear from the alarmists at this place—many nullifiers are here under disguise, working hard to save Calhoun & would disgrace their country & the Executive to do it.¹ Be assured that I ha[ve &] will act with all the forbearance [. . .] to do my duty—and extend that protection to our good citizens & the officers of our Government in the south, who are charged with the execution of the laws: but it would destroy all confidence in our government, both at home and abroad, was I to sit with my arms folded & permit our good citizens in So Carolina who are standing forth in aid of the laws to be imprisoned, fined, and perhaps hung under the ordinance of South Carolina & the laws to carry it into effect, all which, are palbable violations of the constitution & subversive of every right of our citizens. Was this to be permitted the Government would loose the confidence of its citizens & it would induce disunion every where.

No my friend, the crisis must be now met with firmness, our citizens protected, & the modern doctrine of nullification & secession put down forever—for we have yet to learn, whether some of the eastern states may not secede or nullify, if the tariff is reduced. I have to look at both ends of the union to preserve it. I have only time to add, that as So Carolina, has by her replevin, & other laws, closed our courts, and authorised the Governor to raise 12,000 men to keep them closed, giving all power [to] the sheriffs to use this army as the posse comitatus, I must appeal to congress to cloath our officers & marshall with the same power to aid them in executing the laws, & apprehending those who may commit treasonable acts. This call upon congress must be made as long before the 1rst. of Feby next as will give congress time to act before that day, or I would be chargeable with neglect of my duty, & as congress are in session, and as I have said in my message, which was before the So. C. ordinance reached me, if I wanted other powers were wanted I would appeal to congress, was I therefore to act without the aid of congress, or without communicating to it, I would be branded with the epithet, tyrant—from these remarks you will at once see the propriety of my course, & be prepared to see the communication I will make to congress on the 17th. instant, which will leave congress ten days to act upon it before the 1rst of February after it is printed.² The parties in So. C. are arming on both sides, & drilling in the night, & I expect soon to hear that a civil war of extermination has commenced. I will meet all things with deliberate firmness & forbearance, but wo, to those nullifiers who shed the first blood. The moment I am prepared with proof I will direct prosecutions for treason to be instituted.
against the leaders, and if they are surrounded with 12,000 bayonets our marshall shall be aided by 24,000 & arrest them in the midst thereof—nothing must be permitted to weaken our government at home or abroad.

Virginia except a few nullifiers & politicians, is true to the core; I could march from that state 40,000 men in forty days—nay, they are ready in N.C. in Tennessee, in all the western states, and from good old democratic Pennsylvania I have a tender of upwards of 50,000—and from the borders of So. C. in No. C. I have a tender of one entire Regt. The Union shall be preserved. I write as usual in great haste

In haste yr friend

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I will be happy to hear from you often, & see you as early as a just sense of delicacy will permit. My whole household salute thee affectionately A J

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (21-1410).

1. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina was nullification’s chief theoretician and exponent. Elected vice-president with AJ in 1828 but supplanted by Van Buren in 1832, he had resigned his lame-duck vice-presidency on December 28 for a seat in the Senate, to which the South Carolina legislature had elected him on December 11.

2. Discussing nullification in his fourth annual message to Congress on December 4, 1832, AJ had pledged that “should the exigency arise rendering the execution of the existing [revenue] laws impracticable from any cause whatever, prompt notice of it will be given to Congress, with a suggestion of such views and measures as may be deemed necessary to meet it” (Richardson, 2:599). He addressed Congress on January 16 (below).

From Robert Minns Burton

Lebanon January 13th AD 1833

Dear General

Through your kindness I received the Proclamation shortly after it was issued and have read it over and over again with a satisfaction inexpressible. no state paper was ever better timed and surely none ever met with such universal approbation many men who have hitherto been opposed to you with an enmity that seemed irreconcileable, have on the appearance of the Proclamation yielded their opposition and have pledged themselves to support your administration. we had an unusually large meeting of the Citizens of this County at Lebanon on the 8th of January a Preamble and Resolutions were adopted expressive of the views the people here entertaine of the movements of the Dominant party in South Carolina and the determination on their part to support you in your exertions to check the spirit of Disunion. at the request of the committee I drew the Preamble and Resolutions—and I have felt so much on this subject that I fear that they may be deemed too strong. at the request of the Committee

•  January 1833  •
your neighbours and friends, I send you inclosed the proceedings of our meeting in our Village paper which I hope you can find time to read. you will perceive that Maj Bill Martin was a member of the committee and William L Martin Esq son of Colo Martin Secretary both warm in the cause. in fact I have not seen but one Nulifier since the Proclamation reached us and he is Jimy Sanders Esq of Sumner he and two or thee of his neighbours pretend to think that way but they are small and harmless.¹

When shall I have the good fortune to receve a letter from you? but for the Proclamation you inclosed me I had good reason to believe that you had forgotten me. I am undetermined as to my course in becoming a candidate for Congress. I am strongly solicited both in Davidson and my own County but I dislike to run against Bell because he has been useful in the support of your administration; is there no place that you can send him off to, so that he can be out of my way. I could not be driven to Congress after your Term of service expires. I could easily have gone in the old district, but it was changed by those who dreaded me in a future contest.²

It is reported that some provission would be made for Mr Grundy—this Session so as to put an end to the contest between him and Maj Eaton who is this? if Maj Eaton is againe before the Legislature he can and must be elected—and it is proper to know with whom he will have to contend³

I have written you a longer letter than I intended for I am aware that you have too much business before you to devote much time to your friends—Martha joins with me in the kindest wishes for your heath and hapiness. very sincerely your friend

Robert M Burton

[Endorsed by AJ:] answered this 30th. Janry 1833.

ALS, DLC (42). Burton (1800–1843) was a lawyer in Lebanon, Tennessee. His wife Martha H. Donelson Burton (1809–1873) was a niece of Rachel Jackson. AJ replied on January 30 (below).

1. January 8 was the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans. The Lebanon meeting adopted resolutions approving further tariff reduction but condemning nullification and pledging to uphold the laws and the Union, by force if necessary. The Nashville National Banner reported on January 16 that Burton “urged their adoption with his usual eloquence and zeal” and “even excelled himself.” Bill Martin was perhaps William Martin (1781–1843), a sometime Williamson County legislator who had served as a major under AJ in the War of 1812. His cousin William Martin (1765–1846), who had been a lieutenant colonel of Tennessee volunteers in the war and later a bitter foe of AJ, was the father of the meeting’s secretary, Lebanon lawyer William L. Martin (1804–1865). James Sanders (1764–1836) of Sumner County was AJ Donelson’s stepfather.

2. Congressman John Bell (1796–1869) of Nashville had reported the Indian removal bill in 1830. His district was redrawn in the 1832 apportionment to include Wilson County. Burton had been defeated for Congress in his old district in 1831. Nashville and Lebanon are the respective seats of Davidson and Wilson counties.

3. The Tennessee legislature had balloted in October 1832 for a successor to U.S. senator Felix Grundy (1777–1840), whose term would expire on March 3, 1833. In a three-way
From George Colbert et al.

[In 1832, Jackson had sent John Coffee (1772–1833) to conclude a cession and removal treaty with the Chickasaw Indians in Mississippi. It was to replace the 1830 Treaty of Franklin, negotiated by Coffee and John Eaton, which became void when the Chickasaws were unable to locate a satisfactory new home in the West under its provisions. Coffee was the surveyor of federal public lands in Alabama and a veteran Indian negotiator, and also Jackson’s intimate friend, former comrade-in-arms, and nephew by marriage.

After a sometimes contentious month-long negotiation, Coffee and the Chickasaws, led by principal chief Levi Colbert, signed a treaty and supplemental articles at Pontotoc Creek, Miss., on October 20 and 22, 1832. The treaty ceded to the U.S. all Chickasaw territory east of the Mississippi River. The government engaged to survey and sell the ceded lands and to place the proceeds in a permanent fund for the use of the Chickasaws, after deducting the costs of survey and sale and of Chickasaw emigration and resettlement in the West. The Chickasaws were to resume their search for a trans-Mississippi homeland, but if they failed to secure one before their lands were ready for sale, they were to retain temporary reserves within their ceded domain of one square mile for each adult and two or more square miles for families (Indian Treaties, 2:356–64).

On November 22, 1832, a month after the treaty’s signing, Levi Colbert and sixty other Chickasaw chiefs addressed a protest against it to Jackson. They charged that Coffee had bullied them into signing the treaty and deceived them about its provisions. They offered an alternative treaty draft in its stead. Among other changes, it pledged a federal payment to the Chickasaws of $100,000 at time of removal and vested the title to the temporary reserves, reckoned at 2,500 square-mile sections, in six Chickasaw trustees instead of the government (Jackson Papers, 10:595–605; DNA-RG 75, M234-136). In another address to Jackson, drawn up the same day, the Chickasaws authorized a delegation to carry their memorial to Washington and negotiate a new treaty. It consisted of four Chickasaws—Tishomingo (c1736–1838), Ishtimolukta or Greenwood, Levi Colbert’s brother George Colbert (c1764–1839), and George’s adopted son Pitman Colbert (c1797–1853)—and three whites: former Alabama legislator John D. Terrell, Chickasaw subagent John L. Allen (d. 1865), and Levi Colbert’s nephew-in-law John A. Bynum (Jackson Papers, 10:606). Tishomingo subsequently declined going. Coffee had expelled Terrell from the Pontotoc treaty ground during the negotia-
tion, accusing him of fomenting Chickasaw discontent to serve his own speculative ends.

Alerted to the Chickasaws’ intent, Coffee left for Washington in December to explain and defend his treaty. Terrell reached the capital ahead of the rest of the Chickasaw delegation and presented its memorial and treaty draft to Jackson on December 20 (Jackson Papers, 10:715–17, 743). Jackson had already, on December 12, submitted Coffee’s treaty to the Senate for its advice and consent.]

Washington City 14th January 1833

Sir:

In obedience to your wishes expressed to us on Friday last we have respectfully considered your suggestions in relation to depositing the proceeds of the twenty-five hundred sections, in the hands of the Government for depositing. It is presumed no difficulty will arise in modulating both treaties to this effect so as to leave all moneys in the hands of the Government subject to a check of the Nation at pleasure.

This delegation feels it due to the President, and themselves to present for his consideration their powers, and promptly say to him that they act now as they have constantly done in perfect submission and good feeling, and are ready to open the negotiation generously—in all things within their powers. This delegation entertains for Govr. Cass, the most respectful impressions, as a great and good man; but as this matter commenced with Genl. Coffee, and as the treaty has gone to the world and the Senate in his name we have no wish to change the Commissioner. Genl. Coffee has leisure, Mr. Cass is pressed for time, and we want this question finished—we are content to negotiate with Genl. Coffee alone. It is rumored that the treaty before the Senate, very probably, will be acted on today, we most respectfully beg leave to remind you of your promise to have that treaty suspended—fearful from the great press of business before you, it may have escaped your recollection. We have the Honor to be with profound respect your Obt. Servants,

Geo. Colbert his X mark
Green Wood his X mark
Pitman Colbert
John L. Allen

[Endorsed by A.J.:] Referred to the Secretary of War, that he may authorise Genl Coffee to meet the chiefs, in conjunction with the Secretary of War; or alone, if the Sec. should prefer it. A. J.

LS in John L. Allen’s hand, DNA-RG 75 (21-1414). Copies, DNA-RG 46 (21-1417). SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 4, p. 15 (Serial 247). At A.J.’s direction, Secretary of War Cass wrote Coffee and Eaton, both in Washington, this same day asking them to meet the Chickasaw delegates, explain the treaty, and “satisfy them of the great liberality” of its terms. The next day, January 15, Cass wrote George M. Troup of Georgia, chairman of the
Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, with AJ’s request to hold off action on the treaty during the discussions (DNA-RG 75, M21-9).

Eaton wrote Cass on January 21 that he and Coffee had met the Chickasaws on January 19, but that Coffee “quickly withdrew” in light of the “want of confidence in him” declared in the Chickasaws’ November 22 memorial. Eaton reported that the Chickasaws’ main objective was to have the fund from land sales placed under their own control. Eaton deemed this unwise, as it would throw the Indians into dependence on the government for support if the fund was “wasted through any improvident management.” He also challenged the delegation’s negotiating authority on grounds that its November 22 credentialing address, being signed by only a few chiefs instead of the whole nation, was of doubtful legitimacy, and that its wording empowered the seven-man delegation to act only as a united body with all members present, including the absent Tishomingo. Coffee also wrote Cass on January 21, saying that his treaty was fairly negotiated and fully satisfactory to the Chickasaws. He blamed Terrell and Allen for manufacturing subsequent complaint and branded the November 22 memorial “a tissue of falsehood and misrepresentation” (SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 4, pp. 17–23, Serial 247). Cass forwarded both letters to Troup on January 24, deeming “any further communication” with the Chickasaws “unnecessary” and saying that AJ saw no need for further delay (DNA-RG 75, M21-9). On February 28 the Senate took up the Treaty of Pontotoc Creek, approved some secondary amendments, and voted its advice and consent by 23 to 4 (Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:317–21).

From Leonard Shryock Johns

Pittsburgh, Jan. 14 1833.

Respected Sir:

I have understood lately that Mr. Phillips, Editor of the Pittsburgh Manufacturer, is an applicant for publishing the Laws, &c of the U.S. in Pittsburgh. I have ever since your first election to the Presidency been appointed for that purpose—and why I should now be supplanted I am unable to determine. Your Excellency has received my paper, the “Allegheny Democrat,” for the last eight years, and upwards, and during that time, it must be conceded, the paper has supported your cause with zeal and spirit. I have not troubled your Excellency for an office—all I asked and received was the publication of a few public advertisements, which rarely exceed in revenue $100. I hope this appeal to your Excellency for a continuation of the favour of the U.S. Department, will not be unavailing. I have not got up a formal application for re-appointment. Were it necessary I would immediately make one. My attachment to your cause had its origin in 1824. I have ever since been, and still remain and undoubtedly will be, your devoted friend.

I will shortly transmit some letters to the State Department in favour of my reappointment. As an Editor, since the late election, I have lost several subscribers among your enemies, for sustaining you—and I do hope that no calumny imputing to me any other sentiment but that of uncompromising friendship for you, will gain credence. I remain your Excellency’s humble & obedient servant,

Leonard S. Johns, Editor of Allegheny Democrat.
P.S. I hope your Excellency will not be offended at the liberty I take in addressing you relative to so trifling a matter. It is not the sum rec’d. for the public printing that induces me to urge my reappointment—but, the deleterious influence which a withdrawal of the countenance of the U.S. Executive, would have on the fortunes of my newspaper. L S. J.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Refered to the Secretary of State A. J.

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (21-1426). Johns (1805–1871) had become editor of the Pittsburgh Allegheny Democrat in 1827. Richard Phillips (d. 1857) and William B. Conway edited the Pittsburgh American Manufacturer. The State Department annually designated up to three newspapers in each state to publish new U.S. laws, congressional resolutions, and treaties, for a regular fee. John’s paper was reappointed through the next Congress.

From William Drayton

Washington 15th. January 1833—

Dear Sir,

I have just received a letter from Mr. Poinsett, in which he requests that I would communicate to you, “that he would like to have 100 sabres & as many pairs of pistols sent to the commanding officer in Charleston Harbor.” I am, dear Sir, respectfully & sincerely Yrs.

Wm. Drayton—

[Endorsed by AJ:] The Secretary of War will give the necessary orders for the transmission of the arms required above, & make the subject to Mr Poinsetts requisition A. J.

ALS, DNA-RG 107 (mAJs). Drayton (1776–1846) was a South Carolina Unionist congressman.

From David Mitchell Saunders

Gallatin January 15th. 1833

Dear Sir—

Your letter of the 30th. Dec was received by me on this morning, and I trust that I shall be excused for troubling you again in relation to the causes that elicited it. This I deem necessary in order to efface the slightest impression, (if any), that may remain in your mind, of my having so far violated every rule of decency and propriety in using any remarks opprobrious or disrespectful to you. During the session of Congress of 1830 a letter was addressed by Gen Desha to a friend of his in this place, stating that Gov Houston was then in Washington, and that he (Desha) had been waited on by Mr. Grundy and Mr. Isaacs with the view of ascertaining
from him whether he would sanction the nomination of Houston for some important office, if one should be made by the President—and that he warmly opposed it.1 This letter was exhibited whether by authority or not I am unable to say; But the impression made on my mind was that, you intended to confer on Houston some office of responsibility and dignity if the delegation from Tennessee would sanction it. At that time Gen Desha and myself were personally friendly, and I wrote him in reply to his note, commenting with some severity upon Houston, and lamenting the effect which his elevation to office by executive sanction, would have upon the character of the unfortunate female that he had taken for wife. That I should have thus expressed myself upon a subject at that time of much interest to me, and that I should have felt an interest in the character of a woman connected with me by the closest ties of consanguinity, who had been made to drink the cup of bitterness, and who was then under the gloomy reflections of her situation rendered disconsolate, and broken hearted by the idea, that the dearest and most sacred ties that connected her with him, had been rudely severed, and her peace and happiness destroyed forever, I say for having thus written, (when it is remembered too that I thought I was writing to friend) needs no apology to him who has whose bosom has felt the full flow of that generous tide of feeling that binds a husband to the partner of his bosom, and who would resist even unto death any unholy alliance to traduce her reputation. At the same time I addressed an anonymous communication to the Editors of the Intelligencer but in neither the letter written to Desha in the way of a private confidential letter, or in the communication to the Intelligencer have I used one word or expression, that I would not have used to yourself in conversation, without the least fear of exception on your part—2

Gen Desha now says in a letter to me written in answer to one that I had previously addressed to him upon this subject “I laid before the President your letter and communication, after reading them he appeared to be much irritated and excited, and used many harsh epithets in relation to you, among others the following

“Dam Saunders a contemptable puppy, does he think to presume to regulate my intercourse with my friends = Does he think to make me renounce an old tried friend Gov Houston who has fought by my side, whose shoes the contemptable puppy is not worthy to clean or black” or words to the same import. He in that conversation said and used many other epithets of you about the same nature, the particular phraseology of which is not now recalled by me.” This conversation (he alleges as an apology for repeating it) is disclosed at this time for the purpose of injuring me as the friend and supporter of Major Eaton, and “for the purpose of letting me know what was the opinions entertained of me by those whose cause I was warmly espousing. My reply to this apology was that even admitting his statement to be true which I could not take for granted, that I did not conceive that Major Eaton aught to be held responsible

· January 1833 ·
for the opinions that the President might entertain of me, and that if he 
thought by making the disclosure that he had made, that any effect was to 
be produced either upon my feelings towards the President; or upon the 
course that I was pursuing as a citizen of the country he had mistaken the 
character and quality of the material which he hoped to operate on. My 
public history since I have been active on the stage of life gives a most 
unqualified contradiction to the statements made by Desha. I have been 
a warm supporter of the President and his administration, and my confi-
dence in the head of this great nation has increased, and with the develop-
ment of events which it has been his proud fate to controul, and my open 
and decided stand in favor of the course pursued at the dissolution of the 
cabinet; and in repelling the thousand false and slanderous charges circu-
lated against Major Eaton and his lady brought me in collision with the 
my own family, and with those who I had believed would have adhered 
to you with a pertinacity proportioned to the difficulties by which you 
were surrounded, and would have suffered the severest pains and penal-
ties in the defence of him who had been to them all that one friend could 
be to another. The fear of some unpleasant consequences growing out of 
a heated contest for office which arrais relation against relation induced 
me at the instance of some my friends, to permit my name to be placed 
before you as an applicant for office. At the time this suggestion was made 
to me I was not apprised that any report had ever been made to you of 
any thing that I had said, But I am happy to find from your letter that the 
statements, repeated by Desha had no effect upon your feelings, of which 
fact I was perfectly satisfied of the very friendly reception that I met with 
from you, when I visited you in Nashville while you were last in this state. 
I have deemed it due to myself, in order that you might understand the 
subject in all its barrings, and for the purpose of entering a most solemn 
disclaimer against ever having used any opprobrious epithets in relation 
to you that I have written this letter. I fear that I have thrown myself two 
much upon your time and have abused the kindness displaid towards me 
in your very very friendly letter.

With sentiments of respect and high regard I remain your friend and 
obt servant

D. M Saunders

[Endorsed by AJ:] D. Sanders Esqr—reply to it—that the facts detailed is 
a farther proof of the perfidy of Desha—A. J

ALS, DLC (42). Saunders (d. 1835) was a lawyer in Gallatin, Tennessee. In 1829 Samuel 
Houston (1793–1863) had abruptly separated from his new wife Eliza Allen (1809–1861), 
resigned his office as governor of Tennessee, and left the state. Eliza was Saunders’s niece. In 
1830 Saunders criticized a possible appointment for Houston to then-Tennessee congress-
man Robert Desha (1791–1849). Desha reported his words to AJ, who replied, as he later 
called, that he would have slapped Saunders if he were present. Desha later broke with AJ 
over the Eaton controversy, joining those who charged that AJ should not have brought John
Eaton into the Cabinet because his wife, Margaret O’Neale Timberlake Eaton (1799–1879), was unfit for decent society. On December 12, 1832, Saunders, now a candidate for the legislature and worried that Desha would use AJ’s earlier remarks against him, wrote AJ to ask his present feelings toward him. AJ replied on December 30 that he had never felt hostile toward Saunders except on Desha’s report, and that, having since come to know Desha as a liar, he had passed that off to his “fondness for tatling” and “thought no more about it” (Jackson Papers, 10:720–21, 761).

1. Jacob C. Isacks (1767–1835) was a Tennessee congressman.
2. The Washington National Intelligencer was a leading anti-administration paper.

To the United States Congress

[Alluding to nullification in his December 4, 1832, annual message to Congress, Jackson had observed that in his view existing laws were “fully adequate” to enforce collection of the revenue. However, he pledged that “should the exigency arise” rendering their execution “impracticable from any cause whatever,” he would give “prompt notice” to Congress, “with a suggestion of such views and measures as may be deemed necessary to meet it” (Richardson, 2:599). Accordingly, on January 16, 1833, he addressed a message to both houses of Congress reviewing the progress of nullification in South Carolina and recommending measures to counter it. He appended fourteen documents, including the South Carolina convention’s nullification ordinance, its addresses to the people of the state and of the United States, messages and proclamations of present South Carolina governor Robert Y. Hayne and his predecessor James Hamilton Jr., the three implementation acts of the South Carolina legislature, general and company orders under the mobilization act, Jackson’s own proclamation of December 10, 1832, and letters of instruction from Treasury secretary McLane to the U.S. district attorney and customs collector at Charleston. Signed copies of Jackson’s message were delivered to both House and Senate (DSs, DNA-RG 46 and DNA-RG 233 [21-1451]) and were printed by them with the attached documents (SDoc 30, 22d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 230; HRDoc 45, 22d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 233). The message also appears, without the attachments, in Richardson, 2:610–32.

The Library of Congress holds an undated running memorandum penned by Jackson in anticipation of addressing Congress. It also holds a composite draft of his January 16 message in several hands and in close to final form, along with some stray pages of a later copy of that draft that amended it further toward the final delivered version. Jackson’s memorandum and the composite draft are printed here.]

Memorandum by Jackson

The Ordinance of the convention of So Carolina and the Governors message to the assembly. The presidents message based upon them. The
report of Preston with the act of the Legislature of So. Carolina based upon the ordinance—with the Governors proclamation and Genl order for volunteers, with the open and avowed object to oppose the laws of the United States with force, and to enforce the State laws in open & palpable violation of the constitution of the U. States and threatening with punishment all Citizens who adhere to their allegiance to the general Government &c. Is this not rebellion & Treason

Directions to prosecute all found in arms—&c &c &c—

Message to congress to be accompanied with the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, and the above documents—with a call upon the States of Newyork, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Ohio Tennessee Alabama and Georgia and So Carolina, for thirty five thousand men to be ready to march at a moments warning. Those of So Carolina to be subject to the call of the civil authority, when in the execution of process opposed by force & forthwith to be armed and with the regular force now in the forts, to compose the possee comitatus of the civil authority

The chiefs of this rebellion & treason to be arrested wheresoever found &c placed under a strong guard until the can be delivered over for trial to the courts—

2nd. section of 6th. article of the constitution—declares that this &c—shall be the supreme law of the land &c &c &c &c

9th Do. 2d. article—defines the oath of the President “that he will to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the U. States

14th do. 1rst. article authorises congress “To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrection & repel invasion.”

10th section 1rst. art. No state

AD, DLC (73; 21-1296). AJ may have begun this memorandum at any time after receiving the South Carolina documents mentioned in its first part, which James O’Hanlon sent to him from Columbia on December 20, 1832, and which AJ received on December 26 (Jackson Papers, 10:741–43). Some of the documents AJ attached to his January 16 message were the copies sent by O’Hanlon. On several of them AJ penned brief endorsements (DNA-RG 46; 21-1499).

1. On November 27, 1832, then-governor James Hamilton Jr. (1786–1857) had addressed the South Carolina legislature, calling for measures to implement the nullification ordinance of November 24. On December 17, the legislature had adopted resolutions by William Campbell Preston (1794–1860), asking new governor Robert Young Hayne (1791–1839) to issue a proclamation “warning the good people of this State against the attempt of the President of the United States to seduce them from their allegiance.” On December 20, Hayne issued a proclamation summoning South Carolinians “to sustain the dignity and protect the liberties of the State,” by arms if necessary. The same day, the legislature adopted further resolutions by Preston attacking AJ’s December 10 proclamation, and South Carolina adjutant general John B. Earle issued a general order for the formation of volunteer companies “to suppress insurrection, repel invasion, or support the civil authorities in the

2. AJ appended to his message most of the documents named above and two letters of instruction from Treasury secretary McLane, though no “report.” He proposed no military movements or arrests.

3. Article 6 of the constitution decrees that “This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.” The president’s oath in Article 2 is “that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.” Article 1, Section 9 authorizes Congress “To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions.” Article 1, Section 10 prohibits states from various acts, including levying duties or keeping troops in peacetime without congressional consent. AJ’s enumeration of constitutional clauses mingled section and paragraph numbers.

Draft

[The opening section of Jackson’s message does not survive in draft. In it Jackson reviewed the progress of events thus far, quoting from the South Carolina ordinance and Governor Hamilton’s November 27 message to the legislature and concluding that “there can be no doubt” of the state’s intent to implement nullification and array itself in defiance of federal authority starting February 1 (Richardson, 2:610–15). The extant composite draft begins on the sixth page of the message as printed by Congress.]

A request has been regularly made of the Secretary of state of South Carolina for authentic copies of the acts which have been passed for the purpose of enforcing the Ordinance, but up to the date of the latest advices that request had not been complied with: and on the present occasion therefore reference can only be made to those acts as published in the newspapers of the State.1 The acts which have been passed for the purpose of enforcing the ordinance, and to which it is deemed proper to invite the particular attention of Congress are these—

1. “an act to carry into effect in part an ordinance to nullify certain acts of the Congress of the United States purporting to be laws laying duties on the importation of foreign commodities, passed in convention of this State at Columbia on the 24th. of November 1832.”

This act provides that any goods seized or detained under pretence of securing the duties or for the nonpayment of duties or under any process, order, or decree or other pretext contrary to the intent and meaning of the ordinance may be recovered by the owner or consignee by an act of replevin: that in case of refusing to deliver them or removing them so that the replevin cannot be executed, the sheriff may restrain seize the personal estate of the offender to double the amount of the goods; and if
any attempt is made to retake or seize them, it is the duty of the sheriff to recapture them; and that any person who shall disobey the process or remove the goods, and any one who shall attempt to retake or seize the goods under pretence of securing the duties or for nonpayment of duties or under any process or decree contrary to the intent of the ordinance, shall be fined and imprisoned, besides being liable for any other offence involved in the act.

It also provides that any person arrested or imprisoned on any judgment or decree obtained in any federal court for duties shall be entitled to the benefit secured by the habeas corpus act of the state in cases of unlawful arrest, and may maintain an action for damages; and that if any estate shall be sold under such judgment or decree, the sale shall be held illegal.

It also provides that any jailor who receives a person arrested committed on any process or other judicial proceedings to enforce the payment of duties, and any one who hires his house as a jail to receive such person, shall be fined and imprisoned:

And, finally, it provides that persons paying duties may recover them back with interest.

2. is The next is called “an act to provide for the security and protection of the people of the State of South Carolina.”

This act provides, that, if the government of the United States or any officer thereof shall by the employment of naval or military force attempt to coerce the State of South Carolina into submission to the Acts of Congress declared by the ordinance null and void, or to resist the enforcement of the ordinance, or of the laws passed in pursuance thereof, or in case of any armed or forcible resistance thereto, the governor is authorised to resist the same, and to order into service the whole or so much of the military force of the state as he may deem necessary; and that in case of any overt act of coercion or intention to commit the same, manifested by an unusual assemblage, of naval or military forces in or near the state, or the occurrence of any circumstances indicating that armed force is about to be employed against the state or in resistance to its laws, the governor is authorised to accept the services of such volunteers and call into service such portions of the militia as may be required to meet the emergency.

The act also provides for organizing and calling on the volunteers and accepting the service of the volunteers, and organizing the militia, embracing all free white males between the ages of 16 and 60, and for the purchase of arms, ordnance and ammunition; and enacts. It also declares that the power conferred on the governor shall be applicable to all cases of insurrection or invasion or imminent danger thereof, and to cases where the laws of the state shall be opposed and the execution thereof forcibly resisted by combinations too powerful to be resisted suppressed by the power vested in the sheriffs and other civil officers, and declares it to be the duty of the governor to in every such case
to call forth such portions of militia and volunteers as may be necessary promptly to suppress such combinations and cause the laws of the state to be executed.

3d. is "an act for concerning the oath required by the ordinance passed in convention at Columbia the 24th. of November 1832."

This act prescribes the form of the oath, which is to obey and execute the ordinance and all acts passed by the legislature in pursuance thereof; and directs the time and manner of taking it by the officers of the state, civil, judiciary and military.

It is believed that other acts have been passed embracing provisions for enforcing the ordinance, but I have not yet been able to procure them.

I transmit, however, a copy of Govr. Hamilton's message to the Legislature of So. Ca., of Govr. Hayne's inaugural address to the Legislature, as also of his proclamation, and a general order of the Governor and Commander in Chief dated the 20th. of December, giving public notice that the services of volunteers will be accepted, under the act already referred to.3

If these measures cannot be defeated and overcome by the powers conferred by the constitution on the federal government, the constitution must be considered as incompetent to its own defence, the supremacy of the laws is at an end, and the rights and liberties of the citizens can no longer receive protection from the government of the Union. They not only abrogate the acts of Congress commonly called the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832, but they prostrate and sweep away, at once, and without exception every act and every part of every act imposing any amount whatever of duty on any foreign merchandise, and, virtually, every existing act which has ever been passed authorising the collection of the revenue, including the act of 1816, and also the collection law of 1799, the constitutionality of which has never been questioned.4 It is not only those duties which are charged to have been imposed for the protection of manufactures that are thereby repealed, but all others, though laid for the purpose of revenue merely, and upon articles in no degree suspected of being objects of protection. The whole revenue system of the United States in South Carolina is obstructed and overthrown; and the Government is absolutely prohibited from collecting any part of the public revenue within the limits of that state. Henceforth, not only the citizens of South Carolina and of the United States, but the subjects of foreign states may import any description or quantity of merchandise into the ports of South Carolina, without the payment of any duty whatsoever. That state is thus relieved from the payment of any part of the public burthens; and duties and imposts are not only rendered not uniform throughout the United States, but a direct and ruinous preference is given to the ports of that state over those of all the other states of the Union, in manifest violation of the positive provisions of the constitution.

In point of duration, also, those aggressions upon the authority of Congress, which, by the ordinance, are made part of the fundamental law
of South Carolina, are absolute, indefinite, and without limitation. They neither prescribe the period when they shall cease, nor indicate any conditions upon which those who have thus undertaken to arrest the operation of the laws are to retrace their steps and rescind their measures. They offer to the United States no alternative but unconditional submission. If the scope of the ordinance is to be received as the scale of concession, their demands can be satisfied only by a repeal of the whole system of revenue laws and by abstaining from the collection of any duties and imposts whatsoever.

It is true that in the address to the people of the United States, by the convention of South Carolina, after announcing “the fixed and final determination of the State in relation to the protecting system,” they say that “it remains for us to submit a plan of taxation in which we would be willing to acquiesce, in a liberal spirit of concession, provided we are met in due time and in a becoming spirit by the states interested in manufactures.” In the opinion of the convention an equitable plan would be that “the whole list of protected articles should be imported free of all duty, and that the revenue derived from import duties should be raised exclusively from the unprotected articles or that whenever a duty is imposed upon protected articles imported, an excise duty of the same rate shall be imposed upon all similar articles manufactured in the United States.” The address proceeds to state, however, that they “are willing to make a large offering to preserve the Union, and with a distinct declaration that it is a concession on our part, we will consent that the same rate of duty may be imposed upon the protected articles that shall be imposed upon the unprotected, provided that no more revenue be raised than is necessary to meet the demands of the Government for constitutional purposes, and provided also that a duty substantially uniform be imposed upon all foreign imports.”

It is also true that in his message to the legislature, when urging the necessity of providing “means of securing their safety by ample resources for repelling force by force,” the Governor of South Carolina observed that he “cannot but think that on a calm and dispassionate review by Congress and the functionaries of the general government, of the true merits of this controversy, the arbitration by a call of a convention of all the states, which we sincerely and anxiously seek and desire, will be accorded to us.”

From the diversity of the terms indicated in these two important documents, taken in connection with the progress of recent events in that quarter, there is too much reason to apprehend without in any manner doubting the intentions of those public functionaries, that neither the terms proposed in the address of the convention, nor those alluded to in the message of the Governor would appease the excitement which has led to the present excesses. It is obvious, however, that should the latter be insisted on, they present an alternative which the general government, of itself, can by no possibility grant; since, by an express provision of the
constitution, Congress can call a convention for the purpose of proposing amendments, only “on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the states.” And it is not perceived that the terms presented in the address are more practicable than those referred to in the message.

It will not escape attention that the conditions on which it is said in the address of the convention they “would be willing to acquiesce,” form no part of the ordinance. While this ordinance bears all the solemnity of a fundamental law, is to be authoritative upon all within the limits of South Carolina, and is absolute and unconditional in its terms, the address conveys only the sentiments of the convention, in no binding or practical form. One is the act of the state; the other only the expression of the opinions of the members of the convention. To limit the effect of that solemn act, by any terms or conditions whatever, they should have been embodied in it and made of import no less authoritative than the act itself. By the positive enactments of the ordinance, the execution of the laws of the union is absolutely prohibited; and the address offers no other prospect of their being again restored, even in the modified form proposed, than what depends upon the uncertain improbable contingency that amid changing events and increasing excitements the sentiments of the present members of the convention and of their successors will remain the same.

It is to be regretted, however, that these conditions, even if they had been offered in the same binding form, are so undefined, depend upon so many contingencies, and are so directly opposed to the known opinions and interests of the great body of the American people as to be almost hopeless of attainment. The majority of the states and of the people will certainly not consent that the protecting duties shall be wholly abrogated, never to be re-enacted at any future time or in any possible contingency. As little practicable is it to provide that the “same rate of duty shall be paid on imposed upon the protected articles of all kinds that shall be imposed upon the unprotected”; which, moreover, would be severely oppressive to the poor, and in time of war, would add greatly to its rigours. And, though there can be no objection to the principle, properly understood, that no more revenue shall be raised than is necessary for the constitutional purposes of the government,—which principle has been already recommended by the Executive as the true basis of taxation,—yet it is very certain that the majority of the Union, and not South Carolina alone,—will cannot be permitted to decide what these constitutional purposes are.

The period which constitutes the due time in which the terms proposed in the Address are to be accepted, would seem to present scarcely less difficulty than the terms themselves. Though the revenue laws are already declared to be void in South-Carolina, as well as the bonds taken under them, and the judicial proceedings for carrying them into effect, yet, as the full action and operation of the ordinance are to be suspended until the 1st. of February, the interval may be assumed as the time within which it
is expected that the most complicate portion of the national legislation, a
system of long standing and affecting great interests in the community is
to be rescinded and abolished. If this be required, it is clear that a compli-
ance is impossible.

In the uncertainty, then, which exists as to the duration of the ordi-
nance and of the enactments for enforcing it, it becomes imperiously the
duty of the executive of the United States, acting with a proper regard to
all the great interests committed to his care, to treat those acts as absolute
and unlimited. They are so, as far as his agency is concerned. He can-
not either embrace or lead to the performance of the conditions. He has
already discharged the only part in his power, by the recommendations in
his annual message. The rest is with Congress and the people. And, until
they have acted, his duty will require him to look to the existing state of
things, and act under them according to his high obligations.

By these various proceedings, therefore, the state of South Carolina
has forced the general government, unavoidably, to decide the new and
dangerous alternative of permitting a state to obstruct the execution of
the laws within its limits, or seeing it attempt to execute a threat of with-
drawing from the union. That portion of the people at present exercising
the authority of the state solemnly assert their right to do either, and as
solemnly announce their determination to do one or the other.

In the my opinion of the undersigned both purposes are to be regarded
as revolutionary in their character and tendency, and subversive of the
supremacy of the laws and of the integrity of the Union. The result of
each is the same; since a state in which, by an usurpation of power, the
constitutional authority of the federal government is openly defied and set
aside, wants only the form, to be independent of the Union.

The right of the people of a single state to absolve themselves at will,
and without the consent of the other states, from their most solemn obli-
gations, and hazard the liberties and happiness of the millions compos-
ing this union, cannot be acknowledged. Such authority is believed to be
utterly repugnant both to the principles upon which the general govern-
ment is constructed and to the objects which it is expressly
formed to attain.

Against all acts which may be alleged to transcend the constitutional
power of the government, or which may be inconvenient or oppressive in
their operation, the constitution itself has prescribed the modes of redress.
It is the acknowledged attribute of free institutions, that, under them, the
empire of reason and law is substituted for the power of the sword. To no
other source can appeals for supposed wrongs be made consistently with
the obligations of South Carolina; to no other can such appeals be made
with safety at any time; and to their decisions, when constitutionally pro-
nounced, it becomes the duty no less of the public authorities than of the
people in every case to yield a patriotic submission.
That a state, or any other great portion of the people, suffering under long and intolerable oppression, and having tried all constitutional remedies without the hope of redress, may have a natural right, when their happiness can be no otherwise secured and when they can do so without greater injury to others, to absolve themselves from their obligations to the government and appeal to the last resort, needs not, for the purposes of this report on the present occasion, be denied.

[The draft here is missing five numbered pages. The corresponding text in the delivered message asserts the inviolability, short of revolution, of the constitutional compact and the illegitimacy of state interference with the revenue laws (Richardson, 2:621–23).]

tribunals which the Constitution has provided for all cases in law or equity arising under the constitution and laws of the United States, but has endeavoured to frustrate their proper action on her citizens by drawing the cognizance of cases under the revenue laws to her own tribunals, specially prepared and fitted for the purpose of enforcing the acts passed by the state to obstruct those laws, and both judges and jurors of which will be bound by the import of oaths previously taken to treat the constitution and laws of the United States in this respect as a nullity. Nor has the state made the proper appeal to public opinion and to the remedy of amendment. For, without waiting to learn whether the other states will consent to a convention, or if they do, will construe or amend the constitution to suit her views, she has of her own authority altered the import of that instrument and given immediate effect to the change. In fine, she has set her own will and authority above the constitution and laws, has made herself arbiter in her own cause, and has passed at once over all intermediate steps to measures of avowed resistance, which, unless they be submitted to, can be enforced only by the sword.

In deciding upon the course which a high sense of duty to all the people of the United States imposes upon the authorities of the Union, in this emergency, it cannot be overlooked that there is no sufficient cause for the acts of South Carolina, or for her thus placing in jeopardy the happiness of so many millions of people. Misrule and oppression, to warrant the disruption of the free institutions of the union of these states, should be great and lasting,—defying all other remedy. For causes of minor character, the government could not submit to such a catastrophe, without a violation of its most sacred obligations to the other states of the Union, who have submitted their destiny to its hands.

There is, in the present instance, no such cause either in the degree of misrule or oppression complained of, or in the hopelessness of redress by constitutional means. The long sanction they have received from the
proper authorities and from the people not less than the unexampled growth and increasing prosperity of so many millions of freemen, attest that no such oppression as would justify or even palliate such a resort, can be justly imputed either to the present policy or past measures of the federal government. The same mode of collecting duties and for the same general objects, which began with the foundation of the Government and which has conducted the country through its subsequent steps to its present enviable condition of happiness and renown has not been changed. Taxation and representation,—the great principle of the American revolution,—have continually gone hand in hand; and at all times and in every instance, no tax of any kind has been imposed without the participation,—but and, in some instances which have been complained of, with the express assent,—of a part of the representatives of South Carolina in the councils of the Government. Up to the present period, no revenue has been raised beyond the necessary wants of the country, and the authorised expenditures of the Government. And as soon as the burthen of the public debt is removed, those charged with the administration have promptly recommended a corresponding reduction of revenue.

That this system, thus pursued, has resulted in no such oppression upon South Carolina, needs no other proof than the solemn and official declaration of the late chief magistrate of that state, in his address to the legislature. In that he says that “the occurrences of the past year in connection with our domestic concerns are to be reviewed with a sentiment of fervent gratitude to the great disposer of human events; that tributes of grateful acknowledgements are due for the various and multiplied blessings he has been pleased to bestow on our people; that abundant harvests in every quarter of the state have crowned the exertions of agricultural labour; that health, almost beyond former precedent, has blessed our homes; and that there is not less reason for thankfulness in surveying our social condition.” It would, indeed, be difficult to imagine oppression, where, in the social condition of a people, there was equal cause of thankfulness as for abundant harvests and various and multiplied blessings with which a kind providence had favoured them.

Independently of these considerations, it will not escape observation, that South Carolina still claims to be a component part of the Union, and to participate in the national councils,—and to share in the public benefits without contributing to the public burthens; thus asserting the dangerous anomaly of continuing in an association without acknowledging any other obligation to its laws than what depends upon her own will.

In this posture of affairs the duty of the executive Government seems to be plain:—it inculcates a recognition of that state as a member of the Union and subject to its authority, a vindication of the just power of the Constitution, the preservation of the integrity of the union, and the execution of the laws by all constitutional means.
The Constitution, which his oath of office obliges him to support, declares that the Executive “shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed”; and, in providing that he shall, from time to time, give to Congress information of the state of the union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient, imposes the additional obligation of recommending to Congress such more efficient provision for executing the laws as may from time to time be found requisite.9

The same instrument confers on Congress the power not merely to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare; but “to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into effect the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States or in any department or officer thereof”; and also to provide for calling forth the militia for executing the laws of the Union.10 In all cases, but especially those similar to the present, the duties of the government become the measure of its power; and whenever it fails to exert a power necessary and proper to the discharge of the duty prescribed by the constitution, it violates the public trust not less than it would in transcending its proper limits. To refrain, therefore, from the high and solemn duties thus enjoined,—however painful the performance may be,—and thereby tacitly permit the rightful authority of the government to be contemned and its laws obstructed by a single state, would neither comport with its own safety nor the rights of the great body of the American people.11

[The draft here is missing twelve numbered pages. The corresponding section in the delivered message explains the impracticability of enforcing the customs laws by present means in the face of South Carolina’s threatened judicial and physical coercion, and recommends authorizing the removal of all custom houses to places of safety and the use of the military to protect the officers in their duty (Richardson, 2:626–30).]

ceeding by distress: and it may well be apprehended that it would be insufficient to insure a proper respect to the process of the constitutional tribunals in prosecutions for offences against the United States, and to protect the authorities of the United States, whether judicial or ministerial, in the performance of their duties.12

It may therefore be desirable to revive, with some modifications better adapted to the occasion the 6th. section of the Act of the 3d of March 1815, and which expired on the 4th. of March 1817 by the limitation of that of 27th. of April 1816, and to provide that in any case where suit, shall be brought against any individual in the Courts of the state for any act done under the laws of the United States, he should be authorised to
remove the said cause by petition into the Circuit Court of the United States, without any copy of the record, and that that Court should proceed to hear and determine the same as if it had been originally instituted therein.\textsuperscript{13}

Provisions less than these, consisting as they do, for the most part, rather of a revival of the policy of former acts called for by the existing emergency, than of the introduction of any unusual or rigorous enactments, would not cause the laws of the Union to be properly respected and enforced. It is believed these would prove adequate, unless the military forces of the state of South Carolina authorised by the late act of the legislature, should be actually embodied and called out in aid of their proceedings, and of the provisions of the ordinance generally. Even in that case, however, it is believed that no more will be necessary than a few modifications of its terms to adapt the act of 1795 to the present emergency, as by that act the provisions of the law of 1792 were accommodated to the crisis then existing; and by conferring the authority upon the President to give it operation during the session of Congress, and without the ceremony of a proclamation, whenever it shall be officially made known to him by the authority of any state, or by the courts of the United States, that within the limits of such state the laws of the United States will be openly opposed and their execution obstructed by the actual employment of military force or by any unlawful means whatsoever, too great to be otherwise overcome.\textsuperscript{14}

In closing this communication I should do injustice to my own feelings not to express my confident reliance upon the disposition of each Department of the Government to perform its duty, and to co-operate in all measures necessary in the present emergency.

The crisis undoubtedly invokes the fidelity of the patriot and the sagacity of the statesman; not more in mitigating the severity of improvident Legislation removing such portion of the public burthen as may be unnecessary than in preserving the good order of society and in the maintenance of well regulated liberty.

While a forbearing spirit may, and I trust, will be exercised towards the errors of our brethren in a particular quarter, duty to the rest of the union demands that open and organized resistance to the laws should not be executed with impunity.

The rich inheritance bequeathed by our fathers has devolved upon us the sacred obligation of preserving it by the same virtues which conducted them through the eventful scenes of the revolution, and ultimately crowned their struggle with the noblest model of civil institutions. They bequeathed to us a government of laws, and a federal union, founded upon the great principle of popular representation. After a successful experiment of forty four years, at a moment when the government and the union are the objects of the hopes of the friends of civil liberty
throughout the world, and in the midst of public and individual prosperity unexampled in history, we are called upon to decide whether these laws possess any force and that union the means of self preservation. The decision of this question by an enlightened and patriotic people cannot be doubtful. For myself, fellow citizens, devoutly relying upon that kind Providence, which has hitherto watched over our destinies, and actuated by a profound reverence for those institutions I have so much cause to love, and for the American people whose partiality honored me with their highest trust, I have determined to spare no effort to discharge the duty which in this conjuncture is devolved upon me. That a similar spirit will actuate the representatives of the American people is not to be questioned, and I fervently pray that the Great Ruler of nations may so guide your deliberations and our joint measures as that they may prove salutary examples, not only, to the present, but to future times and solemnly proclaim that the constitution and the laws are supreme and the Union indissoluble.

Signed Andrew Jackson
Washington Jany. 16th. 1833.

Draft, DLC (77).
1. Samuel Hammond (1757–1842) was South Carolina’s secretary of state. AJ received certified copies of the state’s three December 20 laws implementing the nullification ordinance on January 21 and transmitted them to the Senate on January 22 (Richardson, 2:632). The newspaper printings he appended to this message were probably those sent by James O’Hanlon. AJ endorsed the law authorizing military mobilization “A bill to carry into effect, the ordinance, and authorising force to be used against the United States in case she attempt by force to execute the Revenue laws said to be passed by the Legislature of So Carolina by a citizen thereof who enclosed it.” He endorsed assembly orders for the Richland Volunteer Company “Rebellion, & treason—to be filed” (DNA-RG 46; 21-1509).
2. This was the title of the military mobilization bill in the newspaper printing that AJ enclosed with his message. The official printing in the South Carolina Acts and Resolutions titled it “An ACT further to alter and amend the Militia Laws of this State.”
3. Hayne’s inaugural address to the legislature on December 13 declared his intent “to carry into full effect” the nullification ordinance and implementing legislation, and his “fixed determination to assert and uphold the sovereign authority of the State, and to enforce, by all the means that may be entrusted to my hands, her sovereign will” (SDoc 30, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 67–70, Serial 230).
4. Congress had passed a previous general tariff law in 1816. The 1799 “Act to regulate the collection of duties on imports and tonnage” had established customs districts, offices, procedures, and penalties (Statutes, 1:627–704).
5. Quoted from the nullification convention’s November 24, 1832, “Address to the People of the United States” (SDoc 30, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 58, Serial 230).
6. Quoted from Governor James Hamilton Jr.’s November 27, 1832, message to the South Carolina legislature (SDoc 30, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 66, Serial 230).
7. Article 5 of the constitution says that Congress “on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments.”
8. Paraphrased from Hamilton’s November 27 message to the legislature (SDoc 30, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 60, Serial 230).
9. Article 2, Section 3 of the constitution says that the president “shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their
Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient,” and also that “he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed.”

10. Article 1, Section 8.

11. This extant section of the composite draft ends at the bottom of a page. The corresponding text in the later copy concludes the paragraph with a crossed-out sentence, which does not appear in the delivered message: “And it cannot be doubted that the legislature will on such an occasion, when the aid of all branches of the government is necessary to maintain the authority of the laws, readily cooperate in the fulfilment of that great duty by providing such means as in its wisdom may be found proper” (DLC-77).

12. The draft is marked here for an insertion, which appears in the later copy and in the delivered message. It states the need for further measures to protect loyal law-obeying South Carolinians “against outrage and oppression” (Richardson, 2:630).

13. The draft is again marked here for an insertion, which appears in the later copy and the delivered message. It suggests providing redress in federal courts to citizens who suffer injury or loss from their disobedience to nullification (Richardson, 2:630). The 1791 resolution authorized marshals to hire temporary jails in states that had not made their jails available to hold prisoners committed under federal authority (Statutes, 1:225). Section 6 of a March 3, 1815, customs collection law provided for removing state suits or prosecutions against customs officers into federal courts. It was to expire after one year. An Act of April 27, 1816, revived it through the end of the next congressional session on March 3, 1817 (Statutes, 3:233–35, 315).

14. A law of May 2, 1792, authorized the president, upon notice from a federal judge that the laws were being obstructed “by combinations too powerful to be suppressed” by ordinary means, to call out the militia of the affected state and its neighbors “to suppress such combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed.” An Act of February 28, 1795, renewed the authorization without the requirement for prior notice from a judge. Both statutes required the president to issue a proclamation commanding insurgents to disperse (Statutes, 1:264–65, 424–25).

To Joel Roberts Poinsett

(Private) Washington Janry. 16th. 1833

My Dr. Sir,

This day I have communicated to both houses of congress the inclosed message, which has been refered to the committees on the judiciary, who we have a right to believe will promptly report a bill giving all the powers asked for.

I have recd. several letters from Gentlemen in So. Carolina, requesting to be furnished with the means of defence. Mr J. Graham, an old revolutionary patriot, a Mr Harrison and Col Levy. I have requested Genl Blair to inform Col Levy to apply to you & I request that you will make it known confidentially, that when necessary, you are authorised, & will furnish the necessary means of defence.¹

Mr. Calhoun let off a little of his ire against me to day in the Senate, but was so agitated, & confused that he made quite a failure, was replied to, with great dignity & firmness, by Major Forsythe.² Calhoun finds himself between Scylla & Caribdes & is reckless. My great desire is that the union men may put nullification & secession down in So Carolina themselves,
& save the character of the state, & add thereby to the stability of our union. You can rely on every aid that I can give—only advise me of the action of the nullifiers; The moment they are in hostile array in opposition to the execution of the laws, let it be certified to me, by the atty. for the District, or the judge, and I will forthwith order the leaders prosecuted, & arrested—if the marshal is resisted by 12,000 bayonets, I will have his possee 24,000; but the moment these rebellious faction find they are opposed by the good people of that state, with a resolution becoming freemen, and worthy the name of americans, and under the protection of the union they will yield to the power of the law, and return to their obedience.

I write in great haste, late at night, and much fatigued, & indisposed by a bad cold—you will excuse this scrawl[,] it is for your own eye—write me often, & give me the earliest intelligence of the first armed force that appears in the field to sustain the ordinance. The first act of treason committed, unites to it, all those who have aided & abetted in the excitement to the act—we will strike at the head, and demolish the monster, nulification & secession, at the threshold by the power of the law[.] I am very respectfully yr mo. obdt. servt

Andrew Jackson

ALS, PHi (21-1448). Poinsett replied on January 20 (below).

1. Graham was perhaps Revolutionary private James Graham (1761–1837) of Chester District. Harrison was probably John Hampton Harrison (1777–1837), a Unionist state legislator from Greenville. Chapman Levy (1787–1849) was a recent state legislator, and James Blair (1786–1834) was a South Carolina congressman.

2. Calhoun had taken the Senate floor directly after the reading of AJ’s message. Speaking confessedly out of order and with an “unbecoming” warmth, he accused AJ of provoking confrontation and threatening violence. He charged AJ with inconsistently upholding the Supreme Court as constitutional arbiter after spurning its rulings for the Cherokee Indians in Georgia, and warned of an impending “consolidated Government” and “military despotism.” Georgia senator John Forsyth (1780–1841) briefly replied, defending AJ and denying the parallels between South Carolina and Georgia (Register of Debates, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 100–104).

3. Thomas Lee (1769–1839) was the U.S. district judge for South Carolina, and Thomas Doughty Condy (c1798–1858) was the marshal.

From Joel Roberts Poinsett

(Private)

Charleston
16th. January 1833

My dear Sir

I transmit herewith a Circular addressed by the governor of this state to the officers of his staff, instructing them to make conditional contracts and other dispositions for the transportation of troops from the interiour to Charleston. No troops have yet been moved, but the governor’s aids are
already actively engaged in making the necessary arrangements in conformity with the instructions contained in this circular.\footnote{1}

I am somewhat at a loss how to act. I appointed some time ago a committee consisting of the ablest lawyers in the state for the purpose of taking into consideration the operation of the laws passed by our legislature in conformity with the ordinance, for the purpose of communicating to you the opinions of these Gentlemen drawn from an intimate knowledge of the law as well as a familiar acquaintance with the character and intentions of those, who may raise the question and those charged with executing the laws. They have not yet reported to me, and I regret this the more because I do not believe the revenue laws can be carried into effect by legal process, framed as the laws of the nullifiers now are; and I do not fully understand how the issue is to be brought about whereby we may stand forth in defence of the laws of the United States. I ought not to disguise from you, that even if the case should arise of the 

\textit{Posse comitatus} being called out by the U.S. Marshall, there exists a disinclination on the part of a majority of the Union party in Charleston to join in mortal conflict with their adversaries as a part of the Posse. There is scarcely a family wherein some member is not in the opposite ranks, and it is certain in such a contest father would be arrayed against son and Brother against brother. The opinion appears to prevail among them, that in taking this stand without any further authority from the federal government than a summons from the federal marshall, they would render themselves amenable to the laws of the state, should they fail and be taken prisoners. In my frequent conferences with my coadjutors I find, that they would prefer, that the marshal should signify to the Judge, that he could not execute the law, and the Judge so certify to you whereupon you could issue your order calling out the militia and we would promptly obey the call. I know, that you would prefer and so would I infinitely, that the union party in the state should put down this rebellion themselves; but if I find, that the majority of the party are not disposed to aid me in this effort—I cannot expose a few brave men to the certainty of defeat. I shall leave nothing undone to bring them to this determination; but I have my doubts of success. The parties are so equally divided in the city. Our opponents have the advantage of being able to organise and drill openly, and in the opinion of the multitude have the law on their side; so that our men are many of them intimidated. They fear too the arrival of troops from the Country and being overpowered by numbers. I think it proper to inform you of the objections made by a respectable number of the party in this city. I would not for the world you should ever suppose we had resolved upon a certain course of action and had not courage to carry it out. I shall go on with my preparations and it may be, that the consciousness of strength may give them resolution to act in support of the law, and save the state from disgrace.
Would not the raising, embodying and marching troops to Charleston be an act of overt treason? Would it not be humanity to prevent the accumulation of these forces in this city? We must be either basely submit to be trampled upon by these tyrants, or resist the arrogance and contumely we should have to suffer from satellites of Hamilton & Hayne if they do occupy Charleston in any force. Some of us never will submit to the tyranny & oppression of these arrogant and presumptuous men; but we shall have to contend against fearfull odds if the federal government folds its arms and looks on without taking a part in the contest. I am very desirous government should determine what course it will pursue in such emergencies. Not with a view of hastening on any conflict, for we will avoid that as long as it is safe and honorable to do so; but in order to be prepared to cooperate with you.

The recruiting in town goes on slowly. In the Country we understand five thousand volunteers have offered their services to the governor. They have been assured however, whenever they showed any backwardness to sign the articles, that there would be no fighting if they did so. That they had only to put on a bold front and the government of the union would at once yield to their demands. There are it is true some rash and violent men, who desire to bring on a contest with us or with the general governmt. I almost wish they could be gratified.

I shall I hope in a few days send you the opinion of my legal committee and some more correct account of the number and disposition of our forces. I am Dear Sir, very respectfully Your Obedt. Servt.

J. R. Poinsett

ALS, DLC (42). AJ replied on January 24 (below).

1. Hayne’s circular, dated January 1833, gave orders to repair arms and to erect a statewide network of supply depots, so that “in a sudden emergency” troops could be moved to “any given point in the shortest possible time” (James Henry Hammond Papers, ScU).

From Antonio López de Santa Anna

Mexico, January 16, 1833

My great and good friend

The magnanimous nation that Your Excellency governs with such dignity, having been placed at the vanguard of the sovereign peoples of this continent because of its age, because of the nobility of its principles, and because of the sublime example that the most liberal institutions of the world can serve to guarantee the order and stability of nations, ought to interest itself and has in fact interested itself that this republic (its natural friend, with which it identifies in so many respects) should be great, free, and happy.
It appeared that the errors of the administration produced by events at the end of 1829 dispelled the possibility of realizing the hopes Mexico conceived upon undertaking its independence, and it was necessary to reclaim the principles upon which it was organized, eminently American principles, unknown and even trampled upon by those ignorant of the zeal with which Mexicans love their rights and their liberties.

Appointed by the will of the people to restore its rights and violated laws, I commenced, carried out, and concluded the struggle necessitated by the obstinacy of the republic’s administrators. The results have been: to the constitution restoration of its authority; to President General Manuel Gómez Pedraza the seat given to him by the people; to the latter liberty; to other nations confidence in Mexico; and, especially, to the United States a sincere, great, and powerful friend.

In notifying Your Excellency of developments so commendable to the American family, I am pleased to express my gratitude for the generous consideration that you have always accorded me.

Your Excellency please accept the profound respect and gratitude of your avid friend and obedient servant

Antonio López de Santa Anna

LS, DNA-RG 59 (M54-1). English translation by Dr. Jesús F. de la Teja, University Distinguished Professor Emeritus of History at Texas State University. The Spanish text reads:

Mi grande y buen amigo

Colocada la magnanima nacion que V.E. rige con tanta dignidad, à la vanguardia de los pueblos soberanos de este continente, por la antigüedad de su origen, por la nobleza de sus principios, por el exemplo sublime de que las instituciones mas libres del globo pueden servir de garantia al orden y à la estabilidad de las naciones, hà debido interesarse y se hà interesado en efecto, en que esta Republica, su amiga natural, identificada con ella bajo tantos respetos, sea grande, libre y venturosa.

Parecia que los errores de la administracion que crearon los sucesos de fines de 1829 alejaban la posibilidad de realizar las esperanzas que Megico hizo concebir al emprender su carrera social, y fue neceso. reclamar los principios de su organizacion, principios eminently Americanos, desconocidos, y aún atropellados por los que ignoraron la energia constancia con que los Megicanos aman sus libertades y sus derechos.

Designado por la voluntad del pueblo para reclamar sus fueres y sus leyes violadas, emprendi, sostube y conclui la lucha que se hizo necesaria pr. la obstinacion de los administradores de la republica, y su resultado ha sido volver à la Constitucion su poder, al Presidente general Manuel Gomez Pedraza la silla que le dieron los pueblos, à estos libertad, à las naciones confianza, y à los Estados Unidos en especial un amigo sincero, grande y poderoso.

Ál noticiar à V.E. acontecimientos tan plausibles à la familia Americana, me complazco en manifestarle mi reconocimto. por la generosa consideration que me hà dispensado siempre.

Admita V.E. los respetos y profunda gratitud De su adicto amigo y obediente servidor

Ant. Lopez de Santa Anna
From John Stuart Skinner

Baltimore Post Office
17 January. 1833.

Dear Sir:

I am anxious to procure, for a friend, a negro boy weighing not exceeding 90 pounds—of constitution character and habit, qualified to make a race rider; and would give a liberal price—can you put me in the way of getting such an one—you know he should be a reckless, bold, stubbed sort of an old fielder; such as, in the country, can ride horse or mule, bare back; with no bridle in his mouth and a ches-nut burr under his tail—your aid in this matter would particularly oblige Yours with great respect

J S Skinner

ALS, DLC (42). Skinner (1788–1851) was the Baltimore postmaster and editor and publisher of the American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine.

To John Breathitt

Washington Janry. 18th. 1833—

My Dr. Sir.

Our friend Genl McCalla being about to depart for Kentucky, I embrace the opportunity afforded to send you a hickory cane, and a copy of my proclamation, which some of my fellow citizens, because of their approbation of its sentiments, and kind partiality for me, have had printed in gold letters, and I beg that you will accept them as a testimonial of my high regard & esteem.1

I have received & read with pleasure your excellent message to the Legislature on the subject of proceedings of South Carolina. It is in fine contrast with that of the Governor of virginia, and derives additional interest from the fact that Kentucky was the decided advocate of the resolutions of 98 & 99; the principles of which are now so grossly misrepresented by many of the politicians of the present day.2 With great respect believe me yr friend

Andrew Jackson


1. John Moore McCalla (1793–1873) was the U.S. marshal for Kentucky. AJ wrote him this same day, enclosing this letter with the cane and proclamation (Early American Auctions, August 27, 2005 sale, lot 97). The cane, with a nameplate inscribed “From Andrew Jackson to John Breathitt,” was offered for sale in 2015.

2. Breathitt had transmitted the South Carolina ordinance and addresses to the Kentucky legislature on December 21, 1832. Echoing arguments of AJ’s proclamation, his message favored conciliation on the tariff but called nullification “a palpable infraction” of the constitution and “destructive to the union of this republic,” and urged the adoption of
resolutions declaring that Kentuckians “will stand upon their duty and their allegiance, and will support the general government in the use of any legal and constitutional means necessary” to uphold the laws and preserve the Union (Journal of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, December 1832 session, pp. 143–50). On December 13, Governor John Floyd (1783–1837) had transmitted the nullification ordinance to the Virginia legislature with a message defending a state’s sovereign right to judge infractions of the constitution and to decide for itself “the mode and measure of redress” (Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia, December 1832 session, pp. 30–31).

From Joel Roberts Poinsett

(Private)  
Charleston 19th. January 1833

My dear Sir

I have this instant received the accompanying opinion drawn up by the first legal talents of our bar and hasten to transmit to you by express. I think it well digested and suited to our circumstances. It is however very doubtful whether any course the government can adopt will effectually prevent a conflict in the streets of our city. In my opinion, nothing will prevent that, but the certainty on the part of the Nullifiers, that we are prepared to meet them. And I shall be able soon to give them that assurance. I transmit you herewith a statement of the armament lately moved to the Citadel. Five waggon loads of arms and ammunition were sent off into the interior today, which renders it absolutely necessary I should take some precautions for arming the friends of the union in that quarter. I propose to send arms to given points in Nth. Carolina & give orders to our friends to retire upon Spartanburg & Greenville. An order for arms upon the arsenal near Augusta would be important for the protection of our party upon & near the Georgia frontier. A brig arrived from New York yesterday loaded by an agent sent from this state, with arms among them are 20 heavy guns.¹

I am forming a Legion in the city independently of the organisation of the Citizens. It is composed of the young and I hope & believe the brave. To complete it I want 4 six Pounders mounted on travelling carriages. There are many such at Fort Moultrie; but Col. Bankhead thinks he will require them in case the Island is attacked or the town to be occupied.² I cannot well do without them 4 are as many as I can manage effectively. I should then have a squadron of Cavalry 80 men—two companies of flying artillery—two companies of Riflemen and a battalion of Infantry between 6 & 700 in all—and the armed Citizens organised as well as such troops can be, will complete about a thousand to 1200 effective men.

The Nullifiers are extremely active and do keep up the excitement in an extraordinary manner. They drill & exercise their men without intermission. I saw today in the streets of our city several of the Leaders of that party from the Country strutting about with Cockades in their
hats—blue with a button, the Palmetto stamped upon it. I hope something will be done for Major Champlin. He is deserving and shall not want; but I do assure you I require all the funds I can raise, which are devoted to the uses of the party. I dislike to touch on this subject; but just now I cannot well manage to transport the means of defence by the circuitous route they must travel without the aid of government. We understand that the Nullifiers have offers of service from some revolutionists in Nth. Carolina & especially in Georgia. I send you a Greenville paper, which will show you the spirit of our friends near the mountains & what I have been able to effect there. very respectfully I am, Dear Sir your most Obt. Servt.

J. R. Poinsett

ALS, DLC (42). AJ replied on January 24 (below).

1. The Citadel was the South Carolina state arsenal in Charleston. U.S. troops stationed there had been removed to Fort Moultrie in December 1832. There was a U.S. arsenal at Augusta, Ga. On January 21 the Charleston Courier announced the arrival from New York of the brig Jones, carrying “ten or twelve 18 pounders, with upwards of two thousand stand of arms and other warlike appurtenances, for the use of the State.”

2. Lieutenant Colonel James Bankhead (1783–1856) commanded U.S. troops at Charleston, with headquarters at Fort Moultrie on Sullivan’s Island.

3. The nullifiers’ emblem was a blue cockade with a palmetto tree button in the center. Samuel Champlin (1783–1863), an Army major in the War of 1812, had just been removed by Hayne as captain of the magazine guard at Charleston. He was subsequently employed as a federal customs inspector.

From Henry Dilworth Gilpin

Philad: 20 Jany. 1833.

Dear Sir

I can find no apology for troubling you with a letter unconnected with official business except in the personal kindness I have recd. from you. Having however just had your message relative to the ordinance of South Carolina read to me, I cannot refuse myself the gratification of expressing my admiration of the doctrines it presents and the measures it proposes. Being confined nearly a week by indisposition, I have not had the usual opportunity of hearing public sentiment, but every person I have seen without exception, whatever were his opinions on other political questions speaks of yr. views of our beloved constitution and of the relative rights of the general and State governments with warm approbation and admires the calm and dignified course of remedy which you propose to adopt. I cannot but think that in time to come the present crisis will be deemed perhaps the most dangerous our country or popular government has had to encounter & the manner in which it has been viewed & met a cause forever of grateful remembrance.
I begged Mr. Livingston to express my high sense of your additional confidence in appointing me a Director of the Bank of the United States. Situated as I am in the midst of those who regard that institution with extreme partiality and little as my inquiries have been turned to such subjects I know I shall have some difficulties to encounter; but I can venture to make the assurance of an honest and determined and conscientious discharge of my duties with my best ability as a representative of the government. This I well know is all you ask from those to whom you delegate any trust.

Renewing my apology for troubling you with these remarks I remain &c.

H. D. G.

LC, PHi-Gilpin Papers (mAJs). Gilpin (1801–1860) was a Philadelphia lawyer. AJ had appointed him U.S. district attorney for eastern Pennsylvania in 1831, and on December 28, 1832, had nominated him as one of the five government directors of the Bank of the United States for 1833. The Senate had confirmed him on January 3.

From Joel Roberts Poinsett

Charleston 20th. January 1833

My dear Sir

I had prepared a letter to be sent to you by express, when yours was brought to me by the District Attorney. The Message is admirable and you will perceive a coincidence between the views taken of the subject by the Committee appointed by me and yourself, as well as the course recommended to be adopted by Congress.

With respect to the applications made to you by Mr. Graham, Harrison and others, I will attend to their being supplied with the means of defence whenever necessary. They all want to have arms to put into the hands of the men immediately, to which I object as such a measure will have the effect of provoking a contest and of putting us in the wrong.

I think that govt. ought to be prepared to strike the moment the troops of the interior are moved towards the city—you will see by the governor's general orders that preparations are making for that purpose. If they allowed to occupy the city. It will cost much blood to dislodge them. We shall be exposed to their insults, which I much doubt if with all the christian forbearance we can exercise, we can long brook. You may rest assured, that these reckless men will not be put down by any moral influence we can may be able to exert over them. They are desperate and believe if they can bring on a contest with the federal government they will excite the sympathy and receive the aid of the neighbouring states. Nothing keeps them in check and foils them so much as the steady opposition of the union party throughout the state. It must be made to appear,
that this is a contest between the friends & supporters of the govt. & the laws and a rebellious faction, which has by the most deceptious means obtained possession of the power of the State. The government would not discharge its duty if it did not sustain the former, and we will I trust so act as to merit it’s support.

I expect the next move will be secession and we must be prepared to resist it. I cannot but think that we, the union party, ought at once to declare our firm determination to bring the state back into the Union and call for the aid of the General government to put down the rebellion of a faction and restore order and tranquillity—and that the general government ought to be ready to sustain us. I never will suffer these men to withdraw the state of South Carolina from the union. I will raise the standard against them instantly—but to do so with effect and with the united action of the union party they must act with the countenance of the federal government. The threats of the Nullifiers, that the air shall be darkened with our carcasses as Traitors appal some, who I believe, would have stout hearts if they believed themselves safe from such an ignominiouss death.

I observe what you say about the head of the monster nullification.1 We must avoid making this man of too much importance. You are aware that in our country a man may be persecuted into consequence. I verily believe, that to treat this bad man with merited contempt will kill him morally, physically and politically. Whereas to attack him as the arch Rebel might enlist in his favor a feeling he is totally unworthy of. He deserves punishment and I am disposed to inflict it in its most cruel form. Let him walk through the world with the mark of reprobation upon him as a man, who for his own unhallowed ambition would have involved his country in Ruin & disgrace Commodore Elliott is here and I have already had a conference with him. We shall act in perfect concert.2

If any military movements are to take place here Genl. Scott ought to return. Bankhead is a good officer; but our people and I myself have more confidence in the skill, activity and experience of Genl. Scott.3

I do not wish to delay the Express any longer I am sure we, the friends of order and the Union, will receive the proclamation with universal approbation—and aid with heart & hand the constituted authorities in carrying out the measures recommended in that able document. I am Dear sir, with great respect your very obt. sevt.

J. R. Poinsett

ALS, DLC (42). AJ replied on January 24 (below).
1. John C. Calhoun.
2. Captain Jesse Duncan Elliott (1782–1845) had been placed in command of naval forces at Charleston. He arrived on the sloop Natchez on January 17. “Commodore” was an unofficial title accorded to senior Navy captains.
To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington January 21rst. 1833—

My son

your letter of the 1rst. instant was recd. on the 19th. and your draft in favor of Mr Hill for nine hundred & fourteen dollars, had been recd, honored, & paid, some days previous, all which, would have been communicated had I not been confined by a bad cold which produced a severe pain in my left side which for the last three days prevented me from business. Medicine, & a copious bleeding, with the smiles of that all seeing superintending providence, who gives & takes away, I am perfectly restored, & free from pain.¹

I am anxiously waiting for your promised letter, giving me a detailed account of all matters & things, including the amount of the cotton crop, the health of the family, & your progress with your mills, and how Mr Holtzclaw gets on with the negroes &c &c &c—and last, what you are doing or intend doing with the Citizens, & whether Alexander has taken away his stud.²

I wish you to say to Mr Holtzclaw that I shall have confidence in him that my brood stock, & colts, will be attended to by him.

I would be happy to hear when you intend visitting me, what amount of acres of cotton you mean to plant, & where you have selected to plant it—if we have a good season, it well behoves us to endeavour to make a good crop of cotton, as the present I fear, will not pay the expence of the farm.

Give my love to Sarah and kiss little Rachel for me, say to Sarah, I have recd but one letter from her since her confinement. I had the pleasure thro Judge Catron to hear from you all, & many encommiums upon her & Emma, with a lively description of the beauty of the sweet little babe. It would give me much pleasure to see the sweet little cherub, with Sarah, & yourself. Still I do not wish you to risque ice, or bad weather for this gratification to me, as it might endanger the health of both Sarah & the child.

Mr Breathitt, Col Earle, Genl Coffee with Andrew Emily & the two Marys all request to be presented to you & Sarah, Emma & Thomas, with all the connection, to which you will add, and accept of mine, with my prayers for the health & happiness of all.³ believe me your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (42).

¹ Harry Rufus Willie Hill (1797–1853) was a Nashville merchant. On December 31, 1832, AJ Jr. had written him a draft on AJ for $914, which AJ paid by check on January 15.

² Burnard Warner Holtzclaw (c1800–1842) was AJ’s new Hermitage overseer, replacing the dismissed Graves W. Steele. Citizen (or Young Citizen) was AJ’s stud horse. William Alexander was a noted black trainer. In spring 1832 he had brought three racing colts to
3. The two Marys were John Coffee’s daughter, Mary Donelson Coffee (1812–1839), and Mary McLemore (1816–1873), daughter of AJ’s Nashville friend John C. McLemore. Both were staying the winter with AJ. They and Mary Ann Eastin Polk were all first cousins and nieces of Emily Donelson, who was their mothers’ younger sister.

From James Alexander Hamilton

New York Jany 22d 1833.

My dear Sir.

I have just read a second time your message of the 16’ Inst. & cannot refrain in justice to my own civic feelings and to my relations to you, from expressing the entire satisfaction and I may add the pride I feel in all you have done on the subject to which it refers; To express all the admiration your course has excited would not entirely comport with delicacy or propriety. Your views of the principles of our Government are those alone on which it can be administered & preserved. And allow me to say from a very careful search after public opinion as expressed by individuals; by the Public papers; by meetings; & by the public functionaries (governors & legislatures) of the different States. They are the views of the Nation—notwithstanding the faint Echo of former opinions which a small majority perhaps of the Virginia Legislature are struggling to give out.

I regret, deeply regret, that our Legislature should not have acted on this subject. It was due to you emphatically; to the rank of the State, and to the feelings of the her Citizens that New York should come forward in her strength.¹

with that freedom in which I have been accustomed to commune with you I say, that I deeply regret that any considerations of any kind whatever should have induced this restraint on at such an epoch as this I know no party, or interest, or feelings, but such as belong to the Country. Her permanent Interst and Glory ought to be the Polar Star of every man connected in any degree with Public affairs. Some of the virginia doctrines as to state rights I mean those which can directly or even remotely sanction the right of secession resulted from a state of feeling and of interests not the most propitious to the most enlightened views of the origin and character of our Government. They have not outlived with the great Public the occasion which produced them & they ought not now to be reiterated; And yet I fear there are some among us who wait for a voice from Virginia And who fear if they acquiesce in your views which are those of the nation that the influence of their Party will be diminished This is a radical Error. That party in this country which thank God can alone permanently succeed is one whose principles are founded in an Enlightened Patriotism having for the object of its whole exertions first The Preservation of the

¹ January 1833
Union and next the administration of our happy form of Government in *simplicity* and *truth*.

I write to you with freedom and in confidence and yet I do not express half I feel or think. Before I close this too long letter allow me to say knowing as I do the harrassing extent of the engagements of yourself and your confidential friends at this Juncture that If I can be of use to you in any even the most subordinate situation I will immediately repair to Washington and pass a month at least devoted to a service which may promote the public good  I do not seek a participation in suggesting or advising but merely to executing under your directions  I can so arrange my business as by my absence not to impair my official usefulness here[.] with the truest attachment your friend

James A Hamilton

*Endorsed by AJ:* Col Hamilton on the politics of the day, & regret that the Legislature of N.Y. should not have come forth with her voice in support of the administration

ALS, DLC (42). Hamilton *Reminiscences*, pp. 249–50. Hamilton (1788–1878), a son of late Treasury secretary Alexander Hamilton, was U.S. attorney for the southern district of New York and a close advisor to AJ.

1. Governor William L. Marcy had communicated South Carolina’s nullification ordinance and addresses to the New York legislature at the opening of its session on January 1. The legislature had referred them to a joint committee, appointed on January 4. The committee had not yet reported. AJ complained to Van Buren about it on January 25 (below).

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**From Louis McLane**

Wednesday night,

The Secretary of the Treasury presents his respects to the President & has the honor to return Mr. Poinsett’s letter of the 16th. and also those which were received this morning: the Secretary having extracted sufficient for the synopsis. The President will perceive that the letter received this evening is of an earlier date than those brought by the express, and was written before the message was received. There is a different tone and more spirit in the subsequent letters, tho’ it is obvious from all of them that the main reliance of the *union party* is upon the support to be afforded by the General Government. These letters give additional confirmation, if such were needed, of the propriety of the Presidents determination to submit the subject to Congress, and the friends of the Union must now be satisfied that as far as he is concerned their situation will be promptly & fully regarded.

The statement of the information brought by the express will be ready in the morning, but I take leave to suggest for the President’s consideration
whether it may not be used with greater effect without the formality of a special message, or whether it will not be best to wait until Saturday, the subject having been postponed until Monday?\(^1\) I will, however, call in the morning to learn the President’s wishes and take his directions.

AL, DLC (59; 22-0034). McLane returned Poinsett’s letters of January 16, 19, and 20 (above). AJ replied to them the next day, Thursday, January 24 (below). AJ did not again address Congress on nullification this session.

\(^1\) The Senate had scheduled debate on a revenue collection measure, the “Force Bill,” for Monday, January 28.

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To Joel Roberts Poinsett

[Each house of Congress referred Jackson’s January 16 message on nullification and revenue collections to its Judiciary Committee. On January 21, chairman William Wilkins of the Senate committee reported a bill “further to provide for the collection of duties on imports,” which was quickly dubbed the “Force Bill.” Its provisions closely mirrored Jackson’s recommendations. The bill empowered the president to remove any custom house where obstruction of the revenue laws was threatened to a place of safety, either on land or aboard ship. Every incoming vessel was to be detained until its duties were paid, and military force could be used to prevent the forcible removal of ship or cargo, to protect the customs officers in their duty, and to suppress resistance by “any armed or riotous assemblage of persons.” The bill gave federal courts jurisdiction over all cases under the revenue laws, with power to supersede or remove proceedings from state courts and thus to shield federal officers and law-abiding citizens from state judicial process. It also authorized the president, if notified officially by state authorities or federal judges of forcible opposition to the laws too great to overcome by usual means, to issue a proclamation and, if necessary, call out the armed forces and militia to “resist and suppress” the obstruction (US Telegraph, January 22, 1833). The bill was read a second time in the Senate on January 22 and ordered for debate on Monday, January 28.]

Washington January 24th. 1833

My dear Sir,

I have recd. yours of the 16th. 19th. & 20th instant, that of the 16th. late last night & hasten to reply by the return express which will leave here early tomorrow.

My message to congress, forwarded to you by the last express was refered to the committee, in each house, on the judiciary—that of the Senate has reported a bill which you will receive from the Secretary of the Treasury by the conveyance that will hand you this—you will see from a perusal, that it contains, with the powers now possessed, every authority
necessary to enable the executive to execute the revenue laws, and protect
our citizens engaged in their support, & to punish all who may attempt
to resist their execution by force. This bill has been made the order of the
day for monday next, and altho this delay has been submitted to by the
Senate, still I have no doubt but it will pass by a very large majority in
both Houses. There will be some intemperate discussion on the bill & on
Calhouns, and Grundys resolutions

It was my duty to make known to congress, being in session, the state
of the Union, I withheld to the last moment to give congress time to act
before the first of February—having done my duty in this respect, should
congress fail to act on the bill, and I shall be informed of the illegal assem-
blage of an armed force with intention to oppose the execution of the
revenue laws, under, the late ordinance of So Carolina, I stand—prepared
forthwith to issue my proclamation warning them to disperse—should
they fail to comply with the proclamation, I will forthwith call into the
field, such a force as will overaw resistance, put treason & rebellion down
without blood, and arrest & hand over to the judiciary for trial and pun-
ishment, the leaders, excitors and promoters of this rebellion & treason.

you need not fear the assemblage of a large force at charleston—give
me early information, officially, of the assemblage of a force armed, to
carry into effect the ordinance & laws, nullifying our revenue laws, and
to prevent their execution, and in ten or fifteen days at farthest I will have
in charleston from ten to fifteen thousand well organised troops, well
equiped for the field—and twenty thousand, or thirty, more, in their inte-
rior  I have a tender of volunteers from every state in the Union. I can,
if need be, which god forbid, march two hundred thousand men in forty
days to quell any, & every, insurrection, or rebellion that might arise to
threaten our glorious confederacy & union, upon which our liberty pros-
perity & happiness rests.

I repeat to the union men again, fear not, the Union will be preserved,
& treason & rebellion promptly put down, when, & where it may shew
its monster head. You may rest assured that the nullies of Carolina will
receive no aid from any quarter. They have been encouraged by a few
from Georgia and Virginia, but the united voice of the yeomenry of the
country and the tender of volunteers from every state has put this down.
They well know I will execute the laws, and that the whole people will
support me in it, and preserve the union—even if the Governor of Virginia
should have the folly to attempt to prevent the militia from marching
tho his state to put the faction in So Carolina down & place himself at
the head of an armed force for such a wicked purpose, I would arrest
him at the head of his troops, & hand him over to the civil authority for
trial. The volunteers of his own state would enable me to do this. I repeat
again, my pride and desire is, that the union men may arouse & sustain
the majesty of the constitution & the laws, and save my native state from
that disgrace that the nullifiers have brought upon her—give me early
intelligence of the assemblage of an armed force any where in the state, under the ordinance & the laws to nullify & resist the revenue laws of the United States, and you may rest assured I will act promptly and do my duty to god and my country, & relieve the good citizens of that despotism, & tyranny, under which the supporters of the union now labour.

On yesterday the tariff bill would have passed the House of representatives had it not have been for a very insulting & irritating speech by Wilde of Georgia—which has threw the whole of Pennsylvania Newyork & ohio into a flame.² I am told there is great excitement, and no hopes now of its passing this session—it is farther believed that the speech was made for this purpose, at the instigation of the nullies, who wish no accommodation of the tariff. This will unite the whole people against the nullifiers, & instead of carrying the south with the nullies, will have the effect to arouse them against them, when it is discovered their object is nothing but disunion.

The House sat late & I have not heard from it since 7 oclock. I must refer you to Mr McLane for further information, as it is very late & my eyes grow dim. Keep me well advised, & constantly. The arms are placed subject to your requisition, and under your discretion. I keep no copy, nor have I time to correct this letter. In haste very respectfully your friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, PHi (22-0055). Poinsett replied on January 28 (below).

1. On January 22, Calhoun had offered three resolutions in the Senate in response to the Force Bill. They affirmed that each state was in origin “a separate sovereign community”; that under the “constitutional compact” each reserved “an equal right to judge for itself” the extent of legitimate federal powers; and that assertions that the people of the states “are now formed into one nation or people” with their allegiance “transferred to the General Government” are “without foundation in truth,” “contrary to the most certain and plain historical facts,” and directly conducive to supplanting the federal Union with “a consolidated Government, without constitutional check or limitation, and which must necessarily terminate in the loss of liberty itself.” On January 23, Felix Grundy proposed six substitute resolutions. They stated that the constitution, while creating a government of limited powers, “expressly granted” Congress an exclusive power to levy taxes on imports; that the tariff laws of 1828 and 1832, whether politic or not, were therefore plainly constitutional; that nullification encroached on “the rights of the General Government”; and that obstructing the laws was constitutionally unwarranted and “dangerous to the political institutions of the country.” Both sets of resolutions were postponed with the Force Bill to the following Monday (Register of Debates, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 187–93).

2. The Verplanck tariff reduction bill was still under consideration in the House. The bill reimposed duties on imported coffee and tea, which the July 1832 tariff law had made tax-free, “from a motive of financial prudence” in case other revenues under the new rates should fall below projections. On January 9, protectionist congressman Jabez W. Huntington of Connecticut moved an amendment to strike out the new coffee and tea duties. On January 23 and 24, Georgia congressman Richard Henry Wilde (1789–1847) gave a long biting speech opposing the protective policy and federal coercion of South Carolina. Wilde insinuated that, since Huntington’s amendment was plainly meant to kill the bill, Van Burenites would likely vote for it as a means of sabotaging tariff reform until South Carolina and Calhoun could first be put down (HRRep 14, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 6, Serial 236; Register of Debates, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 976, 1249–64).
To Martin Van Buren

(Confidential)

Washington January 25th. 1833—

My Dr. Sir.

Why is your Legislature silent at this eventful crisis. Friendship, with candor, compels me to say to you, that your friends are astonished at the silence of your Legislature, and gives rise to dark inuendoes of your enemies, that you command them, and are awaiting the result of the virginia Legislature. Believing as you know I do, how unworthy those inuendoes are, as respects your firmness or your principles, I cannot but sincerely regret, that the great State of Newyork has not come forth in her majesty & strength at this eventful moment.¹

Regardless of the mad theories of a few demagogues & politicians in virginia I have the evidence on my table of the united voice of the people of virginia of the against the absurd and modern doctrine of nullification & secession, as “a peaceful & constitutional measure.” It is repudiated by Mr Madison whose written opinion is here, and by all the people noth of James river, and west to the ohio.² I have been engaged reading this morning the answer of Mr stevenson (speaker) to Mr Richie which prostrates the modern doctrine of both the right of a State to nullify or secede—he has done it in a masterly manner, and proves as he goes from the resolutions of v.a. of 98–9– and the journals & explanations given by the framers of the constitution, the absurdity of the doctrine, and drawing a clear difference between the natural & unalienable rights of man, the right to resist oppressions, and the right of a State, to secede. I hope Mr Richie may publish it—it will give the final go by, & prostration, to the dangerous doctrine of Calhoun, & his satilites.³

The people of Virginia in their resolutions every where are severe on Governor Floyd, for his message on this subject—one this morning from Loudon, pointedly so.⁴

I am induced to write you this hasty scrall, from a note recd., this moment, from one of our sincere friends who, confidentially, informs me, that the whispers & inuendos, I have named, are circulated, to injure you, carrying out the idea, that you wield the Legislature & thro fear of results are silent. Friendship dictates, that I should let you know that such is the course of your enemies—and the silence of the Legislature give a colouring to these false sugestions.

I am interrupted by company, & must close with the remark—having made known to congress the State of the union, if it does not act, before the 1rst. of February, I am sure from the hostile attitude that So Carolina will assume to carry her replevin law into effect, that I will have to act under the powers given by the constitution & the laws, & for this purpose have my proclamation prepared.
Mr Wild of Georgia night before last, threw a fire brand into the House which will defeat the passage of the Tariff—it is said by many that it was done with this view—he is wielded by Calhoun. Last night the ire raged, it is said, beyond every thing ever heard before.

I have to close—with the kind salutations of all the family & with my own. I remain yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (22-0075).

1. The joint committee of the New York legislature appointed to consider Marcy’s message on nullification issued a report and resolutions on January 29. Van Buren wrote AJ about them on February 20 (below).

2. Exponents of nullification had often termed it a “peaceful remedy.” The South Carolina convention’s November 24, 1832, “Address to the People of the United States” had declared its “remedy to be essentially peaceful,” and Governor Hamilton’s November 27 message to the legislature claimed that “our remedy is essentially of a pacific character” (SDoc 30, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 57, 65, Serial 230). Former president James Madison (1751–1836) had written Edward Everett opposing nullification in August 1830. Madison held that the federal compact, being the creation of the whole sovereign people acting within the states, could not “be altered or annulled at the will of the States individually,” and that the doctrine of a single state’s right “to arrest by force the operation of a law of the United States” was neither consistent with the constitution nor sanctioned by the Virginia Resolutions and legislative proceedings of 1798 and 1799. Everett published Madison’s letter in the October 1830 North American Review (69:537–46). Papers including the Washington National Intelligencer on January 12 had recently reprinted it.

3. Andrew Stevenson (1784–1857) of Virginia was speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. On February 5 and 7 the Richmond Enquirer printed his two letters, written January 10. Dismissing nullification as plainly illegitimate, Stevenson argued against “the doctrine of secession, as a constitutional and peaceable remedy,” terming it “dangerous to the rights and liberties of the States” and “wholly inconsistent with the great objects which led to our union, and the blessings it was intended to secure.”

4. A January 14 Loudoun County citizens’ meeting at Leesburg courthouse had pledged to uphold the Union and the laws, branded nullification and secession “absurd and dangerous heresies,” and chastised Governor Floyd for “giving countenance to the erroneous principles and tyrannical and alarming conduct of the dominant party in South Carolina” (Alexandria Gazette, January 22, 1833).

From Louis McLane

Private

Jan 25. 1833.

The Secretary of the Treasury presents his respects to the President & encloses him a letter from Judge Johnson of the Supreme Court. The suggestion respecting the Martella Tower is worthy attention, and the provision as to Jurors I will suggest to Judge Wilkins & Mr. Bell.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr McLane enclosing judge Johnston’s letter—answered & order to sec of war—A. J
AN, DLC (42; 22-0068). William Johnson (1771–1834) of South Carolina was an associate justice of the Supreme Court. William Wilkins (1779–1865) of Pennsylvania and John Bell of Tennessee were respective chairs of the Senate and House Judiciary Committees.

[Enclosure: William Johnson to McLane]

Friday

Dr Sir

I have very imperfectly performed my Promise to you of yesterday. Such is the Effect produced upon my Hands by Disease that I can scarcely write legibly & you will see that I write with great Difficulty. I will take the Liberty of detailing a few Facts to which to call the Presidents Attention, as bearing upon the great Interest which now absorbs the public Attention.

And first in Explanation of the View of this Bill Our Juries to be legally impannelled must be drawn by Ballot by a Child under ten years, from the Taxables thrown promiscuously into a Box. So that, but for their Ordinmance of Abomina we should have been as secure from Conviction on one side as they on the other. But knowing this and with a hellish malevolence for which Posterity will mark them, they resolved to cripple their own Courts and pack their own Juries that we may not escape, while on our Part they well knew that we would die in our Adherence to the pure Principle so wisely introduced (and actually & historically introduced) as a Security against the actual State of things, now existing, introduced to save men from the Madness & Tyranny of packed political, fanatical selfish & exasperated Juries, from converting Justice into Form & Courts into the passive means of Brute-force.¹

I think the Counties of Spartanburg & Greenville may be relied upon—& Arrests may easily by conveyed up to Wilmington, thence up to Lincolnton to await Trial.

On the otherwise good Effect of existing Jealosies in that quarter, the Presidents military Eye needs no suggestion from me.

And now a Word as to your Operation in the Harbour.

I must again call your Attention to the Martello Tower on James Island, and some Works which exist at the Mouth of Stono-harbour. This be assured will be the quarter of the first active movement. It is the Point at which we are vulnerurable. Turnbuls Possessions & Friends are crowded there & it has been famous from Time immemorial for smuggling. I heard nothing of any Attention directed in that Way, & yet it is the only Way in which you can be molested. The Martello Tower &ca, & a smart Vessel anchord there (in a very safe Harbour) may turn him aside, otherwise there it is that Hayne will order his first Encampment²

I could say a great deal more but really am exhausted[.] Very respectly Yours

Willm Johnson

·  January 1833  ·
ALS, DLC (43; 22-0070).

1. The South Carolina procedure of having a child pick jurors’ names from a box dated to a statute of 1731. The nullification ordinance bound every state officer, including judges and jurors in any case concerning its own provisions, to take “an oath that he will well and truly obey, execute, and enforce this ordinance, and such act or acts of the Legislature as may be passed to carry the same into operation and effect” (SDoc 30, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 38, Serial 230).

2. The Martello tower, a small circular fortification, was near the unoccupied Fort Johnson on the eastern side of James Island in Charleston harbor. The Stono River borders James Island to the west. Robert James Turnbull (1774–1833) was a planter and a leading nullifier.

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Washington Jan’ry 26th. 1833

your letter of the 6th. instant my Dr. Sarah has been received some days gone by, but from my indisposition, & with the multiplicity of business, has prevented me from acknowledging it until this day

I am thankful to that providence who is the giver of all our comforts for your and the dear little Rachel’ health—for the description you have given me of her features with evidence of its perfect intellect, I am thankful—that it resembles my dear Mrs. J, for whom she is called will endear her still more, if possible, to me, & if I should be spared to live to hear her lisp her grand mothers name it surely will delight me. I trust providence will preserve her to be a comfort, & blessing, to her parents, as well as to me.

I am glad to hear that charles is likely to recover, he is “a favorite of mine”—it could not be otherwise, as he has passed thro so many privations, & dangers, with me—but I am sure that your & Andrews good dispositions will ensure to all the servants due attention, & comfort.¹ I hope to see you both here soon, or I should say more to you in this letter—but you may have left the Hermitage before this reaches you. I have not recd. from Andrew a single line since his of the 1rst. instant. I was in hopes when the overseer took possession, that he would have written his expose of the situation of the family, the crop, & the farm.

I have just returned from church, where I heard a very excellent sermon—it is the first I have been able to attend for a fortnight. My health [is improving altho I am] labouring to day, under a bad head ache. The weather is fine & I hope you may meet with a conveyance by water for you & the child by water. I shall not write again until I hear from you, whether you have, or when you will, set out

give my love to Andrew, Emma & Thomas, kiss little Rachel for me, and accept my prayers for all yr happiness & believe me yr affectionate father

Andrew Jackson
P.S. The family including Mr Breathit & Col Earle unite in kind salutations.

ALS, THer (22-0079).

1. This was likely the slave Charles (b. c1794), AJ’s former carriage driver and military servant.

From Joel Roberts Poinsett

(private)

Charleston
27th. January 1833

My dear Sir

The crisis of our affairs is so rapidly approaching and they appear to be so little understood, that I have thought it proper to give you an exact and detailed statement of our affairs them in order, that you may resolve understandingly the course, which ought to be pursued.

The plan proposed in your last message will effectually frustrate the process of Nullification. The Leaders of that party feel and acknowledge this, and in order to avoid the disgrace, which will attend their failure, they have held language, which in the excess of their folly they believed might intimidate and induce congress not to grant powers, which they declare to be so tyrannical as at once to compel the State of So. Ca. to secede from the Union. They have since heard from their friends in Washington that congress will undoubtedly and by a large majority pass the acts and grant the powers asked for by you. They met—the principal Leaders—the day before yesterday, and I am just informed, that they resolved to call the convention together immediately as they received intelligence of the reports of the Judiciary Committees being favorable to your views. Such information is communicated to them by express. They will then be in readiness and on the passage of the act, the state will be declared out of the Union. My attention was called yesterday and today to the unusual activity of their warlike preparations and the cause appears to be the one I have assigned. They will instantly bring down their troops to the coast and if possible strike a blow. I have visited the forts and carefully examined their situation. Fort Moultrie is nearly in a state of defence. It is picketed on the land side well and solidly and the work is in progress on the side next the sea, which is the weakest. The greatest activity prevails and great exertions are making to complete the interiour arrangements. Captn. Ripley, who superintends there is an able and indefatigable officer. Castle Pinckney is safe, I think, both from the position and nature of the work and from the character of Captain Saunders, who commands there. Fort Johnson on the opposite shore is abandoned, and I have always thought it injudicious to leave that site to be occupied by the Enemy. It commands the approach to the city seaward and might be
made to annoy the vessels of war, which it may be necessary to send in to
our harbour, for they must pass under and near the guns of any battery
that might be erected there. The old works have been washed away; but
field works might be soon constructed strong enough to keep off a sudden
attack and the vessels of war could approach near enough to sustain the
garrison. There is close by a Martello tower which would render those
works impregnable to agt militia, if occupied by a few artillerymen and
three pieces of heavy artillery. This tower was built by the government
during the war upon land belonging to the state and which never has
been ceded to the United States. It ought to be occupied or pulled down,
or blown up. And I am sure you will agree with me, that the site of fort
Johnson ought to be occupied without delay and some temporary works
thrown up there. I am aware there are not troops enough to occupy all
these points, and that is the reason I am so anxious you should know
the exact state of things here. A company arrived a few days ago from
Savannah, and was immediately sent back by Col. Bankhead because they
could not be well accommodated at Fort Moultrie. They might have been
usefully employed at Fort Johnson and accommodated there. The Col.
told me that the officers were Nullifiers; but I cannot deem so basely of
any american officer as to believe, that he would tarnish his honour by
refusing to do his duty against the enemies of his Country, whatever might
his opinions on abstract rights. At all events if these Officers—Beleton’s
company—are so tainted they might be replaced. I am assured the men
are sound and will do their duty—if well led. The vessels in the harbour
will be efficient auxiliaries and I suppose this description of force could be
increased, and I should deem it advisable to do so.

In the city we are nearly equally divided. At present the opposite party
have the advantage of publicly drilling and preparing and in the opinion
of the people of acting under colour of the law. Our party will not turn
out in all its force unless sustained by the countenance and authority of
the general government. I find it difficult to organise the whole of the
party, because they fear they are offending the laws and by preparing
to attack the constituted authorities of the State. Under the authority of
the government they are ready to act whenever called into the field. This
feeling pervades the whole Union party throughout the state, and would
I fear paralyse their action without the intervention of the federal gov-
ernment. What I am most anxious to have decided is when and in what
manner the government will or ought to interfere. If the plan proposed in
the message is pursued there will be an end of nullification and the state
will secede. If the government still continues to pursue the same mea-
ures, or converts them into a blockade and confines us within our own
limits, maintaining merely the works in the harbour and a line upon our
frontier the result must eventually be succesfull; but the struggle within
our own limits would be desperate and protracted—a civil war of the
a cruel nature would inevitably ensue. The Leaders of the nullification party are endeavouring to prepare the minds of their followers for this result. Their papers teem with abuse against us and an attempt is being made to show, that all the hostility exercised against their measures originates in us and especially from my counsel & advice. Their followers are extremely irritated and ready to attack us. They are restrained only by the fear inspired by our organisation, which however defective imposes some respect upon these lawless men. They would cease to fear or respect us if they had possession of the city with two or three thousand men from the Country. I beseech you to believe that in making this statement I do not wish government to be influenced by any considerations of our safety. But I think you ought to understand the precise state of the Country and the relative position of the parties which divide it to form a correct opinion of the course to be adopted. The Union party in the city is too weak to contend with any probability of success against the Nullifiers after they shall be reinforced from the Country; and they are not able I fear to do more than protect themselves in the interiour. Indeed they doubt their power to do even that. I consider then that a blockade by sea & land would be attended with ultimate success; but would be attended with likewise with great loss of life and the total destruction of the property of the State. The next measure that presents itself is to have a sufficient force to take and hold possession of Charleston and at the same time to enter the State by the North Carolina boundary and at once and by one blow suffocate this rebellion. I believe this would be instantly successful. Only a few Desperate men would take the field. The majority of these blusterers would remain at home. The whole Union party would unite with the government forces, and be ready to take upon themselves the civil government of the State. The people are averse to war. They have been constantly deluded and led to believe the remedy proposed by their Leaders was peaceful, and even now they are told they will have to contend only agt. a minority in the state, and have only to assume a bold front to be safe from any attack from the general government. The exhibition of the forces in this harbour has produced a good effect; but still they are taught to believe, that if the state secedes, these forces must vanish from the soil of Carolina. I do not believe that five thousand men could be brought into the field if the government advanced in force; and if it advances at all it would be both politic & humane to do so with an overwhelming force—and I am sure that 12,000³ men would appear in the field at the call of the govt. to sustain the laws and preserve the union. It is a singular fact, that in the extensive Emigration now going on from our middle Country we count two nullifiers for one Union man flying from the fury of the storm they themselves have raised.

Against this plan the Nullifiers presume upon the sympathy of the neighbouring states being excited in their favour if the country was invaded by
the overwhelming power of the federal government. This would certainly be the case if the state were united; but we are a numerous and respectable party and fortunately they have been so unwise as to persecute us. I do not think it would be difficult to excite the sympathy of those states in our favour and to show, that such a movement on the part of government was rendered necessary to protect those, who had periled their lives in support of the laws and for the preservation of the Union. This plan too has the great advantage of despatch; and I am perfectly sure, that the nullifiers will gain strength by delay. They are indefatigable in their exertions to gain proselytes in the southern states and have been but too successful. In this State two years ago no one dared advocate nullification much less secession and now these terms are the watchwords of a majority in the state.

The next plan which presents itself to my mind is to occupy Charleston with a sufficient force and let the upper districts of Greenville and Spartanburg maintain themselves independent and furnish a safe asylum to the Unionists, who will be compelled to fly from the middle country either to the city or to the mountains. These forces collected at the two points might then, after a sufficient time had been given to concentrate a sufficient number, and, dissatisfaction had done its work in the ranks of their opponents might be able of themselves to quell this sedition.

I have thus laid before you the only plans which suggest themselves to my mind as likely to put down these men. And I am disposed to believe that which will be attended with the greatest despatch is the best. In time the contagion will spread into Georgia and Nth. Carolina if the disease is not arrested in its progress here. It will I am aware require several days before the forces could be collected upon the North Carolina line; but Charleston might be occupied at once and the state deprived of all the ammunition, arms and military stores, which have been lately collected in their arsenals in the City. The citadel is in a very exposed situation and could be taken by a small force before it could be succoured. Indeed it could not hold out two hours, if properly attacked, even if the whole force of the nullifiers were concentrated there. The magazine, which contains their powder is accessible to barges, and might be taken without the loss of a man. By the way there is about 500 kegs of powder belonging to individual merchants, members of the Union party, which might be bought up by government on an emergency.

The approaches to the city are easily guarded against very superior numbers, when, as in this case, there is a naval force to protect the flanks. At the narrowest part of the neck the distance from River to River, does not exceed three quarters of a mile, and a redoubt or two, works already existing would effectually check any force the state, or to speak more correctly the Leaders of the nullification party, could bring against them. But few regular troops would suffice to man these works, and our militia could take care of the city.
With respect to the city you ought to be informed that at a moderate computation three fourths of the houses belong to the union party and we have reason to dread that the vagabonds of the opposite party will fire the town whenever we have a contest with them. We fear too, that if the state troops should fire upon the castle, that fortress will set fire to the city. I have heard the officers talk of this. If the nullifiers believed this they would not hesitate to commence an attack which would be so fatally injurious to us. If this the firing upon the castle were to take place before the arrival of the forces from the Country it would be much better to attack and carry the city, which could be done easily with our assistance. This is another reason for occupying the city upon the first array of forces in the interior, for after two or three thousand men are in the town, the castle would be compelled to fire on the city in order to protect itself; and such an act however justified by the circumstances of the case would indispose the people and serve as a pretext to excite sympathy in other states. I mentioned in a former letter that Genl. Scott ought to be here as soon as possible. I am daily made more sensible of this necessity. I should think that with the forces in Augusta and Savannah and at Smithville added to the troops here a movement might be made upon the city at any time. And I repeat my belief, that Charleston once in our possession the Nullifiers will be paralysed. We shall deprive them of their park of artillery and a large part of their arms and ammunition by such a movement.

When I began this letter I intended to have sent it by an ordinary express; but the situation of our affairs is so critical, that I have decided to despatch a gentleman entirely in my confidence, who will be able to explain to you the difficulties under which we labour and to impart to you the usefulness if not the necessity of our receiving the aid of the federal government and the propriety of our acting under your orders. I shall explain to Mr. James H. Smith my views very fully, & you will find him full of intelligence & zeal, & able to give you detailed and accurate information of the plans and strength of the opposite party, as his brothers unfortunately are leaders among them. The number of their volunteers has increased very much lately and it is certain, that they have received offers of service from some persons in Nth. Carolina & Georgia. I have likewise received intimations from respectable sources in those states that volunteers were ready to march to aid the Union party in Carolina.

Let me beg of you to act cautiously in the matter of the Leaders of Nullification now in Washington. Do not make a martyr of a scoundrel. No punishment can be so dreadful to him as to have the finger of scorn pointed at him for the remainder of his miserable life. I am, Dear Sir, very respectfully and faithfully your Obt. servt.

J. R. Poinsett
ALS, DLC (73). Poinsett wrote again on January 28. AJ replied on February 7 (both below).

1. Captain James Wolfe Ripley (1794–1870) and his artillery company had been ordered to Fort Moultrie from Fort Monroe in November 1832. Captain Henry Saunders (1788–1876) commanded troops at Castle Pinckney on Shute’s Folly island in Charleston harbor.

2. Artillery captain Francis Smith Belton (1791–1861), whose loyalty Poinsett distrusted, had been ordered away from Charleston to Camp Armistead in Tennessee in June 1832. With the intent of reinforcing Moultrie, Winfield Scott ordered Belton and his two companies at Armistead to the Augusta arsenal on November 28, 1832 (DNA-RG 94, M567-76). From there one company went on to Savannah, where Belton was put on furlough, and then to Moultrie. It returned to occupy Fort Oglethorpe at Savannah on January 26.

3. Poinsett inserted here: “I am told this is too large an estimate & that 8,000 would be nearer the truth.”

4. Charleston sits at the tip of a peninsula between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, which meet at the city to form Charleston harbor. Charleston Neck is a narrow stretch of the peninsula upriver from the city.

5. At the end of January there were five artillery and infantry companies at the Augusta arsenal, and an artillery company at Fort Johnston at Smithville (now Southport), N.C.

6. James Hervey Smith (1797–1855) was a South Carolina lawyer and planter. His brother Robert Barnwell Smith (1800–1876) was the state attorney general and a prominent nullifier and later secessionist. Brothers Benjamin Smith (1798–1866), Edmund Smith (1808–1863), and Albert Moore Smith (1810–1843) were also nullifiers. The family surname was changed from Smith to Rhett in 1837.

Richard H. Alexander to Jesse Speight

Salisbury, Jay. 27th. 1833

My Dear Sir,

Hamilton C. Jones the Editor of the Watchman requested me to write you in relation to his obtaining the printing of the Laws of Congress.

The editor of the Western Carolinian is now the printer

You are aware of the character of this paper—its support of Mr. Barbour—its support of the detestable doctrines of nullification and its open attack of the proclamation of the President. ¹

Mr. Jones at a time when Mr. Van Buren had few friends in the Western part of the state espoused his cause with much ability and at some sacrifice. He needs patronage and if an efficient and able defense of the administration is meritorious he deserves at least this appointment.

Mr. Jones’s paper has an extensive circulation in the West and his subscribers are among the most respectable portion of our population. His subscription is about 900 and is increasing.

I have been astonished that the government would permit a paper openly avowing the South Carolina doctrine to have any share of its patronage. I would write to Rencher or Mangum but they are believed here to wink at those doctrines.²

Gen Jackson by his proclamation has made us all his friends. I would rather be its author and sustain its principles that to have been the Hero of New Orleans.
You will confer a favor by writing as soon as any thing is done in the
matter. yours

R. H. Alexander

[Endorsed by Speight to AJ:] PS. This letter comes from a highly respecta-
ble & tallented Gentleman and one who knows public opinion. I have
mentiond. to Livingston about this business but he seems to take no
notice of it. What Mr Alexander states is true about Jones at the most
dreary time last summer when we needed a friend in Salisbury he came
forth for Van Buren. The proper papers to print the laws in NC are
should be the Sentinal Newbern—Constitutionalist Raleigh—Watchman
Salisbury—this is what our friends expect.

J Speight

PS. Mr Alexander is one o the first lawyers in the State

[Endorsed by AJ:] this letter is refered to the Sec of State with the remark,
that no one ought to eat the bread of the Government, who is labouring
to destroy it. A. J.

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (mAj). AJ Donelson enclosed the letter to Livingston on February 3
with a note that AJ “requests your attention” to his endorsement (DNA-RG 59, 22-0256).
Richard H. Alexander (c1799–1838) was a lawyer in Salisbury, N.C., and Jesse Speight
(1795–1847) was a North Carolina congressman. Lawyer and sometime legislator Hamilton
Chamberlain Jones (1798–1868) edited the Carolina Watchman in Salisbury, and lawyer
Francis Burton Craige (1811–1875) edited the Western Carolinian. In 1832 Craige had
defeated Alexander for a seat in the state House of Commons.
1. In 1832 dissident North Carolina Jacksonians had put forth an electoral ticket with
Philip Pendleton Barbour (1783–1841), a U.S. district judge in Virginia, as vice president
in place of Van Buren. AJ had vehemently opposed the move. The Western Carolinian had
defeated the Barbour slate, which lost decisively to the regular Jackson-Van Buren ticket.
2. Abraham Rencher (1798–1883) was a congressman and Willie Person Mangum
(1792–1861) was a U.S. senator from North Carolina.
3. The North Carolina papers contracted to publish the laws for the current (1832–33)
second session of the Twenty-second Congress were the Raleigh Constitutionalist, Newbern
North Carolina Sentinel, and Salisbury Western Carolinian. The Carolinian was renewed
for the first session of the Twenty-third Congress in 1833–34, and no Salisbury paper was
selected the year after.

From Joel Roberts Poinsett

(Private) Charleston
January 28 1833

My dear Sir
I have this instant received your letter of the 24th. Inst by express.
The assurances it contains are cheering; but as all your plans are formed
upon the probable acts of the Nullifiers in relation to the execution of their Ordinance, I still think it necessary to send on Mr. Smith in order that with a full view of the whole ground you may resolve on the proper course to be pursued to oppose secession. I can have no doubt of the passage of the acts you require to enable you to cause the laws to be executed; but am glad to learn, that you stand prepared at all events to put down these men. In this determination you will be sustained by the whole nation, and its execution will add any another to the many claims you have upon the gratitude of your Country. If the union party could be made to act under the orders of the Federal government they would do so efficiently and unhesitatingly; but I am bound to state to you, that they cannot be brought out by any persuasion unless attacked, or authorised by you. They think to take up arms against the Nullifiers would be to violate the law and we are a law abiding people. If the state or the dominant party in it should assemble the convention and declare So. Carolina out of the union, how shall we proceed? We will of course assemble our union convention and protest and remonstrate and all that; but what active measures shall we take? They will accompany their declaration of Secession by bills of pains & penalties, definitions of treason and so forth, which will appal the timid, and I fear prevent the majority of the Union party from opposing them with arms. My plan would be, if the city were safe, for I cannot abandon my fellow citizens for an instant in this hour of peril, to go up to Greenville or Spartanburg, assemble the Convention and authorised by a call from you declare against the faction which now tyrannises over the people and in the name of the state of South Carolina march against them. I am not certain whether the people of those districts would array themselves against the Nullifiers without your orders, except for self defence. In the city the union party will not move without the authority of the Federal govt. I have conversed fully with Mr. Smith upon this subject. He knows the feelings and disposition of the people in the state, and after conferring with him, I will pursue any plan of operations you suggest to the best of my ability fearlessly & zealously. I have been represented by the nullifiers to be a Desperado, who would hurry the union party to acts of lawless violence. I am obliged therefore to be very cautious or I should lose my influence over them. The indisposition to act does not arise from timidity; but an habitual respect for the laws, which distinguishes our party. I shall wait with great impatience your suggestions and orders, which I hope to receive by the return of Mr. Smith. I am, my dear Sir, very truly and respectfully your Obet. Servt.

J. R. Poinsett

ALS, DLC (42). AJ replied on February 7 (below).
From Benjamin B. Cooper  

Near Haddonfield Jany the 29th 1833  

Dr Sir,  

I received yours of the 15th instant this afternoon (misent to Camden) and was astonished to find that the 1500 Ds to be given for Boliver had not been paid, for long since, by my last letter to you, relative to and enclosing the receipt for a Conditional transfer of Boliver to the Company. they then had nearly all the money principally paid by me, I then informed them that I should not hold the Certificate longer and should send it on the next day and did so and also received your answer to the letter, and expected the money had been paid to until the annual meeting of the Company at Mount Holly on the last saturday in December when Mr Shinn informed the company that the money was ready, and I think said deposited to your credit. I was astonished at the delay and asked him the cause of it, when he said that there was a few shares that he could not get the money for, and the time had run out in which they was to deposit the money, and that they would have to get a new transfer and that it would be necessary to have a new transfer and he would get Mr Cannon to draw one up and send immediately on.\(^1\) I informed them to send on the money and the President would do anything that might be thought proper to confirm the title of the horse if not already done—and my health being such that I left them for home—supposing the money would be paid immediately and all things satisfactorily arranged[.]

Respectfully your Friend  

B B Cooper  

Jay the 30th. I send you a Copy to Mr Shinn of this morning and hope he will not cause further delay:\(^4\) am looking over the amount paid by me with the 18 Shares of Mr Sloan that with my fourth Mr Shinn recd previ-
To Robert Minns Burton

Washington January 30th. 1833—

My Dr. Sir,

yours of the 13th. instant has been recd. & with it the resolutions of the citizens of your county, against the odious doctrine of nullification &

• January 1833 •

ous to the first of novem 1420 Dollars—from this County and Phiada. 580 Dos to be collected and paid by him in Burlington that he took charge of at the date of their certificate to you I paid them for the principal part of the amount, and requested them to make out the certificates for the Balans in our County and I would pay every dollar out of my own pocket that I did. without calling upon any man, and I do most sincerely reget that you have had such delay in payment. I purchased the horse of you as I was ashamed of the pittiful corse and conduct of the committee appointed with me, and would not join them in their unjust treatment towards you. I have had to encounter all kinds of opposition with Boliver and meet it without a murmer until his enemies here becomes his friends: in a grete measure, and the committee sensured for their conduct and want of judgment: excuse the length of this letter as I wished to give you some idea of the consern.

B B Cooper

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. B. Cooper—The mony not paid into Bank—but will inform me when it is—await his answer a short time, and if it is not paid in write him, and claim a delivery of my horse. A. J. recd. 2nd of February A. J.

ALS, DLC (42). Cooper (1779–1835) was a New Jersey land dealer, agricultural improver, and former state legislator. In October 1831 AJ had sold him a quarter interest in the stud horse Bolivar and sent him the horse to sell to the New Jersey Association for Improving the Breed of Horses for $2,000. The company refused the purchase, and Cooper organized another to make it instead. In September 1832 AJ sold his three-quarters interest in Bolivar to this new Burlington County Association for Improving the Breed of Horses for $1,500, to be deposited in a Philadelphia bank by November 1 (Jackson Papers, 9:384, 637–38, 713–15; 10:501–2). On that day Cooper wrote AJ that the payment had been delayed but would be made within a few days (DLC-41).

1. Congressman-elect William Norton Shinn (1782–1871) was president and Elias Brevoort Cannon (1803–1839) was secretary of the Burlington County Association.
2. Jeremiah Haines Sloan (1800–1845) was a Mount Holly attorney.
3. Cooper had engaged Bolivar to stand at John West’s stable in Moorestown, N.J., from April to July 1832 at $15 for the season of a mare and $25 to ensure a foal (DLC-40; Jackson Papers, 10:82–84).
4. Cooper enclosed a copy of his January 30 letter to Shinn, in which he voiced astonishment that AJ had not been paid, pointed out he had himself collected and delivered about $1,420 before the November 1 due date, and urged Shinn to complete the payment without delay (DLC-42).
secession—Doctrines which goes to destroy our happy government, and which leads directly to civil war, and all the horrors that accompanies it—which leads to the destruction of our liberties here, and over the whole civilised world.

How wicked the hearts that could meditate the destruction of such a government as our, which insures us so much prosperity at home, & respectability abroad, and has become the admiration of the world; and this wicked thought to arise from selfish views of personal aggrandisement. But the voice from Main to Louisiana has announced, that “this Union shall be preserved,” and amidst this united voice of the people so gratifying to every patriot boosom, how gratified I am to see the unanimity of Tennessee upon this interesting question.

I have a tender of volunteers from every section of the union, and should it become necessary, I could march two hundred thousand men, to crush all opposition to our laws, arrest & bring to condign punishment all guilty of treason, & rebellion. The boasted strength of Hamilton & Preston, the moment they appear in hostile array, if they should so appear, will be crushed like a pigmey.

I have no time now to say more. I am crowded with the attention necessary to be paid to the nullifyers in the South, & the Indians who we are endeavouring to satisfy & get consolidated beyond the Mississippi river. You complain of my not writing but you who have only the business of your clients & family to attend to, ought not to complain, when yours, now before me, is the only letter I have recd. from you since my return to the city. I have no time for private friendship, will be always happy to hear from you & family & of their welfare to whom, tender me affectionately & believe me yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, IEN (22-0110). Burton replied on February 16 (below).

From Joel Roberts Poinsett

Charleston
30 January 1833

My dear Sir

So much anxiety is expressed by the members of the union party on the subject of the advance of the States Rights forces from the interior, that you must pardon me for troubling you so often on the subject. In my opinion if one thousand men (Regulars) were encamped on the Neck or at the U.S. Arsenal, as a point for the Union men to rally upon in case of an attack from the opposite party, They would be compelled to respect us. There is no constitutional objection to this measure. I make this suggestion at the solicitation of my friends. I think we will make a good defence
any how, altho if the Volunteers of His Excellency pour down upon us we shall have to contend against great odds. Contracts are made and depots forming all along the Roads leading to Charleston.

Have you the power, or will you have it to call out or accept Volunteers otherwise than through the governors of the states? I believe so; but am not certain—and should like to know for our government.

The Nullifiers have made no further movements. They bluster as usual. I am suffering with a lame finger, which compels me to conclude. I am

Dear Sir respectfully your most Obt St

J. R. Poinsett

ALS, DLC (42). AJ replied on February 7 (below). Poinsett wrote this same day to James H. Smith, asking him also to “enquire particularly” of AJ about encamping troops on Charleston Neck and accepting local Unionists directly into federal service (DLC-42).

William John Duane to Louis McLane

Philadelphia, January 30, 1833.

Dear Sir—

I received, this evening, the letter, which you had the goodness to write to me on the 27th. inst. and cannot but chide myself, for having, by my silence, rendered such a letter needful: I pray you, however, to mention, to the President, what I wrote to you on the 28th. inst. so that he may be aware of my anxiety: how, indeed, could I be otherwise than anxious?

Although very doubtful of my qualifications and pretensions, I desired to comply with the wishes of the President and with your own; I wished to have an opportunity, by a faithful devotion to public duty, to justify the choice, and to evince my grateful sense of the unexpected honor conferred on me: and yet, I dreaded, lest, in obeying these inclinations, I should affect injuriously the claims of my large family: Do not, then, wonder at my embarrassment.

If I were to say, that the difficulty, mentioned in my note to you of the 10th. ult. is removed, it would be incorrect: I have, however, so assiduously labored to overcome it, that, success must soon follow: Consequently, I shall be prepared for the future. Be pleased, then, to say to the President, that, if he shall continue to think it for the public interest, that I should occupy the designated station, I will, if appointed, endeavor so to execute its duties, as to retain his confidence and merit the public regard.

In asking you to accept my thankfulness for your own great kindness, I cannot but add my hope, that you will bear in mind my heart-felt hesitation; so that, if at any time I may be found less competent than supposed, I may not have the sin of presumption coupled with the sorrow of disappointment. With the utmost consideration, yr obt st

W. J. Duane
ALS, DLC (42). Duane (1780–1865), the son of famed Republican editor William Duane, was a Philadelphia lawyer and politician. AJ had appointed him commissioner under a claims convention with Denmark in March 1831. Since William C. Rives’s return from France in September 1832, AJ had been planning to honor Edward Livingston’s wish to follow him as minister there, replacing Livingston at the State Department with present Treasury secretary Louis McLane. AJ and Van Buren had agreed in November 1832 on Duane as a fit successor to McLane at Treasury, both for his own “great weight of moral character” and to solidify administration support in Pennsylvania (Jackson Papers, 10:504, 614, 623–24). McLane had offered Duane the post in Washington on December 4. Duane had demurred, citing his only modest talents and influence, but promised to consider further (Duane Narrative and Correspondence, pp. 2–5). AJ commissioned Duane as Treasury secretary on May 29.

To William Donelson

Mr William Donelson will oblige the undersigned, if Andrew has left home, to say to Mr Holtzclaw, that so soon as the oscar filly drops her foal, & it is able to travel to send the mare to Stockholder, directing that she be well fed whilst with the Stud, and I will furnish the money to pay the season with the feeding—say to him also, that all my other mares be put to Citizen, including the mare sent home by the boys, Byron & Jame—with my kind respects to all—

Andrew Jackson

ANS, DLC (74; 21-1261). Donelson (1795–1864), the son of Rachel Jackson’s late brother John Donelson, lived near the Hermitage and helped manage AJ’s affairs. Oscar was a noted stud horse. Stockholder, who had sired AJ’s stud colt Citizen (or Young Citizen), stood the 1833 season at James Southall’s stable in Williamson County. Byron (b. c1820) and Jame, or Jim, were Hermitage slaves. They had accompanied three racing colts from the Hermitage to Washington in spring 1832 and returned in November.
February

From Lewis Williams

Washington February 2nd 1833

Sir,

Jesse Lister Esqr formerly resided at a place called Richmond in Surry County North Carolina. It was the seat of justice in the County and many years ago you attended there as a Lawyer at the Courts.

Lester is now dead, but his Heirs say that you stand charged on his Books for the amount of your board &c at one of the Courts you attended. The amount is about ten dollars and the Heirs are in reduced circumstances so as to need the money.

They have authorized me to make application to you for the money, and think they are entitled to interest as well as the principal.

It is not in my power to call on you personally today, and I must therefore take the liberty to trouble you with a letter. I should be glad to hear from you on the subject as soon as your convenience will permit. I am Sir your most Obt and very Hbl. Servt.

Lewis Williams

[Endorsed by AJ:] answer with respects acknowledges the receipt of his note—expresses surprise that Mr. L. had not applied in 18788, as he passed his House on his way to the West & still more if the demand was just that he had not called for it in his life time assures him that it is not a just debt—that the whole history of his life shews his punctuality in meeting all his engagements of this kind February 2nd. 1833—

[Endorsed by AJ:] L. Williams note & reply—Febry 9th. 1833—

ALS, DLC (42). Williams (1782–1842) was a North Carolina congressman and the brother of John Williams of Tennessee, whom AJ had defeated for reelection to the Senate in 1823. AJ had been admitted to practice law in the county courts of North Carolina in September 1787, and in November he presented his license to the Surry County court at Richmond, in present Forsyth County. Jesse Lester (d. 1815) then kept a tavern there. AJ relocated to Nashville in 1788. Lester and the Surry County seat later removed to Rockford.
From Charles Jones Love

Mansfield 3 Febury 1833

My Dear General

I rec’d three or four days since your very friendly and most kind favours to Mrs Love and myself.

I assure you my dear General I feel greatfull beyond any thing I can express to you, for the liberallity you expressed towards me in your letter. If I was in pecuniary want I know of no person I should sooner apply to sooner than your self, for I feel confident it would be done with pleasure; I propose to sell my land on account of my having a large family and the Tract is a very small one I can get from one to one hundred and fifty dollars per Acre which will enable me to purchase a much larger one and by doing that make much better provison for my Children which is the object we all have in view It is also very scarce of Wood & Timber and i think the spring will be a good time to sell as the new Bank will soon go in to Opiration I have thus given you my views for selling, and I think you will agree I am correct.

Mrs Loves health is something better than it was when we last wrote but she is still very feble and has not been out but once since, (we have had a very wet Winter;) at this time there is a prospect of some good weather, The health of John Dixon is rather improving, Tom is much as he has been, The Cholera is at this time in Nashville, I do not think it very bad; It has taken off some of the disolute & Intemperate and pretty much confined to that discription of persons with some few exceptions. It has not yet got much in the country with proper care I think our servants may be kept clare of it.

I hope my dear General your health is good for you have enough on your hands to way down more than an ordinary person could bear, I assure you you have our prayrs not only for your health but that you shall so manage those misguided people in the South to save the union without blood shed; I am one that would go all lengths to preserve it, be the consequenes what they might you have nineteen twentieths of the Citizens of the United States with you.

You will find Inclosed a justification of the Georgia business written by our friend Dot Brown of Smith land. He writes frequently in defence of the Aministration and is warmly attached to you.

Mrs Love & Elizabeth desire to be most kindly rememberd to you and there best wish to Majrs Eearl & Lewis I wish you many happy new years and believe me My dear Genrl your devoted friend.

Ch J Love

[Endorsed by Aj:] Mr. Love—recd. Febry 17th. 1833 & answered same day A. J.
ALS, DLC (42). Love (c1773–1837) was AJ’s friend and neighbor. Mansfield was his plantation near the Hermitage. Love’s wife was Frances Peyton Dixon Love (1785–1833).

1. In October 1832 the Tennessee legislature had abolished the Bank of the State of Tennessee and chartered a new Union Bank of the State of Tennessee to replace it.

2. A cholera pandemic had reached the U.S. from Europe in 1832. John Dixon (1792–1860) and Thomas Dixon (1790–1850) were brothers of Frances Love.

3. Gustavus Alexander Brown (c1790–1835) was a Smithland, Ky., physician. On January 21 the Nashville Republican printed a communication from “Priscillian” of Smithland, dated January 13. The essay denied any parallel between South Carolina nullification and Georgia’s extension of laws over the Cherokees, saying that federal Indian treaties were mere “articles of agreement,” not real treaties and “therefore not the supreme law of the land,” and that in defying the state’s legitimate sovereign authority “the Cherokees and their friends are the true Georgia Nullifiers.”

4. Elizabeth Dixon Love (c1812–1858) was Love’s daughter. William Berkeley Lewis (1784–1866) was second auditor of the Treasury and AJ’s confidential political manager.

From William M. Price

New York Feby 6th 1833

Dear Sir

The kind interest you have on several occasions, expressed for my welfare, has emboldened me, somewhat too often perhaps, to trespass upon your patience.

I understand that the friends of at least two or three candidates, are pressing you for the Post office of this City.

I have had the pleasure of a long acquaintance with Gouverneur, and was in daily observation of him and his exceedingly interesting family, during the last six weeks of Mr Monroe’s life.

He is a frank honourable man, and has faithfully discharged the duties of his office. He was I have no doubt originally appointed at the request of Mr Monroe with the expectation that the fruits of the office would be permitted to stand between his Daughters, and that severe distress, to which his removal would, I know, subject that highly interesting family. I would simply entreat those who advise this measure, to consider whether they are quite sure, that the situation to which it would reduce this family, could complacently be beheld even by themselves—and whether our Nation has not too many remembrances of the virtues and services of that one of the few Presidents of the United States (God grant they may be countless) not to make this a single exception, perhaps to a good general rule.

I have, I fear, too obtrusively pressed this matter. But as I live, and love your fame, if I myself desired this office, I would rather dwell in my necessity, than ask you to strike such a blow. It would reach those, to whom I am sure you would not permit harm to happen. I am most sincerely yours

William M Price
ALS, DLC (42). Price (c1787–1846) was a New York City lawyer. In 1834 AJ appointed him U.S. district attorney to succeed James A. Hamilton. Samuel Laurence Gouverneur (1799–1865) had been New York City postmaster since 1828. His wife, Maria Hester Monroe Gouverneur (1802–1850), was the daughter of former president James Monroe, and Gouverneur was also Monroe’s nephew. After Monroe’s wife died in 1830, he and his widowed daughter Elizabeth Kortright Monroe Hay (1786–1840) came to live with the Gouverneurs in New York, and Monroe died there in July 1831. Gouverneur’s public denial in 1832 that AJ’s 1818 Seminole campaign had been conducted under secret orders from Monroe angered AJ, who contemplated removing him and privately called him “deceitful & treacherous” (Jackson Papers, 10:589). Gouverneur remained as postmaster until replaced in 1836.

1. Monroe had pressed the Adams administration for Gouverneur’s appointment in 1828.

From Martin Van Buren

Confidential

Albany Feby 6th. 33

My dear Sir,

You did not as you proposed return me Genl Armstrongs letter. Put it in your desk with the enclosed until I come down. I red. this from our friend Forsyth some days since & did not feel myself at liberty to shew it to you without his consent which I have obtained. Talk to him freely for he is really one of the truest & best of men. Cant you give his brother in law Meigs of Nyork the appointment of Commissioner under the Treaty with Naples. If Mr. Sudam of this state should apply for it I could not go agt. him as he was sorely disappointed in regard to the French Commission. But talk freely to Forsyth about the arrangements to which he alludes in his letter. In extreme haste your friend

M. Van Buren

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (22-0294). Armstrong was probably John Armstrong (1758–1843) of New York, who had been secretary of war in 1813–14. In 1836 he published a history of the War of 1812. Georgia senator John Forsyth had written Van Buren on December 30, 1832, about a state or federal post for his wife’s brother, former New York congressman Henry Meigs (1782–1861). Meigs had sought the post of customs naval officer for New York port, which in January had gone to former governor Enos Throop. Forsyth’s letter also discussed a possible place in the administration for himself, something AJ and Van Buren had been contemplating (Van Buren Papers, DLC). He became secretary of state in 1834.

1. John Sudam (1782–1835) was an Ulster County, N.Y., lawyer and sometime state senator. The U.S. and France had concluded a convention in July 1831 providing for French payment of American merchant claims arising from French depredations on shipping during the Napoleonic Wars. Congress had authorized a three-man commission to adjudicate the claims and allocate payments, and AJ had nominated commissioners to the Senate in July 1832. A similar convention with the Two Sicilies (Naples) was concluded in October 1832. On March 2, 1833, Congress authorized a commission to implement it, and AJ nominated commissioners the same day. Neither Sudam nor Meigs was nominated.
To Felix Grundy

Febry 7th. 1833—

Dr Sir

your note is received, the secretary of war will see you this evening on the subject of its contents. There may be a mere alteration in the phraseology, to confine it, the resolution, to any collisions with the civil authorities of Carolina—which the Sec. will explain

if the resolution means to ask of us to reveal our confidential correspondence with the citizens & our officers there—this at present will not be yielded, altho at a proper time, nothing will be concealed, or wished to be concealed. yrs. respectfully—

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I regret to hear you are unwell would be happy to see you, & hope you will be able to defend the law of yr committee & pass it. A. J

ALS, MoSHi (22-0297). On February 7, opposition senator George Poindexter of Mississippi (1779–1853) had introduced a Senate resolution calling on AJ for copies of orders issued to U.S. military and naval commanders at Charleston, “particularly such orders, if any such have been given, to resist the constituted authorities of the State of South Carolina, within the chartered limits of said State.” Grundy moved for a day’s postponement, to ascertain if the resolution embraced material “which it might not be discreet at this moment to give.” The next day, February 8, Grundy moved to amend the resolution by inserting the words “so far as may in his judgment be compatible with the public interest,” to allow AJ discretion to withhold documents involving “private individuals” whose exposure might be “detrimental to the public interest.” Poindexter in reply condemned efforts “to shroud in secrecy the movements of the Executive authority,” and intimated that Grundy’s amendment had been prompted by AJ. After further debate, Grundy withdrew his amendment on February 11, and Poindexter’s resolution passed in original form (Register of Debates, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 377–78, 405–9, 430–33; Senate Journal, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 163–65, 169, Serial 229). AJ complied with it the next day, February 12, with a message enclosing seventeen instructions from the War and Navy Departments to commanders at Charleston and concluding: “No order has been at any time given ‘to resist the constituted authorities of the State of South Carolina within the chartered limits of said State’” (SDoc 71, 22d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 230).

1. Grundy was a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, whose revenue collection measure, the “Force Bill,” was still before the Senate.

To Joel Roberts Poinsett

Washington City
February 7th. 1833—

Dr. Sir,

yours of the 27th and 28th. ultimo, have been handed me by Mr. Smith—that of the 30th. thro Col Drayton has also been recd. Their contents being considered I hasten to reply.
The nullifiers in your State have placed themselves thus far in the wrong. They must be kept there—notwithstanding all their tyranny and blustering conduct, until some act of force is committed or there is an assemblage of an armed force by the orders of your Governor under the ordinance and Replevin laws to resist the execution of the laws of the United States, the Executive of the United States has no legal and constitutional power to order the militia into the field to suppress it, and not then, until his proclamation commanding the insurgents to disperse has been issued. But this you may rely on, will be promptly done by the president the moment he is advised by proper affidavits that such is the condition of your State. You should not therefore fear the result, if the movement anticipated from the upper country for the purpose of enforcing the odious and despotic *writ in withernam* should really be made.¹

Keep me advised of the first actual assemblage of an armed force in the upper part of your State, or in any other part of it, or in any part of the adjoining states, and before it reaches you I shall interpose a force for your protection and that of the city strong enough to overwhelm any effort to obstruct the execution of the laws. But bear in mind the fact that this step must be consequent upon the actual assemblage of such a force or upon some overt act of its commission. In this event which I trust in god will not happen, I will act and with firmness, promptness and efficiency.

I sincerely lament that there is a contingency so probable which menaces the safety of those who are acting with you to sustain the union and laws of our happy country. But let what will happen remain at your post in the performance of this the highest of all duties. Be firm in the support of the union: it is the sheet anchor of our liberty and prosperity—dissolve it and our fate will be that of unhappy Mexico. But it cannot be dissolved: the national voice from Main to Louisiana with a unanimity and resolution never before exceeded declares that it shall be preserved and those who are assailing it under the guise of nullification and secession shall be consigned to contempt and infamy.

In resisting the tyrannic measures by which the ruling party in So. Carolina have proposed to obstruct the laws of the union, you are thrown back upon the right of self defence. Deprived of the protection guaranteed to you by your own constitution, violent resistance to the tyranny which thus oppresses you becomes a duty, and in the performance of it the constitution and the laws of the United States will be your shield. Do not doubt that this shield will be upheld with all the power which I am or may be authorised to use.

As soon as I am notified that the hostile array which you anticipate has been made the positions recommended as proper to be occupied for defence will be taken. Of this fact let me be notified by an express who will bring the proper evidences of it.

I have regretted that your convention did not, as such, memorialise congress to extend to you the guarantee of the constitution, of a republican
form of Government, stating the actual despotism which now controls the
state. The action of Congress on the subject would have placed your situ-
ation before the whole union and filled the heart of every true lover of his
country and its liberties with indignation.

I can order the regular troops to take any position which may be found
necessary: but your own advice has been to “do nothing to irritate.”
When the crisis comes and I issue my proclamation, authority will be
given to embody all volunteers enrolled for the support and execution
of the laws, and the officers of the same will of their own selection will
be sanctioned by the President, as has been usual upon the receipt of the
muster rolls.

It has just been mentioned to me that a bet has been taken by a man
supposed to be in the secrete of the nullifiers that the convention will be
called and the odious ordinance repealed. God grant that this may be true.
Let not this hope however lessen your watchfulness or your exertions. My
pride is to save the character of my native State by the patriotism of its
own citizens. Firmness on your part will do this.

The Tariff will be reduced to the wants of the Government if not at this
session of congress certainly at the next.

Referring you to Mr Smith I close this hasty scrawl with my prayers
for yr happiness

Andrew Jackson

ALS, PHi (22-0313). Poinsett replied on February 22 (below).

1. The third section of South Carolina’s replevin law provided that, should a federal
officer refuse to comply with a writ of replevin by delivering goods he had seized or detained
for non-payment of customs duties, their owner could procure a capias in withernam writ, or
writ of reprisal, authorizing seizure of the officer’s personal property to the value of double
the detained goods (SDoc 30, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 71, Serial 230).

2. South Carolina Unionists had met in convention at Columbia from December 10 to
14, 1832, and adopted a “Remonstrance and Protest” against the nullification ordinance.
Article 4, Section 4 of the constitution says that “The United States shall guarantee to every
State in this Union a Republican Form of Government.”

From Willie Blount

Feby 8th. 1833

Dear Sir,

Notwithstanding I dislike to trespass on your time, when you have not
a moment to spare from the great and pressing duties of office, yet, cannot
refrain at times from saying a word—will however, be short. Your mes-
gage at the opening of the session, your Proclamation, and late message,
inclosing it, and the S. Carolina Ordinance &c &c, upon Mr. Calhoun’s
instance called for, are, both messages and Proclamation, expressive of my
own sentiments, on those subjects they touch on, and am thankful to you
therefor—they say just enough, and no more, and I approve every word
therein, and am glad I do—your works are my joy—and I must at times express it, for I am not so selfish as to keep it wholly to myself.1

On my return from Nashville, whither, I had been, to attend the electoral college & to give a vote for President and vice President, it so happened, that Mr. Issac Lands, merchant of Hopkinsville, Christian County, Kentucky, and I, travelled together.2 He is an old, and a very warm, and decided, as well as active friend of yours, as he said, and as I, and others, believe. Among other things, we spoke of the then late result of the vote of Kentucky, and I asked, how it had happened, that it was different from that of the preceeding vote for President, when, you obtained the vote of that state: his answer was, that it was in part owing to State pride, one of her citizens being a candidate; in part owing to the fact, that in his County, and he believed in many others, several hundreds of votes were given, in each, for Clay, more than there were resident voters in those counties; that in Christian, he knew the number of persons entitled to vote, & how they were expected to vote for electors, to a man, and that in that County, Clay recd from 200, to 300 votes more, than there were resident voters in the County.3 He added, in very respectful terms towards you, that in the opinion of some, and he feared you would not take it well to mention, that many of your first, and warmest and active friends were of opinion, that sundry eleventh hour friends of yours had recd. appointments, when sundry of your first and constantly uniform & active friends had been, as he termed it, overlooked; and instanced, among others, Doctor Sharp, & Doctor McCarrell, of his vicinity, who were first firm, and still continued to be, warm and active friends of yours, and never ranked among the grumblers: for they were fast friends, from principle, and supporters of the good cause of your faithful & useful administration; & he repeated, that he feared, that you would not take well the mention of such an opinion.4 I told him that no opinion, decourously expressed, ever was in the least offensive to you: that you were guided by principle, and listened with respectful attention to any thing from any quarter, or to any recommendations to office, reserving to yourself, however, at all times, and on all occasions, the right and duty of judging and deciding, for yourself, on principle how to act for the best, and at the same time, in manner, acceptable of choice, but, as you might think for the greatest public good, under any circumstances: he added, such was his own opinion of you and of your course, and had so maintained, on all proper occasions: but he nevertheless believed, that the appointment & appointment of eleventh hour friends, in preference, as it were, to old friends, had so operated on the minds of some of the latter, as to produce a luke-warmness, with them, in the late election, and as your old & continued friend, he thought it right to mention it, to a known friend, to the end, that you might be apprized of such an opinion: and he expressed a hope, that in future, appointments, qualification of candidates being equal, a greater number of old friends would be regarded, in preference to eleventh hour ones. He appeared to
be aware of the great delicacy of thus plainly speaking, but observed, that
as he spoke from what he considered correct, & from what he knew to
be friendly motive, free from selfish alloy, he hoped the hint would be
recd., as intended, in friendship; of which reception, I said, he might rest
assured—best friends are so, on principle, only.

I am glad that the Georgia and missionary affair is put to rest—hope,
that the S. Carolina difficulties will soon be amicably adjusted, by a reduc-
tion of the tariff, as recommended by your message—and that for the
future, all opposition, fire-brands, will be thrown into the water, thro’
the force and affect of the mild, but firm and determined operation of the
good sense of the people of the U.S. on the conduct of their repts. and
Senators—it appears from the resolutions of the legislatures of Maine,
N. Hampshire, and Mississippi, that they are picking the Ticks off their
opposition Senators. I think the course pursued by the U.S. bank, about
the three per cents, amounted to something like, a slippery trick. As
usual, this letter is long. your friend

Willie Blount

[Endorsed by AJ:] recd. 1rst. March, 33, A. J   To be answered answered
4 March 1833—but under the pressure of the severe attack of my Dr
daughter interrupted—sent him two of my Inagural addresses A. J

ALS, DLC (42). Blount (1768–1835), half-brother of AJ’s early political patron William
Blount, had been governor of Tennessee from 1809 to 1815.

1. Calhoun had submitted a Senate resolution on January 14 calling on AJ to furnish
copies of nullification documents, including the South Carolina ordinance, AJ’s December
10 proclamation, Hayne’s December 20 counter-proclamation, and others. The resolution
was tabled with Calhoun’s acquiescence on January 15, after Grundy and William R. King
of Alabama explained that AJ already intended to transmit the documents within the next
few days and was waiting only for official copies of some to arrive from South Carolina
(Register of Debates, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 99–100). AJ’s message the next day, January
16, included them all.

2. Blount was a Jackson elector in 1832. Tennessee’s electors cast their ballots for Jackson
in Nashville on December 5.

3. AJ had carried Kentucky against Adams in 1828 by more than 7,000 votes, but lost it
to Henry Clay in 1832 by about the same margin. In Christian County, Clay outpolled AJ
by 940 to 570. Isaac Landes (1796–1870) was a Hopkinsville merchant.

4. John McCarroll (1789–1862) and Maxwell Sharp (1776–1864) were Hopkinsville
physicians.

5. On March 3, 1832, the Supreme Court in Worcester v. Georgia had struck down
a Georgia law under which two missionaries, Samuel Austin Worcester (1798–1859) and
Elizur Butler (1794–1857), had been convicted and imprisoned for residing among the
Georgia Cherokees without a license from the state. The Court held that the Cherokee
nation was “a distinct community . . . in which the laws of Georgia can have no force,” and
that the state’s attempt to exercise jurisdiction within it was “repugnant to the constitution,
laws, and treaties of the United States” (31 U.S. Reports 361). Georgia’s courts ignored the
ruling, raising the threat of direct collision between state and federal authority. However, on
December 22 governor Wilson Lumpkin signed a repeal of the license law, and on January
14, 1833, he released Worcester and Butler. That and the missionaries’ decision not to pursue
a further judicial remedy ended the proceedings.
6. On January 4, the New Hampshire legislature passed resolutions calling for opposition senator Samuel Bell to resign for misrepresenting his constituents (Niles, February 9, 1833). Resolutions censuring George Poindexter were introduced in the Mississippi legislature in January. On January 26 the Maine legislature resolved that senators John Holmes and Peleg Sprague should resign for violating legislative instructions in favor of tariff reduction and against rechartering the Bank of the United States (Resolves of the Thirteenth Legislature of the State of Maine, pp. 501–2).

7. The Bank of the United States had made an arrangement in 1832 to postpone redemption of a portion of the federal debt. AJ wrote Roger Taney about it on March 12 (below).

Simeon Sampson Goodwin to Louis McLane

Office of the Louisville & Portland Canal Company
Louisville Ky Febry. 8. 1833

Sir.

Since the commencement of the present year, the Louisville & Portland Canal has been in successful operation, and all the business of this port, has been done at the wharves of the city, instead as heretofore of the large Steam Boats arriving from New Orleans, landing their cargoes below the falls, to be drayed to the city a distance of two or three miles, this has caused a great change in business, and thrown out of employment, a numerous class of hackmen, draymen, petty grocers, whiskey dealers, and others connected with this line of transportation.

The consequence of which has been a combination of these persons, and others drawn to them, from a variety of motives, to destroy, injure or impede the Canal, in every way they can devise; the first attempt was made on the Locks, to blow them up with Gunpowder, which was but partially successful, owing to a heavy rain falling at the time, one of their three mines only exploded, the injury done, was so far repaired, as to pass boats in four days, but had their well designed plot, been successful, the Canal would have been rendered useless for a greater part of the year; a few nights after an attempt was made to mine & blow up the Stone bridge, in which they were disturbed by the watchman of the Canal. And, last night, they took a large flat boat laden with about 3000 bushels of stone Coal, and moored it at the upper entrance of the Canal, and sunk it immediately across the mouth so as entirely to suspend the navigation for some days, or until it is removed, which can only be done at considerable expense and trouble.¹

The Company have established a watch, which to be kept up will be attended with much expense. And they have procured the passage of an Act of the legislature of this State, making such outrages punishable by confinement in the Penitentiary for a period of seven to twenty one years for a white person, or death to a slave.²

Now in consideration of the large interest held by the United States, in this work, and also considering that a daily line of the great mail to and
from New Orleans passes through this Canal. The board of President &
Directors of this Company would respectfully suggest to you, and through
your Department to the President of the United States, the propriety of
stationing a small military guard in the vicinity of the Canal, for example
a recruiting party with a rendezvous at Portland, (than which there is no
superior point in the western country to procure recruits) and that this
guard be directed to do duty on the line of the Canal. the service would
greatly subserve the interests of the Company, and in the opinion of this
board render a legitimate duty to the United States.

In fact this local combination is so strong and well arranged, that not-
withstanding the board have offered a reward of one thousand dollars,
and have taken other prudential measures, to discover & punish the per-
petrators of these outrages, to which however they can get no clew, and
cannot prevent the frequent repetition of them but by constantly guarding
every part of the works. Wherefore they make this request of a small mili-
tary guard which will put them beyond the fear of the destruction of this
valuable public work, and they hope, that if consistant with the views of
the President it will be granted to them as soon as it can be done. By order
of the board of President & Directors Most Resptly Yr Obt Servt

Simon S. Goodwin Secty
L & P Canal Compy

[Endorsed by McLane:] Respectfully submitted to the President by his ob.
Servt. L. McLane Feb. 18. 1833.

[Endorsed by AJ:] If the prayer of the petition can be complied with
without injury to the public service, let a recruiting rendezvous be there
forthwith established—A. J.

[Endorsed by Alexander Macomb:] The Adjutant Genl will establish a
rendezvous at Louisville forthwith. A. Macomb 19 fy 1833.

[Endorsed by Roger Jones:] Request complied with—see letter to Lt.
Bateman—a copy furnished for the writer—R Jones

ALS, DNA-RG 107 (M221-113). Goodwin (1782–1847) was secretary of the Louisville and
Portland Canal Company, chartered by the Kentucky legislature in 1825. The two-mile toll
canal bypassed the often impassable Falls of the Ohio, allowing river traffic to avoid trans-
shipment at Louisville. Congress had aided the work by subscribing for company stock in
1826 and again in 1829, but in 1830 AJ pocket-vetoed a bill to purchase more shares. The
canal passed its first steamboat in December 1830 and was completed in 1833.

1. The attempt to blow up the locks occurred on January 23, and the effort against the
bridge over the canal was made on January 29. No further sabotage was reported after the
boat sinking on February 7. The company reported in January 1834 that efforts to identify
the perpetrators had proved “fruitless” (Journal of the House of Representatives of the
Commonwealth of Kentucky, December 1833 session, appendix, p. 103).
2. A Kentucky law of February 2 made blowing up the locks or the bridge a felony punishable by two to four years’ imprisonment for whites and death for slaves (Acts Passed at the First Session of the Forty-First General Assembly for the Commonwealth of Kentucky, p. 286).

3. Major General Alexander Macomb (1782–1841) was commanding general of the U.S. Army, and Roger Jones (1789–1852) was adjutant general. Lieutenant Mark W. Batman or Bateman (c1799–1837) commanded a recruiting station at Newport, Ky.

From Manuel Gómez Pedraza

Palace of the Federal Government
Mexico, February 9, 1833

Great and good friend.¹

The national constitution having been violated in 1828, I thought to do my homeland a service by voluntarily absenting myself from these states, despite having been elected by an absolute majority of the federation’s states to the presidency of the republic. A reaction in defense of the general interest and proclaiming the constitution and laws ousted the unfortunate General Guerrero from the chief magistracy that he occupied, placing him before a degrading tribunal and condemning him to death at the gallows.²

Such momentous developments kept the whole nation in suspense, but the steps taken by the administration that followed were not in keeping with the constitution and laws, as had been proclaimed. Repeated infractions, abuses of power, and a cruel war in the south awakened Mexicans’ zeal. The brave General Santa Anna placed himself at the forefront and public opinion coalesced on the necessity of legitimizing authority. The said General Santa Anna proclaimed my return, which was seconded by the states, which sent commissions to me. When I came to understand that my presence might restore to the homeland that peace so important and desired, I decided to sacrifice everything for such a noble goal. Upon my arrival at Puebla, the large armies that supported, on the one hand, the great pleas of a nation committed to legitimacy and, on the other, the established government, were about to decide those most sacred objects through the fortunes of war. Yet, the glory fell to me to prevent the horrors of civil war, which I stopped through a peace treaty that has merited the approval of the whole nation. It is now certain that during the coming month of March all the legislative powers throughout the republic will be renewed, which in turn will bring about all the necessary renewals in the executive and judicial branches as well as constitutional reforms.³

In this way, peace has been restored along with the important operation of authorities elected by an immense majority, thus giving some idea of the present state of the Mexican republic and of the happy prospects that such developments represent. My conduct on taking charge of the
administration has had no other object than securing order, consolidating the public institutions, and preparing for the nation all the advantages that can be expected from the complete reestablishment of a constitutional regime. Zealous to make disappear even the least remnants of discord and anarchy, my efforts will be directed toward this important goal, which I do not doubt will be seconded by all public officials and the good will of Mexicans.

If it is satisfying to me to communicate to Your Excellency such happy developments and flatter myself that you will be pleased to learn of them because of the good and harmonious relations that happily exist between these and those states, it is no less so to me to congratulate Your Excellency on your reelection to the chief magistracy with the assurance it affords for preserving and strengthening the brotherly ties by which our countries are bound.

Your Excellency, be pleased to accept the sincerity of these sentiments and the assurances of the dearest and true friendship with which I sign myself. Great and good friend. Your most obedient servant.

Manuel G. Pedraza
Bernardo González

LS, DNA-RG 59 (M54-1). English translation by Dr. Jesús F. de la Teja, University Distinguished Professor Emeritus of History at Texas State University. The Spanish text reads:

Palacio del Gobierno Federal
Mexico 9. de Febrero de 1.833.

Grande y buen amigo.

Vulnerada la Constitucion nacional el año de 828, crei hacer á mi Patria un servicio ausentandome voluntariamente de estos Estados sin embargo de haber sido electo por una absoluta mayoria de los de la Federacion para Presidente de la Republica. Una reaccion cubierta con el interes general y proclamando Constitucion y leyes, lanzo de la primera Magistratura al infortunado General Guerrero que la ocupaba, hasta ponerlo en un tribunal degradante y condenarlo al patibulo.

Tamaños acontecimientos mantuvieron en sorpresa á toda la Nacion; pero los pasos de la administracion que habia sucedido, no se ajustaron á la Constitucion y leyes q. habian proclamado; reiteradas infracciones, demasias del poder, y una guerra cruel en la parte del Sur, despertaron los sentimientos energicos de los mexicanos, se puso al frente el bravo Gral. Santa Anna, se uniformó la opinion sobre la necesidad de legitimar el poder; proclamó mi regreso el mismo General Santa Anna, le secundaron los Estados, me dirigieron comisiones; y cuando llegué á entender que mi presencia podia restituir á la Patria la paz tan interesante y deseada, me decidí á todo sacrificio por objeto tan noble; á mi arribo á Puebla, los grandes Ejercitos que sostenian por una parte los recursos inmensos de una Nacion decidida por la legitimidad, y por la otra un Gobierno establecido, ivan á decidir de los mas sagrados objetos libradoslos en la suerte de las armas, y me toco la gloria de evitar todos los horrores de la guerra civil, haciendola cesar por un Tratado de pacificacion que ha merecido la sancion practica de toda la Nacion, siendo seguro que en todo el proximo mes de Marzo quedará renovado en la extencion de la Republica todo el poder legislativo, y q. este hará en sus casos las renovaciones necesarias en el Ejecutivo y Judicial y las reformas Constitucionales. De esta manera se há restituido la paz y la importante accion de Autoridades electas por la inmensa mayoria y de aqui el concepto del actual estado de la Republica mexicana y del feliz porvenir.
que ofrecen tan preciosos elementos. Mi conducta al encargarme de la administración no ha tenido otro objeto que asegurar el orden, consolidar las instituciones y preparar a la Nación todas Las ventajas que deben esperarse del completo restablecimiento del régimen constitucional. Interesado vivamente en hacer desaparecer hasta los últimos restos de la discordia y la anarquía, mis esfuerzos se dirijirán a este importante fin, y no dudo que ellos serán secundados por la corporación de las Autoridades y por el buen sentido de los mexicanos.

Si me es satisfactorio comunicar á V.E. tan faustos acontecimientos y lisonjearme con la idea de que se impondrá de ellos con placer por las relaciones y buena armonia que felizmente reina entre esos y estos Estados, no lo es menos felicitar á V.E. por su reelección para la primera Magistratura y por la seguridad que ella ofrece de conservar y estrechar más los lazos fraternales con que están unidos ambos países.

Sirvase V.E. admitir la sinceridad de estos sentimientos y las seguridades de la más distinguida y verdadera amistad con que me suscribo. Grande y buen amigo. Vuestro muy obediente servidor.

Man G. Pedraza

1. AJ replied on April 20 (below).
2. Vicente Ramón Guerrero (1782–1831) had run second in the 1828 Mexican presidential election, with votes of nine state legislatures to Gómez Pedraza’s eleven. After assuming the presidency and then being himself deposed in late 1829, Guerrero battled government forces in southern Mexico. In 1831 he was captured, tried, and executed.
3. The December 1832 Plan of Zavaleta that ended Mexico’s civil war called for new elections and for the national congress to convene on March 25.
4. Bernardo González (b. 1780) was Mexico’s foreign minister.

From Joel Roberts Poinsett

(Private)

Charleston
9th. February 1833

My dear Sir

The arrival of Mr. Leigh from Richmond changed the plans of the nullifiers. They did not wish to give an immediate answer to Virginia, which they would have been compelled to do if their convention had been in Session. After much negotiation, they yesterday informed him, that they would assemble the convention directly after the adjournment of Congress—The second Monday in March. Mr. Leigh says he hopes they will listen to the voice of Virginia if the tariff bill passes; but if the bill granting the powers asked for by you should pass and not the tariff not be modified he fears they will go on. Mr. Leigh acknowledges, that if they do go on Eastern Virginia will remain neutral and Western Virginia take part against them—so that the Legislature of that state can pledge itself the state to no course which this state desires it to do. I believe it will be found, that when the Leaders desire to stop, they have not the power to do so. They have raised a storm beyond their power to control. I intend to call the convention of the Union party together as soon as Hamilton issues his proclamation. I shall fix on three days later, so as to see their hand, and determine our course accordingly.¹
It is rumoured, that the British Consul has assured his friends the nullifiers that he has written to the Commander of B. M. Squadron in the West Indies to send some vessels of war off this harbour in order to protect the persons & property of H. B. M’s subjects. Whatever may be the pretext of such a measure, the appearance of such a force here would encourage the nullifiers; for their leaders have all along led them to believe, that in a contest with the federal government they would receive the aid of Great Britain. This Consul is a nullifier and if I can detect him in doings as well as sayings I will give you instant information, and think he ought to be deprived of his Exequatur.2

I transmit you herewith a letter in relation to the Post office in Columbia. That P.M. ought to be dismissed. The Union party recommend Mr. Chapman to be appointed in his place. McLean the mail Contractor deceives the P.M.G. government has not a more determined or more mischievous enemy. He sported the revolutionary cockade and has I presume volunteered his services to fight against the government which pays him.3

All my accounts from the country are cheering. The Union party are decided and firm. They will I believe oppose secession to a man. I am, Dear Sir, very respectfully your most Obt. Servt.

J. R. Poinsett

ALS, DLC (42). AJ replied on February 17 (below).

1. After extended debate, on January 26 the Virginia legislature adopted resolutions to “interpose and mediate” to resolve the nullification crisis. They called for South Carolina to rescind or suspend its ordinance, for Congress to lower the tariff, and for both sides to refrain from any acts “calculated to disturb the tranquility of the country, or endanger the existence of the Union.” The legislature reaffirmed the Virginia doctrines of 1798, which it considered as neither sanctioning nullification nor “countenancing all the principles” of AJ’s proclamation. The legislature appointed Benjamin Watkins Leigh (1781–1849) as commissioner to carry its resolutions to South Carolina (Acts Passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, December 1832 session, pp. 201–3).

Leigh presented the resolutions to Governor Hayne at Charleston on February 4. Hayne replied that it had already been decided to take no action under the ordinance until after Congress adjourned, and that decision beyond that would rest with the adjourned South Carolina convention and its president, James Hamilton Jr., who held power to reconvene it. On February 6 Hamilton promised Leigh, through Hayne, that the convention would reassemble as soon as possible (State Papers on Nullification, pp. 327–35). On February 13 Hamilton issued a proclamation reconvening the convention for Monday, March 11.

2. William Ogilby (d. 1864) was the British consul at Charleston. George Cockburn (1772–1853) commanded the British North American and West Indian stations. An exequatur is a consular authorization issued by the host government.

3. Columbia postmaster Samuel Green (1767–1837) was replaced by Gersham Chapman (1763–1835) on February 19. John McLean (c1795–1852) was a prominent South Carolina mail contractor.
From Anthony Butler

Mexico 10 February 1833.

My dear Sir,

Within a few days past I have heard from a friend that the present administration who find themselves with an empty Treasury, and surrounded by clamorous Creditors, contemplate to attempt supplying their wants by a loan; and he observed that it was probable an application would shortly be made to me for the purpose of ascertaining—1st. Whether the Government of the United States had the power of employing the National funds by way of loan, and if vested with such power, then whether I was of opinion such a Negotiation could be effected. 2dly. If the Government could exercise no such power, or should be disinclined to make a loan—then whether it was probable a loan could be effected with the Capitalists in the United States—and in either event, that it was probable my good offices would be solicited. Of course I gave no direct answer to this political demonstration, but merely remarked, that such an exercise of the Federal power never having occurred to me as probable I had never bestowed a thought on the subject; that from his suggestions I would turn the matter in my mind, and if such a proposal ever was made would endeavour to be prepared with a reply. Should the proposition be made to me before I receive your answer, it may be somewhat perplexing and I must contrive to keep it suspended untill that answer arrives, which I beg may be as early as convenient. Whenever such a communication is made to me in direct terms it shall be turned to the best account in adjusting the boundary question upon which I am fully instructed; but in the event of a sale being refused, then another question may arise upon which instructions will be indispensabile. My views are these—suppose it is perceived that an absolute sale at this time, will not be made, but that a Mortgage on the Territory of T.____ would be given as security for the repayment of Money advanced on Loan—then I ask would it be expedient to advance as a loan that sum which we are willing to pay for the purchase? and secured by a lien on the territory as far West as the middle of the Desert. and if so shall the lien be accepted with, or without receiving possession of the Country? I am convinced that a loan on such terms would be tantamount to a purchase, because in the present condition of the public Treasury, years must elapse under the most economical and judicious management with peace during the whole period before they will be in a state to meet existing engagements, and this loan would no doubt be considered, and intended from the beginning to be extinguished by a surrender of the hypothecated Territory; and therefore neither be a thought bestowed upon, or a single effort made for its repayment, but the Country suffered quietly to fall in to us. Should the proposal be made to me as expected, I shall endeavour to simplify...
the transaction by Negotiating an absolute Sale if possible. Yet I confess that my hopes of success are more faint from knowing that some large Grants have been recently made to persons, some of them friends of Gen. Santa Anna, evidently with a view to the New York Market, and those Grantees by uniting their influence might have great weight in arresting the Negotiation should they discover that it was pending, because its consummation would convert all their golden prospects into Moonshine; there is besides another difficulty I can foresee which would interpose itself against an absolute unconditional transfer of the Territory at the present moment, in the use which might be made of such an event against the party in power by their adversaries, whilst against a contract in which the Territory was merely pledged for repayment of money loaned to meet the public exigency no solid objection could be sustained.

Anticipating that such proposals may be made as were hinted to me, I have thought it right to make you this communication in order that the subject may be considered at home, and such instructions given, as will provide for the contingency when it arrives. I remain My dear Sir with great Respect & Esteem your most obedt. Servt.

A. Butler


**From Henry Lee**

Paris 10th Feby 1833
dear Genl.

I now inclose the copies of Mr. Monroes two letters to me—which I informed you in my last were in my possession and should be transmitted both to you & to Mr. Governeur of N. York. In my last letter I answered & returned yours of the 17th Decr. 1832—ever yours

H. Lee

[Endorsed by AJ:] Major Lee—Mr. Monroes, correspondence with him, & reference to that between Mr. Monroe, & Genl J.—not one word about the Jany Rhea, letter, or Mr Rheas, in reply wrote by his instructions. A. J. This to be carefully kept A J.

ALS, DLC (42; 22-0329). In the course of assembling materials for a projected biography of AJ, Lee in 1828 had queried Monroe and Calhoun about their orders for AJ’s 1818 Seminole campaign. The two letters he now enclosed were copies of Monroe’s replies to him of June 23 and July 3, 1828. In the first, written from New York, Monroe promised Lee a full accounting of his communications with AJ upon his return to Virginia (DLC-35). In the second, written from home, he presented an itemized list of orders issued for the campaign in late 1817 and of his correspondence with AJ after it from July to December
1818 (DLC-35; The Writings of James Monroe, 7 [1903]: 169–73). Neither letter made mention of the private letter that AJ had written Monroe on January 6, 1818, seeking an authorization through John Rhea to seize Florida (Jackson Papers, 4:166–68), nor of the approving response that AJ now claimed to have received—and which the dying Monroe, at Gouverneur’s house in June 1831, had denied having given (Jackson Papers, 9:286–88).

Previously, on July 25, 1832, William B. Lewis had written Lee at AJ’s behest, giving AJ’s version of the 1818 events: that Rhea had replied to AJ giving Monroe’s approval to seize Florida, and that AJ had later burned Rhea’s letter at Monroe’s request, again conveyed through Rhea. Lewis asked Lee to confirm the account, and Lee wrote AJ in reply on September 4 that he did recall seeing, in 1827 or 1828, a note in AJ’s letter book recording the burning of a letter containing Monroe’s “approval of your design to occupy enter Florida.” The last part of Lee’s letter is missing. The surviving portion does not mention Rhea and ends with, “I have a less distinct recollection that that letter was not from” (Jackson Papers, 10:491–92). It appears that AJ may have queried Lee further on December 17, 1832, and that Lee enclosed a reply with his letter of January 6 (above). Lewis’s July 25, 1832, letter, which Lee quoted at length in his September 4 reply to AJ, was probably prompted by a memorandum AJ wrote Lewis asking him to query Lee (NN, 32-1464). Lewis later dated this memorandum at January 1837, and it was so published in Bassett’s Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, but that date is incorrect. AJ probably wrote it shortly before leaving Washington for Tennessee on July 23, 1832. It reads:

“Memorandum for Major Wm. B. Lewis
To write to Major Henry Lee, and request him to state whether, when in Tennessee, and boarding with his family at Mr Wm. Sanders, fountain of health, and preparing his strictures on the address to the public, by Mr. Johnston & others, a committee appointed by those in support of Mr. J. Q. Adams as president, he did not have a view of a confidential of mine to Mr. Munro then President of the United States, dated in January 1818 on the subject of the situation & affairs in Florida, and pointing to the course that ought to be pursued there to give peace & security to our frontier border, and indemnify our citizen for injuries sustained &c &c &c—and in which was pointed out—that these things could be done without implicating the Govt. &c—that it might be intimated or signified to me through any channel (say Johny Rhea) that the possession of Florida would be desirable &c & and in sixty days it would be accomplished and whether he did not see marked on the margin of said letter book, that Mr. John Rheas. letter in reply to his confidential letter had been burnt on the 12th. day of april 1819, as requested by Mr. Rhea at Washington in January or February 1819—and whether Major Lee did not express great astonishment that I should have so destroyed when I informed it was at the earnest personal request of Mr. Rhea, and Mr. Rhea stated at the earnest request of Mr Munroe, as I my health was delicate & I might die without destroying that confidential letter, which was strictly confidential & I had promised him that as soon as I reached home I would burn it—and having so promised I did burn & made that memorandum on the margin to shew I had complied with my promise—and request the Major to state the month & year in which he saw my letter to Mr Munroe with said entry aforesaid on its margin—”

From John L. Allen

Washington City
11th February—1833

Sir:

It is with profound respect, that I beg leave to call to your attention, to an allowance that was recently made by the secretary of War to Col
Reynolds Indian Agent, for the sum of eighteen hundred and fifty dollars for the purpose of two Delegations of Chickasaws who conceived that they had business of a public nature at this place. In the distribution of this money, I am left out of this number, and left to bare my own expenses.

I deem it only necessary for you, to know the facts relative to this matter, in order that equal justice should be done to each individual concerned. I was invited to visit this place for two reasons, first; because I could not get my accounts settled, and paid for near three years back, when in fact there is no fault on my part. My accounts have been regularly rendered, and I believe has been allowed since my arrival in this place. Secondly I was specially invited by the Chiefs to accompany them to this city, on their business relative to their Nation. It is true, I was not ordered here by the Department, but, from the delay of the Department in settling my accounts, I found it necessary for the sustainance of my family that I should have my accounts, audited, and paid if possible. It is also true that those persons to whom the allowance has been made, were not invited here more than myself. Therefore it is with the most profound respect to your judgment, and sense of justice, that I bring matter before you for your action.

John L. Allen
Sub Agent

PS Major G W Long is provided for who is neither an officer of the Government, nor is he interested or connected with Chickasaws either by affinity or consanguinity because he is a white man and has a white woman for his wife J L A.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Those who came on with the Agent were directed to come on to rebut the charges made, about the unfairness of the conduct of the commissioner who made the treaty, who had been so wantingly & cruelly slandered by the statements made, & to combat the foul means adopted thro’ Poindexter to defeat the Treaty & destroy the Chickasaws.

ALS, DLC (42). Benjamin Franklin Reynolds (1788–1843) was the Chickasaw agent. He and three other witnesses had come to Washington at John Coffee’s behest to defend the Treaty of Pontotoc Creek and Coffee’s conduct as negotiator. On January 21 they had all submitted testimonials to the War Department defending Coffee and condemning the November 22, 1832, Chickasaw protest against the treaty as false and fraudulent (SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 4, pp. 18–22, Serial 247). On January 31 Reynolds submitted to Secretary of War Cass an estimate of $1,650 in travel expenses to Washington for himself and his companions and also for four members of George Colbert’s Chickasaw delegation, adding: “N. B. the expenses of the sub Agent is not included” (DNA-RG 75, M234-136). The sums were allowed and paid.
1. Gabriel W. Long (c1800–1853), one of Reynolds’s three companions, was a former Chickasaw subagent. Coffee said he was “connected with the nation by marriage.”

2. On December 28, 1832, after AJ’s submission of the Treaty of Pontotoc Creek to the Senate, Poindexter had moved a resolution calling on AJ for copies of the voided 1830 Treaty of Franklin and of Coffee’s negotiating instructions. AJ complied on January 4. Later, in final deliberations on the treaty on February 28, Poindexter moved to return it to AJ for further negotiation. His motion was defeated, 27 to 6 (Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:290–91, 318).

From James Gadsden

Private

Wascissa
12 Febry. 33

My Dear General

Blunt was at my house last night complaining that some Creek Indians had been treating him with outrage & that one or two white men have commenced trespassing on his reservation, on the pretext that he had sold it to the Government. It is true he has entered into an arrangement for removal west, but is to have two years to make his preparations; which cannot be done to his satisfaction without the unmolested occupation of his land reservation on the Appalachicola. It was understood that he would receive the protection, & no one is better entitled to it, of the U States; up to the period of his departure. I have referred Blunt to the Governor who will I trust pay due regard to his complaints where just—but I really fear that with every disposition the Governor may find it impossible, under the existing state of things, to extend adequate protection without the presence of a resident Agent whom may himself have a guardian eye over the Indians; and apply the remedy upon every attempt at aggression.¹

Formerly the Subagent resided on the Appalachicola, but on his appointment as Agent, no Individual has taken his place.² At this time it is all important that there should be someone present for no one better knows than yourself; the audacity of Settlers & new Comers as they are called, to move in anticipation of any contemplated removal of Indians. It is but recently, I believe, that you have been called upon to exercise some authority to prevent trespasses on the Creeks & it is with a view of preventing a possible call on you in relation to the Appalachicola Indians, that I have addressed you this private note.³ In addition, the Indians who have refused to treat; as well as those Creeks, who are most indisposed to migrate, have become very jealous of Blunt. Fearing the influence of his example in promptly acceding to the propositions of our Government for removal west; they have, as he has informed me, threatened him in secret. He seems to be in some fear of violence; & the presence of a faithful
Agent at this time to protect him & speak to the disaffected as they deserve, can not but have the most salutary effect on the final removal of the Indians from this quarter. The deep interest I have taken on this subject, & the agency I have exercised in contributing to an object which is in some degree identified with the benefits of your administration, is my only apology for troubling you, at a period so absorbing as the present in relation to our public affairs, with this communication. I have written to Governor Cass & recommended, should you think proper to have a temporary appointment made, Mr Wm. Pope as Sub Agent, whose name I believe, is on record in the War Dept as an applicant for the place[.]

respectfully your friend

James Gadsden

ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-288). Gadsden (1788–1858) had been AJ’s comrade-in-arms before settling in Florida. At Tallahassee on October 11, 1832, he had concluded a removal treaty with a band of 256 Apalachicola Indians led by chiefs John Blount (d. 1834) and Davy Elliott. For a payment of $13,000, the Indians were to remove to lands west of the Mississippi by November 1, 1833, or, if “unavoidable circumstances” prevented, within a year after (Indian Treaties, 2:352). Blount had won AJ’s praise and gratitude as his guide in the 1818 Seminole campaign (Jackson Papers, 4:214).

1. On February 14, William Pope Duval (1784–1854), Florida Territory governor and ex officio Indian superintendent, sent subagent David M. Sheffield to investigate Blount’s complaints. Blount told Sheffield that a party of Alabama Indians had beaten him and carried away an Indian family, livestock, and some young warriors. Sheffield had Blount swear out affidavits against three white men for trespassing and personal violence. Warrants were issued for their appearance, and they were ordered to leave the reservation within a day. Depredations on Blount continued. In June a reward was offered for the apprehension of two white men who broke into his house on April 30 and stole $1,000 in money and goods (HRDoc 271, 24th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 12–14, Serial 292).

2. Former Seminole subagent John William Phagan (1782–1858) had resided on the Apalachicola before his appointment as agent in 1830. Sheffield, his successor as subagent, lived at Tallahassee.

3. The Alabama Creeks had signed a cession treaty on March 24, 1832. It pledged the U.S. to remove intruders on the ceded lands pending their survey and after that on tracts selected for retention by individual Creeks (Indian Treaties, 2:341–42). Repeated complaints of intrusions had prompted Cass to issue insistent orders to remove and prosecute the offenders (SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, p. 944, Serial 245).

4. Gadsden wrote Cass this same day (SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 4, pp. 96–97, Serial 247). Duval had urged “the immediate necessity” of an additional subagent and recommended William Stuart Pope (1789–1837) as early as July 21, 1831 (DNA-RG 75, M234-287). The War Department gave its approval for Duval to appoint Pope on March 16. He would “not be considered a regular Sub-Agent, but his duties will be similar, and he will use his utmost exertions to prevent intrusion and outrage of every description” (TPUS, 24:822).
From George Louis Mayer

Lancaster, February 12th 1833.

Sir,

In forwarding to you the paper herein enclosed, I consider that I am but discharging a solemn duty; but, at the same time; I feel it to be due to myself, to set forth the manner in which it came into my possession. A short time since, business called me to Harrisburg, where I put up (as usual) at the Hotel of Mr Wilson, by whom I was placed in an apartment which had just been vacated by Mr Ingham. The drawer of the table, forming a part of the furniture of the room was appropriated by me to the reception of a number of papers and documents connected with the object of my visit to Harrisburg. When about to arrange these papers for my departure, I found mingled with them a number of letters directed to Mr Ingham, which that gentleman had carelessly left in the drawer, among the rest, the letter enclosed, from Mr. Calhoun. That being undirected, as you will perceive, I glanced over it hastily to satisfy myself that it did not form one of my own documents and I found the contents to be of a character, which not only warranted me in completing its perusal, but which, I humbly conceived rendered it my duty to forward it to you, as the President of the United states that the developments it furnishes may place the administration the better on its guard, and enable it the more effectually to judge of the extent of the schemes in which the late Vice President is involved and from what quarter he expects aid in his projects of treason and disunion. If, in the course I have adopted, there is aught of error, I intreat that my fault may find shelter in the soundness of my motives—if approved of, my greatest reward is, that I have done my duty to my country, and to the President of my choice. I have the honor to be with great respect your friend

Geo: Louis Mayer

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr Mayer enclosing a letter of Mr. J. C. C—to Mr. Ingham recd from Genl Muhlenburgh Febry 19th. 1833—

[Endorsed by AJ:] The enclosed to be returned to the writer, with the remark, that finding nothing treasonable, but much duplicity, & corruption, the original is returned that you may send it to Mr Ingham—a copy ought to be taken A. J.

[Endorsed by AJ Donelson:] The reply at the foot of this letter on the same page: forwarded thro Mr. Muhlenbergh. AJD
been AJ’s first secretary of the Treasury. Long friendly to Calhoun, he was compelled to resign in 1831 and went into public opposition.

1. Matthew Wilson operated a hotel at Third and Market streets in Harrisburg.
2. Henry Augustus Philip Muhlenberg (1782–1844) was a Pennsylvania congressman.

[Enclosure: John C. Calhoun to Samuel D. Ingham]

Copy

Washington
16th. Jany. 1833

My dear Sir,

We had the message promised by Mr. Grundy on Tuesday, with all of the documents, yesterday. I did not expect it till to day and was not in my seat when received. I came in while it was reading; and soon determined from its contents not to let it pass without a blow: and accordingly struck it as soon as the reading was finished. I enclose the Telegraph which contains the message, and my remarks on it. My friends say the latter made a deep impression both on the Senate and the audience.

The Proclamation did us much good, but the message will still more. It has roused the spirit of the Southern members here, in which even most of the Jackson men from that quarter participate. I do not in the least doubt, if the Tariff be not adjusted, the whole south will be united in less than six months, and that not only in opposition to the Tariff but also to the principles of consolidation. The doctrines of 98 will triumph again and will again save the Republick.

It is certain that Jackson desires force tho he dare not ask it. I do not doubt but the image of a crown is before him, in his dreams. He will not be gratified with force. He will not be trusted. In the mean time our friends may rely on it, that not the slightest pretext will be given on our part to use force.

The same report prevails here that does with you as to the order for arrest, tho it cannot be traced to any certain source. I would not be surprised at any act of madness. Should the attempt be made my wish is the same as yours as to the part he may act. It would be noble to submit to the laws under such circumstances, and would immortalize his name and the cause with which he is so intimately identified. I fear, however, the passions of men would not permit so elevated a course.

It is doubtful whether any modification of the Tariff will take place. I rejoice to hear that there are symptoms of reaction with you. It augurs well. There is no cause for despair. All will do well with prudence and firmness. Let the sound and patriotic organize every where—understand one another and prepare for action. Your services will again be needed by the country, and I hope your health and life will be long spared. Let me hear from you before you leave Harrisburgh. Sincerely

(signd) J. C. Calhoun

· February 1833 ·
To Felix Grundy

[On February 12, Henry Clay introduced a tariff bill in the Senate as an alternative to the Verplanck bill still before the House. Calhoun spoke in its favor, evoking cheers in the galleries. Quickly dubbed the “Compromise Bill,” it prescribed a gradual reduction over nine years of all duties over twenty per cent. On February 13, after motions to table or refer it to the Committee on Manufactures were defeated, the bill was referred on Grundy’s motion to a select committee of seven.]

Private—

Febry 13th. 1833, at night—

Dr. Sir

I am just informed that there will be a motion made to lay the judiciay bill on the table until Mr Clay’s tariff bill is discussed—surely you and all my friends will push that bill thro the senate—this is due to the country—its is due to me, & to the safety of this Union and surely you and others of the committee who reported it will never let it slumber one day until it passes the senate—lay all delicacy on this subject aside and compel every mans name to appear upon the journals that the nullifiers may all be distinguished from those who are in support of the laws, & the Union.

I am mortified at the committee appointed on Mr. [C.’s] bill—surely it was due to me that at least a majority of [the] committee should [have] been supporters of the administration—it is a direct insult to me, & the Sec’ of the Treasury that such a man as Mr Clayton should be upon it.1

I would be happy to see you, but I have confidence that you will push the bill, the whole bill and nothing but the bill—a letter just rec’d from Columbia So. C. states that the 15th. instant, is the day for the assemblage of the volunteers, that the aid of the Govr. has left there, to assemble them, & lay in supplies—Therefore, it is that I wish you to press the bill. yrs

Andrew Jackson

1. This date is incorrect. The events it describes “yesterday” took place on the 16th, making the date of the letter Thursday, January 17.
2. Duff Green’s Washington United States’ Telegraph was friendly to Calhoun. On January 17 it printed AJ’s January 16 message and Calhoun’s impromptu Senate response.
John Middleton Clayton (1796–1856) was a senator from Delaware. Hugh Lawson White of Tennessee, president pro tempore of the Senate and its regular presiding officer since Calhoun’s resignation as vice-president in December 1832, had named the select committee. Its members were Clay, Calhoun, Grundy, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, Clayton, William C. Rives of Virginia, and George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania. In 1837 White, by then politically estranged from AJ, testified to a House committee that in hopes of resolving the crisis he had deliberately chosen a committee to represent a spectrum of opinion, and that AJ had summoned him to the White House that evening and urged him to have Clayton taken off (HRRep 194, 24th Cong., 2d sess., “Journal” pp. 112–13, Serial 307).

From Samuel Houston

Natchitoches, La. 13th. Feb. 1833—

Dear Sir

Having been as far as Bexar in the Province of Texas, where I had an interview with the Comanche Indians; I am in possession of some information, that will doubtless be interesting to you; and may be calculated to forward your views if you should entertain any; touching the acquisition of Texas, by the Government of the United States.¹ That such a measure is desirable, by nineteen twentieths of the population of the Province I cannot doubt. They are now without laws to govern, or protect them. Mexico is involved in civil war. The Federal Constitution, has never been in operation. The Government is essentially despotic and must be so, for years to come. The Rulers have not honesty, and the people have not intelligence. The people of Texas are determined to form a State Government, and separate from Couihuala, and unless Mexico is soon restored to order, and the Constitution revived, and reenacted, the Province of Texas will remain separate from the confederacy of Mexico. She has already beaten and expelled, all the troops of Mexico, from her soil, nor will she permit them to return, she can defend herself against the whole power of Mexico, for really Mexico is powerless and pennyless, to all intents and purposes.² Her want of money taken in connexion with the course which Texas must and will adopt will render a transfer of Texas invaluable inevitable to some power and if to the United States, does not press for it, England will most assuredly obtain it by some means. Now is a very important crisis for Texas as relates to her future prosperity, and safety; as well as the relation which it is to bear to the United States. You will no doubt do ample justice, to the motives which prompt this communication to you; and I should censure myself If I were to conceal from you the Knowledge of any facts, which could enable you, during your administration, to acquire Texas, if it is in accordance with the policy of the United States. To that end I am compelled to assure you that your present minister, Col. Butler, does not desire the acquisition of Texas by the United States. Nor is it desirable to him that Texas
should change her relations from what they have always been. Col B. has interests in this Country (Texas) which will be better subserved by the absolute dependence, and attachment of Texas to Mexico; than by any transfer or change which it can hereafter sustain. Mexico is a country of monopolies and they must cease in Texas; whenever it changes its relations. Moreover if he had no interests in Texas at war with its acquisition by the United States—the standing which I have been assured by Gentlemen from Mexico, that he possesses, with the Ministry and the people, would place it out of his power to manage a successful negotiation for Texas, or to counteract the British influence! He has no secrets, and I have been assured that the British Legation, have a controlling influence over him. Be this as it may, I pledge myself to you that I do know his interest is at war, with a transfer of Texas to the United States. This is only private, or to be so regarded by you until Col. B. returns to the United States. If Texas is desirable to the United States it is now in the most favourable attitude perhaps that it can be to obtain it on fair terms. England is pressing her suit for it, but its citizens will resist, if any transfer should be made, of them to any power but the United States.

I have travelled near five hundred miles across Texas, and am now enabled to judge pretty correctly of the soil, and the resources of the Country, and I have no hesitancy in pronouncing it the finest country to its extent upon the Globe. For the greater portion of it is richer, and more healthy in my opinion, than West Tennessee. There can be no doubt, but the country East of the River Grand of the North, would sustain a population of ten millions of souls. My opinion is that Texas will by her members in convention by the 1st. April, declare all that country as Texas proper, and form a State Constitution. I expect to be present at the convention, and will apprise you of the course adopted, so soon as its members have taken a final action. It is probable I may make Texas my abiding place: In adopting this course, I will never forget the Country of my birth.3

I will notify from this point the Commissioners of the Indians at Fort Gibson of my success, which will reach you through the War Department.

I have with much, pride, and inexpressible satisfaction seen your Messages and Proclamation, touching the Nullificationers of the South (and their “peaceable remedies.”) God grant that you may save the Union! It does seem to me that it is reserved for you; and you alone, to render Millions so great a blessing. I hear all voices commending your course even in Texas, where is felt the liveliest interest for the preservation of the Republic.

Permit me to tender you my sincere felicitations, and most earnest solicitude for your health and happiness: and your future glory, connected, with the prosperity of the Union[.]. Your friend & obt Servant

Saml Houston

Be pleased to salute Mr Earl & friends
1. Béxar is now San Antonio. An Act of July 14, 1832, had authorized the appointment of three commissioners to negotiate boundaries and settle disputes among the western and emigrating Indians, and on July 16 the War Department had engaged Houston to visit the Pawnees and Comanches and ascertain their willingness to treat with the U.S. (DNA-RG 75, M21-9). This same day, February 13, Houston reported to the commissioners at Fort Gibson that the Comanches were well disposed and would come to treat in the spring (Writings of Sam Houston, 1:267–74).

2. The Mexican constitution of 1824 had created a federal republic of nineteen states, one of which was Coahuila y Texas. Texas settlers had defeated and expelled forces loyal to the Bustamante government in the summer of 1832.

3. Texas delegates met in convention on April 1 at San Felipe and drew up a state constitution for submission to the Mexican congress. Houston attended as a delegate from Nacogdoches and chaired the drafting committee for the constitution. He wrote AJ on July 30 (below).

To Anthony Butler

(Private) Washington February 14th. 1833—

My Dr. Sir,

I have received your several letters up to the 2nd. of January last—they have lay by me several days for a safe conveyance. I now acknowledge their receipt by a messenger from the State Department, who is bearer of despatches from the Secretary of State to you, and must refer you to the papers and despatches from the secretary of State for the current news of this place—you will see in them the madness and folly of Calhoun & Co, who has deluded the people of So Carolina into an attitude of rebellion & civil war, which I fear they cannot now [a]llay. There is some reason to fear that it may end in blood, but I pray god to avert such a calamity. The union must and [sh]all be preserved. I did hope that the situation of devoted Mexico would have restrained the most wicked here, from provoking such scenes of blood & civil war as have prevaded Mexico, & has covered her with mourning.

I much regret to learn that her government is still thought to be unsettled, and that the germs of fur[ther] revolution appear to exist. How I deplore her situation, and wish to see her settle down with a good representative government, which will give her peace and prosperity.

I am happy to be informed that there are still hopes of your settling the boundery with Mexico—should you be so fortunate, attend strictly to your instructions with regard to the grants to be recognised, or with our present senate, it will not be ratified. There has been whispers here, which have come to my ears, and friendship induces me to name it for your safety, without believing a word of it myself—it is, “that if you could, you would not make the arrangement with Mexico until the Newy[ork]
company whose agent Col Mason is, has compleated his negotiation with that government”—hence it is, that I have [said] to you keep within your instructions, or you may be subjected to this foul imputation, tho, as innocent as a child, or as innocent as I believe you to be.2

The five millions of dollars being the consideration, it can be disposed of in the negotiation as the minister of Mexico appointed to confer with you, may deem proper, and after admitting to be recognised as valid grants, all whose conditions have been complied with, such as Mr Austins, the whole admitted, must be specifically named in the treaty, that are to be satisfied out of the country ceded, and all others, are to be declared void as to any claim on the United States—and all incumberence by for imperfect, or incoate grants, to be removed from being a lien on the country ceded, for the consideration of the five millions of dollars—attend to this.3

I am aware of the insuficiency of your salary—the secretary of state has made a report to congress on this subject, but I do not believe congress will act upon it this session—it is too near its close, and the executive has it not in his power to relieve, every thing that has been allowed to others will be extended to you.4

I hope to see you soon with the Treaty—this will make cause you a hearty welcome by your country, as well as by your friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, TxU (22-0374). ALS draft, DLC (54; 22-0378). The manuscript is eroded; text in brackets is supplied from the draft.

1. The dispatch bearer was George S. Bourne, who had brought documents from Butler to Washington in 1832.

2. To avoid the “embarrassments and difficulties” caused by unperfected land grant titles in ceded Louisiana and Florida, Butler’s instructions for a Texas cession treaty (first issued to his predecessor Poinsett on August 25, 1829) said that it should only bind the U.S. to recognize those grants whose conditions had been completely fulfilled within their allotted time (DNA-RG 59, M77-152). Former Michigan Territory secretary John Thomson Mason (1787–1850) was an agent for the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company, formed in New York in 1830 by three empresarios to colonize their Texas grants. Mason was now on his way to Mexico to try to procure fee simple title to the company’s holdings.

3. The 1829 instructions authorized offering Mexico up to $5 million for Texas to the middle of the “Grand Prairie” west of the Nueces. Stephen Fuller Austin (1793–1836) had received an empresario contract in 1821 to settle 300 families in Texas. He fulfilled the terms of the grant and received four more empresario contracts from 1825 to 1831.

4. Butler had repeatedly complained, most recently on December 20, 1832, of the inadequacy of his salary to meet his expenses (Jackson Papers, 10:739–41). Livingston had submitted a report on January 31 protesting the inadequacy of diplomatic salaries generally and recommending allowances for house rent, clerk hire, and stationery (HRDoc 94, 22d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 234). AJ transmitted the report to Congress on February 7, but no legislation ensued.
From Robert Minns Burton

Lebanon February 16th AD 1833.

Dear General

Your kind favour in reply to mine was received on yesterday. I was pleased to be more directly informed of the entire ability on the part of the General Government to put down nullification and to sustain the majesty of the laws under any state of circumstances. It is highly gratifying to your friends in Tennessee to see with what unanimity you are sustained at home that have hitherto been your political and personal enemies are now your warm supporters and publicly declare that there is no man now alive so well calculated to manage the affairs of this Government at such a crisis.

Colo Martin of Smith was at my house a few days ago, he remarked that on reading the Proclamation all his former opposition to you ceased, and that he was forced to the conclusion that it was most fortunate for the fate of this Republic that you had been elected President of the United States.1 from every quarter we see the proud acknowledgement that your efforts in the cause of freedom will be cherished in recollection by the votaries of freedom. Liberty over the whole world when all that is valuable in this Republic shall perish away and live only in song. I returned from the Gallatin Court on yesterday at which place I heard a full history of the late rupture between Desha, his wife and his nephew. This case has not a parallel in ancient or modern times, this woman whose high sense of female Virtue would not allow her (as she had often boastingly said) to be introduced to Mrs Eaton was at that very time and ever since in the constant habit of a criminal intercourse with her husband’s own nephew who had been raised by them. The evidence of her infamy is complete. She is driven from her home and set out last week in a little Carryall for Missouri—leaving all her children behind, it is a question difficult of solution about Gallatin who is the basest the husband, wife or nephew, the evening before Desha shot Bunton, he applied to David Saunders for a copy of your letter, it seemed to set unhappily upon him and that very night he at a late hour went to the room of Bunton with an intent to assassinate him in his bed but was driven from his purpose by being discovered. Bunton has eleven buck shot and slugs in his thigh that cannot be extracted—it is said however that he will recover and is determined to return to Gallatin—when you may expect to hear that the tragedy will be again played over. Desha shuts himself up at home with his Gun by his side and seems constantly to apprehend danger—it proves what I have always believed of him that he is a cowardly fit only for a cowardly assas-
To Joel Roberts Poinsett

(Private)  
Washington February 17th. 1833—

My dear Sir,

I have just received your letter of the 9th instant. I never once thought, that the mission of Mr Leigh, with his powers, would be attended with any beneficial effects result whatever. It has only served to place the legislature of Virginia in a disagreeable attitude, and has done more harm than it can good. Had Virginia passed resolutions disapproving, as she has done, nullification, and admonishing the nullifiers to retrace their steps, this would have done much good, and instead of encouraging them in expecting her aid, would have caused them to have repealed their ordinance. The great body of the people of virginia are firmly opposed to the course of the Legislature in this respect, and will support the United States nobly, should the crisis come, which I trust the firmness of the union men may yet prevent.

The bill granting the powers asked will pass into a law. Mr. Webster replied to Mr. Calhoun yesterday, and, it is said, demolished him. It is believed by more than one, that Mr. C. is in a state of dementation; his speech was a perfect failure; and Mr. Webster handled him as a child. I fear we have many nullifiers in congress, who dare not openly appear; the vote on the pending bill will unrobe them.1

I am delighted to learn that you will convene the union convention simultaneously with that of the nullifiers, or soon after. A bold and resolute stand will put them down, and you will thereby save the character of your state. When you recollect the noble cause you are defending; that our precious union is the stake; that the arm of the United States, sustained by nineteen twentieth of the whole people, is extended over you; you can-

1. AJ’s political foe William Martin lived in Smith County.
not be otherwise than firm, resolute and inflexible. one resolution; that you nail the United States colours to the mast, and will go down with the union or live free; that you will, to your last breath, resist the tyranny and oppression of their ordinance, test oath and unconstitutional proceedings, will restore to you peace and tranquility, which a well adjusted tariff will confirm.

Before the receipt of your letter Mr Livingston had an interview with Mr Bankhead on the subject of the conduct of the British consul at Charleston. Mr Bankhead has written, & admonished him that his exequater will be revoked on his first act of interference. This, I assure you, will be done. I have only to request that you will give us the earliest intelligence that you can obtain of his having ordered a British squadron to the port of Charleston; and on an affidavit of the fact of one arriving there, his exequator will be revoked.2

Keep me constantly advised of all movements in south carolina; the marshalling troops to oppose the execution of the laws of the U. States. affirmed on affidavit, and I will forthwith use all my powers under the constitution and the laws to put it down.

with great respect, yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, PHi (22-0402). ALS draft and LS copy in Nicholas P. Trist’s hand, DLC (73). Poinsett wrote in apparent reply on February 28 (below).


2. On February 1, the day nullification was supposed to go into effect, a U.S. revenue cutter off Charleston intercepted an incoming British merchant vessel, the Roger Stewart, and directed it to anchor below Castle Pinckney. There it was boarded, examined, and the next day allowed to proceed to port. Charleston customs collector James R. Pringle afterward notified the ship’s master of his liability to a $1,000 fine for failing to report its arrival and cargo as required by law. On February 4, British consul William Ogilby wrote Pringle challenging the legality of the offshore detention and formally protesting the fine. Pringle replied with proofs of his authority and said that the fine would be waived. Pringle reported the exchange to Washington, warning that Ogilby’s disposition to interfere with customs enforcement fortified the nullifiers and “added to the excitement existing here” (DNA-RG 56, M178-32). On February 13 Livingston wrote British chargé d’affaires Charles Bankhead (c1797–1870) that AJ, though “not willing to impute this ill timed and unnecessary interference to any improper motive,” was under the “firm persuasion that when the facts are thus brought to your notice you will give such cautionary instructions as will prevent any repetition of acts that would seem to throw the weight of the Consuls national character into the scale of the opposers to the laws of the Country” (DNA-RG 59, M38-5). Bankhead replied on February 15 that he had written Ogilby and “did not fail to impress upon him, and through him to the Masters of Vessels arriving at Charleston, the indispensable necessity of their avoiding the slightest collision with the Federal Authorities at this peculiar moment, and I enjoined, at the same time, the strictest obedience to the regulations established for the collection of revenue” (DNA-RG 59, M50-17).
To John Pemberton

Washington February 19th. 1833

Dear Sir,

You will receive herewith enclosed a letter to Mrs. Jackson of your city, which I request you to deliver to her and to receive the papers to which it refers, and to have them conveyed by a confidential person to me under an injunction that they are not to be opened or seen by any one until delivered here. All necessary expenses incurred by the execution of this request will be paid. Yrs. respectfully

Andrew Jackson

P.S. The letter to Mrs. Jackson is left open that you may peruse, seal, & deliver it to her. Write me as early as you have an interview with her.

Present me to your amiable Lady & family—kiss my son for me, & believe me yr friend

A. J.

LS in AJ Donelson’s hand, PHi (22-0409). Pemberton (1783–1847) was a Philadelphia merchant and AJ confidant, appointed in 1829 as naval officer in the customs office. Elizabeth Willing Jackson (1768–1858) was the widow of William Jackson (1759–1828), who had been secretary to the constitutional convention of 1787. The enclosed letter apparently requested access to the private notes Jackson was known to have taken at the convention. Pemberton replied on February 20 (below).

1. The postscript is in AJ’s hand. Pemberton’s wife was Rebecca Clifford Pemberton (1792–1869) and the son was Andrew Jackson Pemberton (1831–1900).

To Hardy Murfree Cryer

Washington February 20th. 1833—

My Dr. Sir,

I have recd no letter from you since my return hither last fall, and I have been so much pressed with business, that I had no time to write you. I have sent you some public documents; whether they have reached you I cannot say.

Altho, I have been reelected by such an overwhelming majority, still, Congress has elected Gales and Seaton Printers for the House of Representatives, and Green for the Senate; so you see Congress pays Gales & Seaton for abusing me for the last twelve years, and Duff Green for the last three.1 The marriage lately consumated between Clay & Calhoun, with the corrupting influence of the Bank has corrupted Congress, & the people at the Polls cannot alone correct it, by changing their representation in Congress. The Newspapers will shew you that Mr. Bibb of K.y, and Poindexter, Moor & King of Alabama, go with the nullifiers.2 There
are more nullifiers here than dare openly avow it. These men will be good Jackson men at home with the people—but enough, the people will call them, I trust, to an account—for there can be no nullifier, that is not at heart a traitor to our happy constitution, and our union, upon which our own liberty, and that of the whole world rests. If we should fail, & our blessed Union be dissolved, the civil wars, blood & destruction must be our unfortunate lot, & despotism will again triumph over the world. But my friend the union shall be preserved, or I perish with it.

I have just heard a rumor that the hero, Genl Desha, has become an assassin, and has shot his nephew in the dark—do give me the facts of this case. I sincerely pity his depravity, but I knew he was a base man. I knew he would bear false witness against his neighbour, & when a man is thus depraved, he is capable of any, and every act, that depraved human nature is capable. I knew from his conduct, relative to Major Eaton, that he was a fit companion for Branch, Bibb, Ingham, Berrien, Daniel & Wycliff—a just providence will punish them all.3

Present me kindly to your amiable lady & family. Kiss my little Rachel for me and believe me your friend. Write me.4

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THi (22-0426). Cryer (1792–1846) was a Sumner County, Tenn., Methodist minister and horse breeder. He replied on March 17 (below).


2. On February 19 Clay’s select committee reported his Compromise tariff bill. The Senate passed the revenue collection “Force Bill” late on February 20 by 32 to 1. Only John Tyler of Virginia voted nay, but many southern senators were absent from the final vote, including Clay, Calhoun, George Mortimer Bibb (1776–1859) of Kentucky, Poindexter of Mississippi, and Gabriel Moore (1785–1845) and William Rufus de Vane King (1786–1853) of Alabama. Clay next day said that he would have voted for the bill but was driven away by the “impure air” of an evening session. Calhoun explained that four or five opponents of the bill had been too ill to attend, forcing him and others present either “to vote in a minority which would not contain the strength of the opposition to the bill, or to leave the Senate; and they determined on the latter as the more correct course, and as the best calculated to convey an accurate expression of the feeling of the Senate” (Register of Debates, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 688–89).

3. All these men had broken with AJ over the Eaton affair. Former Navy secretary John Branch (1782–1863) and attorney general John Macpherson Berrien (1781–1856) had been required to resign in 1831 along with Ingham. Bibb, Desha, and Kentucky congressmen Charles Anderson Wickliffe (1788–1869) and Henry Daniel (1786–1873) had been accused of conspiring to force Eaton from the Cabinet in 1830 (Jackson Papers, 9:597).

4. Cryer’s wife was Elizabeth L. Rice Cryer (1794–1833). Rachel was their daughter Rachel Jackson Cryer (1829–1895).
To George Louis Mayer

Washington February 20th. 1833

Sir,

I received yesterday your letter of the 12th. instant enclosing to me a letter addressed by Mr. Calhoun to Mr. Ingham, and explaining the manner in which it came into your possession. Not feeling myself authorised to make any use of a private letter conveyed to me under the circumstances by which you became possessed of this, unless the public interest imperiously required me, I take the liberty of returning it and would recommend that it be forwarded directly to Mr. Ingham.

Not doubting that your motives in forwarding this letter to me are patriotic and just, you may rest assured that as such they are properly appreciated by me.

signed, Andrew Jackson

Copy by AJ Donelson, DLC (42).

From John Pemberton

Philada. Feby 20th. 1833

Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 19th. inst. this evening with one enclosed for Mrs. Jackson—which I have just delivered to her.

She read it attentively, and said she regretted to have to refuse your request—that numbers all that numbers had applied for the private notes of her husband taken by him during the sitting of the Convention, among others Timothy Pickering Esqr—Condy Raguet Esq &c; but from their being left by her husband sealed, and endorsed confidential, she cannot allow them to be made public.¹

I remarked to her that though endorsed confidential, if it was his intention that no one should ever know the contents, would he not have left orders to have them destroyed?

She replied, that her husband did not think it would ever be necessary to give them to the public, and that she held them sacred.

Some time to morrow Mrs. Jackson informed me, that some time to morrow she would answer your letter—she spoke highly of your Proclamation, and most respectfully of you.

My wife and daughter desire me to present to you their most respectful and sincere regard. I have given your little son the kiss you sent him, he is quite well. believe me most I am Dear Sir most, Respectfully your friend and obdt Servt

John Pemberton

¹ Numbers and their dates not clear in the document.
ALS draft, PHi (22-0430). Pemberton sent AJ Mrs. Jackson’s promised letter on February 22.

1. Timothy Pickering (1745–1829) of Massachusetts had been secretary of state under Washington and John Adams and later a U.S. senator. In 1827 he had urged William Jackson to write up his convention notes for publication (Max Farrand, ed., The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787 [New Haven, 1911], 3:476). Condy Raguet (1784–1842) was a prominent writer and editor on public affairs and economics.

From Samuel Smith

Senate Chamber 20 Feby 1833

My dear Sir,

I have no disposition to interfere with any arrangement you may have made in your own mind in the nominations for Commissioners under the Convention with Naples. I have mentioned to you my son as well qualified. If however you should think that a merchant would be wanted and should think it an office that I could perform to your satisfaction, I will hold myself at your disposal. But do not permit this to have any influence over any previous determination. I have the honour to be your Obed Servant

S. Smith

ALS, DLC (42). Smith (1752–1839) was a U.S. senator from Maryland, whose term closed with the current Congress on March 3. His son John Spear Smith (1786–1866) was a former state legislator and chargé at London. Neither Smith was among the three commissioners AJ nominated on March 2.

From Martin Van Buren

My dear Sir

I send you the enclosed, not so much under an expectation that you will be able to do any thing under existing circumstances, as to shew you that the Govr. appreciates properly your course & feelings in the business.¹ I shall leave here on the 25th. & be with you on Tuesday Evg. or Wednesday noon at farthest, of the next week. In adopting this course I conform to the suggestion made to you some time since, & which rcd. your sanction. It would be superfluous to say that if my earlier appearance at Washington could be in any way serviceable the slightest hint from you would bring me on at any moment but I am not able to see how that could possibly be the case. & That it would enable our enemies to increase the displeasure of some in consequence of the position which the administration feel themselves bound to take appears to me to be the more probable consequence. The late movements at Washington in regard to the Tariff have astonished the people in this quarter: our opponents are in a dreadful quandary, & I would not be surprised to find the advocates of a high tariff are come to the conclusion that your course is the only one on

¹ February 1833
which they can rely. I do not believe that Messrs Clay & Calhoun will in the end be able to unite the South upon that point as is doubtless hoped. In regard to some of the provisions of the enforcement bill there may perhaps be more doubt. I have a letter to day from Col Benton stating some apprehensions upon this point with his opinion that the militia force part of the Bill is unnecessary to the administration. I am deeply sensible of the importance of carrying a firm & steady hand in this emergency, not for the purpose of quieting present difficulties, for from the course which the current of opinion every where has taken I am sure that that matter is to be settled in some way which will at least quiet the country, but with a view to the future success of our system. I cannot give any opinion upon which if I were on the spot I could would place more reliance than I would on your own suggestions, & not having the same view of the whole ground it would be presumption to do so. I can therefore only give you the public impression which may be of service in guiding your course to you. I have not the slightest reason to believe that if any adjustment of the Tariff should be made at the present session any large share of the merit of it would be given to Messrs Clay & Calhoun unless indeed it should go far beyond which there is the least reason to expect. The present favourable state of the public opinion upon that subject is by the great mass of the people attributed to anterior events. Our state is full safe & sound to the extent of your recommendations, & will if the matter lays over till the next session give you an efficient support in carrying them into effect. You see how strong the vote has been in the Senate. In the Assembly it will be equally so. If you can see your way perfectly clear in advising our friends in the house to waive for the present session the militia force part of the bill it would I have no doubt instantaneously revive the kindest feelings in the South, & public sentiment coming on the back of it with a demand at the next session for a proper settlement of the disturbing subject of the Tariff, would redeem the Country & disappoint all sinister calculations. Whether the circumstances as they will exist when the bill gets there will present a safe and tangible point upon which this course could be rested as a measure of the administration you will be best able to judge. Of its instantaneous & extensive effect I cannot doubt nineteen 20/ths. of those who were friendly before but are now dissatisfied in that quarter feel the awkwardness of their situation & would be most happy of an opportunity to shake off their new associates. The declaration of Gov Hayne that no force is intend &c &c that they are for the Union &c with a call of the Convention are certainly something towards it. But of this I repeat you will be best able to judge. The repugnance of our people every where to an array of force for the purposes contemplated is undoubted, & occasions, as it always has that species of holding back in the quarters [ . . . ] particularly interested, of which we have seen so much, & by which you have been so much embarrassd. Yet the people are every where sound & will do their duty in the end.
The mail is closing & I must do so also. Remember me affectionately to the members of your family and believe me to be very truly your friend

M. Van Buren

P.S. The disappointment of our true & zealous friend Blair has distressed me exceedingly. I know his firmness, & therefore count with confidence on his bearing it with more equanimity than his friends. As long as the people are sound we must not despair. The course pursued by their Representatives will only attach them the more to his able journal & the gratitude of the Country cannot forever be defeated by selfish machinations.

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (22-0434).

1. William Learned Marcy (1786–1857) was governor of New York.

2. Missouri senator Thomas Hart Benton (1782–1858) had written Van Buren on February 16, warning that “the militia force part of the bill” was “superfluous to the admn. and dangerous to it” by going too far and offering the opposition grounds “to agitate the whole south” (Van Buren Papers, DLC). On February 18, King of Alabama moved to strike out the section of the revenue collection bill that authorized the president, if necessary, to suppress forcible resistance to the laws by calling out the armed forces and militia. The amendment failed, 10 to 31, with Benton voting yea (Senate Journal, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 190–91, Serial 229).

3. On February 16 the New York senate passed resolutions that endorsed AJ’s measures to uphold the laws, declared nullification unconstitutional, and rejected the doctrine of secession, by respective margins of 28 to 1, 29 to 0, and 29 to 0. The assembly concurred on February 23 on a single vote of 90 to 0 (State Papers on Nullification, pp. 133–59).

4. Hayne’s February 6 letter to Leigh conveying Hamilton’s intent to reconvene the convention said that South Carolina would resort to force only if “indispensable in repelling unlawful violence,” and that “nothing can be further from our desire, than to disturb the tranquillity of the country, or endanger the existence of the Union” (State Papers on Nullification, pp. 333–34).

From Felix Grundy,
Henry Hubbard, and Jesse Speight

Mr. President:

We, a Committee of both Houses of Congress, have been directed to wait on you, and inform you, that on the 13th instant, in conformity with the constitution and laws of the United States, the votes given in the Electoral Colleges in the different States for President of the United States for four years, commencing on the 4th of March next, were counted in the presence of both Houses of Congress, and you were found duly and constitutionally elected; having received a majority of all the votes given by the Electors in the different States.

This act of the people of the United States furnishes the best evidence of the high estimation which they entertain of your public services and
private worth, and is the strongest expression of approval of the leading principles upon which you have administered the government.

Printed, Washington Globe, February 27, 1833 (22-0445). On February 13, the House and Senate met in the House chamber and opened and tallied the electoral votes for president and vice-president. AJ and Van Buren were formally declared elected, with 219 and 189 electoral votes respectively. A committee composed of senator Felix Grundy and congressmen Henry Hubbard (1784–1857) of New Hampshire and Jesse Speight of North Carolina was designated to notify them of the result. On February 22 the committee waited on AJ and Grundy delivered this address. AJ replied below.

To Felix Grundy, Henry Hubbard, and Jesse Speight

Gentlemen:

I am truly grateful for the evidence which the event you have announced to me affords of the continued confidence and favor of my countrymen. In undertaking again the arduous duties to which they have called me, I shall have learned from my past experience, that my abilities, though zealously devoted to their interest, will be but a feeble instrument in securing its advancement and prosperity. But however humble those abilities may be, they will be faithful to the Constitution and laws of my country, and obedient to the will of my fellow-citizens, by whose favor I have been so highly honored, and with whose indulgence and support, I shall hope to deserve the continuance of the approbation which has been bestowed upon my past conduct and upon the leading principles of my administration.

Printed, Washington Globe, February 27, 1833 (22-0445).

From James Colhoun et al.

Chambersburg 22 Feby. 1833

Sir

The undersigned have the honor to inform your Excellency That “At a meeting of the Commissioned officers of the different volunteer Corps of the County of Franklin held on the 16th. January ultimo It was on motion of Major Colhoun Resolved unanimously

That the officers composing this convention to recommend to the Companies under their respective commands, that their services be tendered to the President of the United States, to assist the Constituted authorities of the Nation in, the preservation of the Constitution and the Union & to enforce the supremacy of the Laws of the United States

Resolved That the Commanding officers of Companies be requested to place before their companies the above resolution and report the same

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to a committee to be appointed for that purpose on or before the 22nd February whereupon the Chairman did appoint Major Colhoun Capt Brady Capt. Vance Capt. Brown & Lieut Anderson that Committee on motion Genl Dunn & Major Heck were added to the Committee”

In conformity with their duty the committee have the honor to represent to your excellency, That the first second & third troops of Franklin County Dragoons, The Loudon Union Guards The Loudon Riflemen The Washington Blues, & the Franklin Battalion of Volunteers Composed of the Companies Franklin Blues, St Thomas Infantry, & Washington Grays Have authorised the Committee to tender to you their services, in conformity with the above resolution

The Committee in performing this duty take the liberty of representing to your excellency that the volunteers who have tendered their services, regret that any circumstances should arise, which will have a tendency to bring into conflict any state of the Union with the Government of the United States But they consider the preservation of the Union & the Supremacy of the Laws as paramount to every other Consideration

Entertaining towards their Brethren of the South no feelings of hostility, they will always regret that circumstances should arise which may make it necessary to call in their aid in a military point of view

In the performance of the duty which they owe to their country, they will discard all private feeling, and Having entire confidence in the constituted authorities of the Nation, proffer their services to assist you in any manner which your excellency may consider necessary in the present relation which the state of South Carolina bears to the General Government

The Committee are not aware of the existence of a law of Congress authorising the President to accept the services of volunteers, They think it necessary to inform your Excellency that the proceedings in the affair have been transmitted to the Governor of the state of Pennsylvania so that if their services should be required without the existence of a law authorising the acceptance of the services of volunteers, orders would be received through him We have the honor to be Yours most respectfully

Committee

{ James Colhoun
  Jasper E Brady
  Geo. Vance
  J. M. Brown
  Chambers Anderson

[Two more signatures follow.]

[Endorsed by Aj:] Refered to the Secretary of War, to remain on file—A. J.

[Endorsed by Lewis Cass:] To be filed with other similar tenders. L. C.
LS, DNA-RG 107 (M222-31). James Colhoun (1796–1854) was a Chambersburg, Pa., merchant. Jasper Ewing Brady (1797–1871) was an attorney and Franklin County treasurer. Chambers Anderson (1791–1858) was postmaster at Fannettsburg. The Pennsylvania governor was George Wolf (1777–1840).

From Joel Roberts Poinsett

Charleston
February 22 1833

My dear Sir,

I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 7th. by the hands of Mr. Smith and am perfectly satisfied with the assurances it contains. The party with which I have the honor to act would prefer encountering any risk, rather than see the executive take measures for their protection, which are not warranted by constitution & laws of the United States. I do not wish even to see measures adopted, which might be calculated to irritate or provoke a conflict. You may rely upon it that we will remain firm at our posts and steadfast in our attachment to the union. All the accounts I receive from the upper districts are very cheering. Those situated along the North Carolina boundary are strongly attached to our federal institutions, several thousands are enrolled and organised and their numbers increase daily. My latest accounts give one thousand men in Greenville. Fifteen hundred in Spartanburg in York Eight hundred. In Chester seven hundred and fifty. Cheraw Five hundred. Lancaster seven hundred Horry 487. Chesterfield three hundred. Marion four hundred and fifty. In the minority districts we have a very respectable force and the number of men enrolled in the whole state excluding Charleston amounts to very nearly 7000 men. In the City I have enrolled and officered and drilled as well as time and circumstances will permit—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In the 4 wards of the city</th>
<th>865 men</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>on the Neck</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a troop of Cavalry</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A light infantry Company</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>of young men under 21</td>
<td>80</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1157</td>
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To these are to be added five Volunteer companies—

| Washington light Infantry | 65     |
| German Fusileers          | 75     |
| Blues                      | 45     |
| French Fusileers          | 40     |
| Northern Volunteers       | 75     |
|                           | 1457   |
I do not think therefore I over estimate the force of the Union party in the city at one thousand men. I should be much disappointed not to find this number, at least, at their rendezvous in case of an alarm. The Nullifiers estimate their force in the City at 1600 men. We consider our strength equal to their’s here. In the State they report 16,000 Volunteers. The greater the number of these disorderly troops they have the worse for them. They could not maintain this force two months. The chief leaders are willing to take Mr. Clay’s bill as a peace offering; but the people in the middle districts are infuriated and it will be difficult to persuade them to remain quiet. Cooper and Preston in Columbia and Turnbull in Charleston will not be satisfied until they attempt Secession.1 Hayne will be very happy to find an excuse to stay proceedings; but Hamilton talks oracularly and will continue to do so until he ascertains the temper of the people. The state convention will meet in Columbia on the Eleventh March and I have called the Union convention together for the Eighteenth; to give us time to know what they are disposed to do and suit our action to their resolves.2 It is rumoured, that if they do secede, which I verily believe they will do if the Enforcemt. law passes and the tariff is not modified, the act of secession will be submitted to the people for their approbation. Now it is an important matter for us to decide whether we will go to the ballot box and vote on this question. I am decidedly of opinion, that upon the passage of such an act, we ought at once to act vigorously against the seceders. Most of my intimate friends think differently. They all agree with me, that we will not submit if even a majority of the people should be seduced to vote in favor of secession; but think it possible we might have a majority against such an act. I am of opinion that if they agree to submit the question to the people they will have the assurance of being supported by a majority, and I fear if we do vote upon the question, the people will be governed by the desicion of that majority—at all events I think it a hazardous experiment. I have addressed a circular to the Union members of the state convention urging them not to join that body in any act violating the constitution of the united states and not to go to the convention at all. This storm may yet pass off and not burst upon us, but we will be prepared to encounter and to resist it like men. I am Dear Sir, ever your most Obt Sevt

J. R. Poinsett

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr Poinsett—recd. 1rst. of March 1833—A.J & 6th. of March—A. J answered 6th. March

ALS, DLC (42). AJ replied on March 6 (below).

1. South Carolina College president Thomas Cooper (1759–1839) was an outspoken nullifier.
2. On February 12 Poinsett issued a circular provisionally reconvening the Union convention for March 18 at Charleston (Charleston Mercury, March 4).
To James Alexander Hamilton

(Private) Washington Febry 23rd.

My Dear Sir,

I am indebted to you replies to many of your kind letters, & the only apology I can offer is, the continued press of business, and lately want of good health. I have been, I may truly say, literally, pressed with business from sunrise to 12 at night.

Your last was by your amiable mother, with whom I have been much pleased, & gratified, to find, that she retains all of her faculties, and clear recollection of our past history, in which her deceased husband acted so conspicuous a part. She informed me that she walked every day from Mr Kanes to the Capitol. I regretted very much, that my situation has been such that I could not pay more attention to her, & her family with her, than I have done.¹

I have been looking for you here. When will you be with us—will you come with Mr. V. B. I expect the pleasure of seeing you here before the 4th. of March.

The papers will have given you, the union between Mr Clay & Calhoun. How strange their position? Nullification cannot be recognised as a peaceful & constitutional measure, and the american System of Mr Clay being on the wane, a union between these two extremes are formed, and I have no doubt the people will duly appreciate the motives which have led to it. I have good reason to be content & even gratified with my own course as I find these men are obliged to adopt it, to give peace & harmony to the Union.

I have to attend the funeral at 11, it is now past ten, & being just visited by the military from Baltimore with a display of the Star Spangled banner, with the motto, the Federal union it must be preserved, I must close with my respects to your amiable family & believe me yr friend²

Andrew Jackson


1. Hamilton’s mother was Elizabeth Schuyler Hamilton (1757–1854), widow of Treasury secretary Alexander Hamilton. Mr. Kane was probably Washington navy agent and former New York merchant Elias Kane (1771–1840).

2. The funeral was of New York congressman James Lent (1782–1833), who had died on February 22.
From Nathaniel Beverley Tucker

[Longtime Virginia congressman and senator John Randolph (1773–1833) had been Jackson’s minister to Russia and friendly confidant. On February 4 he chaired a political meeting at Charlotte Court House. Randolph offered resolutions that reproved the doctrines of Jackson’s proclamation against nullification as “dangerous to the liberties of the people” and charged that he had been “influenced by designing counsellors” into entering a “portentous combination” with “ultra Federalists” and other enemies. Randolph’s first resolution named Jackson not as president but as “Andrew Jackson, Esq.” (Richmond Enquirer, February 9). On February 23 a piece appeared in the US Telegraph signed by “A True Friend to Andrew Jackson, Esq.” It denied charges that Randolph had intended the “Esquire” appellation as an insult and it praised Jackson’s character, but still warned that he had become an unwitting tool of Federalists and “consolidation” doctrines. That same day, February 23, Randolph dined with Jackson at the White House.

Randolph died on May 24. Later a newspaper controversy erupted over Randolph’s position on nullification and whether he had duplicitously pretended friendship to Jackson while savaging the proclamation in private letters and anonymous publications. In this context the purport of the “True Friend” piece and the sequence of events on February 23 came into dispute. On October 19 the Globe claimed that Jackson had not seen the piece with its “violent invective” before dining with Randolph, and that Jackson “would, doubtless, have given both Mr. Randolph and his escort a very different reception from the hospitable and kind one, which was obtained by Mr. R. as a long cherished friend, if he had supposed him capable of the hypocrisy of writing the kindest and most flattering letters to him privately, while he gave his concurrence and approval to the most malignant publications against him in the newspapers.”

On October 26 Randolph’s half-brother, writer and lawyer Nathaniel Beverley Tucker (1784–1851), published in his defense. He named himself as author of the “True Friend” piece and said that on the morning of February 23, before the dinner, Randolph’s servant had delivered to Jackson a clipping of it along with a note from himself. Tucker denied that the “True Friend” piece was hostile to Jackson or that Randolph had disguised his opinions, and he called on Jackson to repudiate the Globe’s slanders. Appearing here, as published by Tucker, is the note that he said had been delivered to Jackson with the “True Friend” piece. The controversy continued after Tucker’s publication. Jackson wrote William B. Lewis about it on November 7 (below).]
Sir:

I pray you to excuse my freedom in inviting your attention to the accompanying article, cut from a morning paper. Anonymous publications are little to my taste. It is well enough not to obtrude a real name upon the public notice. But this decorum does not impair the right, which every man has, to know who it is that speaks of him, whether for good or evil. There is enough on the face of this paper to indicate the author, but not, perhaps, enough to show that he had no desire to remain concealed, at least from you. It is due to your friend, Mr. Randolph, to say that he had no agency in it, although it was seen and cordially approved by him, before it went to the press. Not displeased that the impertinent malice of those who seek to make strife between friends was rebuked, he did not doubt that you had been among the first to understand and despise it. Of this, I was equally sure; but I could not forego a fair opportunity of exposing a scheme of diplomacy which is intended to lead you to regard your friends as enemies, and to receive your enemies as your only friends; a scheme which has no parallel, but in the celebrated league between the wolves and the sheep.

I persuade myself, Sir, that, in the frankness of this communication you will see nothing but an unquestionable pledge of the sincerity with which I assure you of my very high respect, and subscribe myself your friend and obedient servant,

B. T.

Printed, United States' Telegraph, October 26, 1833 (mAJs). Tucker explained in the Telegraph that this text came from a retained rough draft, and that the delivered note had contained his full name.

To Harriet Livermore

Washington Febr’y 25th. 1833—

Dr Madam

your letter of the 18th. of December last reached me on the 17th. of January and I took the earliest occasion to have your wishes complied with that my situation would permit & have now the pleasure to enclose you Joseph Rakestraw’s receipt in full—for $65.

I hope your “wreathe” may find not only a speedy but a profitable sale; such I think it merits, and I hope will meet with from a liberal public.

I sincerely regret to hear of your destitute condition & the privations you have encountered. The disciples of old, were equally so, but still they were fed, and not permitted to suffer, only with chains & stripes; he who presided over them, will preserve & take care of you in the wilderness.
That your mission may be crowned with success, and your labours blessed
by him who holds us in his hand is the sincere wish of your most obedient
servant

Andrew Jackson

ALS, PHi (22-0469). AJ addressed this letter to Little Rock, Arkansas. Livermore (1788–
1868) was a Christian preacher and writer who had twice delivered Sunday sermons at
the Capitol. In late 1832 she had set out to preach to the western Indians. Her religious
novel, A Wreath from Jessamine Lawn, was printed at her expense by Joseph Rakestraw
(c1780–1860) of Philadelphia in 1831. AJ apparently paid its final costs. He wrote a check
this day to William T. Barry for $65 “paid for Harriett Livermore, to Joseph Rakerstom for
printing her (‘Wreath’) book” (DLC-78).

To George Washington Martin

Washington Febry 25th. 1833—
My Dr Sir,
To enable you to be serviceable to the Government & yourself you will
receive an agency to locate the Indian reservations, which if you perform
well, may enable me to have something better for you hereafter. The
instructions of the War department you must strictly comply with, and
prevent imposition, both, on the Indians, & the Government.¹
This will give you an opportunity to examine the country, whilst your
compensation will enable you, a little, to make purchases of a good situ-
aton for a permanant home
you will see from the public journals that I have been a good deal
perplexed with the nullifiers—and I am sorry to find there are more in
alabama, than the people are aware of—look at the vote on the bill to
enforce the revenue laws—all who voted against this law are nullifiers
at heart. I expect Andrew & Sarah with my dear little Rachel tommor-
row. present me affectionately to Lucinda, kiss little Andrew J. for me &
believe me yr friend

Andrew Jackson

¹ On February 22, secretary Cass had notified John Coffee of Martin’s pending appoint-
ment to locate the private reservations of Choctaw chiefs, captains, and family heads in
Mississippi under the 1830 removal Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. Martin’s instructions
were issued on June 26 (DNA-RG 75, M21-10; SDoc 266, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 46–48,
Serial 240). AJ wrote him again on September 3 (below).
My dear Sir.

I had the pleasure yesterday to address a letter to you in which I inadvertently omitted the subject of this letter. I am informed by a Gentleman whose knowledge of the views of the US Bank is only second to that of its President (and I therefore repeat it to you with the assurance that you may rely upon it) That the Bank counts upon being rechartered. Its purpose is for the next two years to fortify itself beyond all hazard by calling in its responsibilities gradually, to a point at which they will be entirely manageable, and also by securing its debts. This operation will be performed under the avowed idea that it is necessary & preliminary to winding up its concerns. The State Banks old and New & particularly the latter it is believed will consequently extend their discounts. The US Bank will employ a part of its means in purchasing exchange and otherwise secure a large credit in London. And at a proper time about the expiration of the Period referred to, it will by withholding bills and by other means within its power cause exchange to advance so as to cause the exportation of specie & thus occasion a run upon all the Monied Institutions. This it will be prepared for; and the affairs of the State Banks will consequently be so deranged as to compel them to stop Specie Payments. The immense injury to the whole nation resulting from that event it is believed and not without foundation will induce a strong public feeling in favor of a recharter of the Bank as the only means of restoring a sound Currency and that will be pressed by the friends and retainers of the Bank upon a new Congress and upon your successor with a force that they hope he will be unable to resist. The Project is feasible and must if attempted whether successful or not be productive of infinite mischief because by it the whole monetary system of the Country will be deranged.

The first state of things resulting from this attempt and the multiplication of State Banks which is going to an unequalled extent, will be, that Money will be abundant that is to say that discounts will be freely made and that from those facilities prices will rise and there will be excessive overtrading. The reduction of the Tariff will cooperate with the other circumstances to induce this excess. The next state of things is the reaction which will not be far removed from its cause and is as certain as fate. It will be pushed by the U.S. Bank to the consequences and for the end to which I have referred.

Having as I hope you have settled the Southern difficulties this subject seems to me to come next in order for consideration as it is in consequence. The Serpent is scotched not Killed. It has power as long as it
can winde and move its unmeasurable length along. Its exertions will be violent because it's a struggle for existance in which there will be no regard paid to the interests of the Country which gave it life and should these be seriously involved the reputation of your administration may not escape unquestioned.

Should I hear any thing more or should any new thoughts occur to me I will write you without reserve[.]. With the truest attachment your friend & svt

James A Hamilton

[Endorsed by AJ:] Col. A. J. Hamilton on the scheme of the Bank. Their project can be counteracted by an exposure of their wicked intentions on the State B. & the community—let this be attended to A. J.

ALS, DLC (42 and 59; 22-0542). Hamilton Reminiscences, pp. 251–52. The Bank of the United States, whose recharter AJ had vetoed in July 1832, was still operating under its original 1816 charter, which would expire March 3, 1836. Nicholas Biddle (1786–1844) of Philadelphia was its president. AJ wrote Roger Taney about it on March 12 (below).

From Joel Roberts Poinsett

Charleston
28th. Feb. 1833

My dear Sir

I had the satisfaction to receive your letter of the 19th. Instant and am glad to learn, that the enforcing bill will pass. With regard to the tariff bill I am disposed to believe that it will be better for the country, that it should not pass during the present session. It is doubtless just and politic that the tariff should be modified; but to do it now would have the appearance of yielding to threats, and might affect the character and diminish the strength of the government. I am satisfied that the Leaders of the nullification party are determined to go on in their mad career. If the Tariff is not modified & the enforcing bill passes, which I presume will be the state of the case when congress rises, they will enforce their ordinance and proceed to make a new constitution and do all things, which a sovereign state may do. There is a rumour among them that they will submit their proceedings to the people for their approbation; but what part of their proceedings they will lay before them for that purpose I am at a loss to understand. The existing ordinance places them, as far as their own act is concerned, out of the union, and it may be their intention to submit to the people merely the new constitution.¹ As I am aware that it is the determination of these men to proceed in their lawless career I have addressed a letter to the union members of that convention, the virtuous minority of 25, urging them not to be present at the meeting of the 11th March; and I have convoked the
union convention on the 18th. of March in Charleston in order, that we may be prepared to act as promptly as we are determined to do decidedly if they declare the state out of the union. I have taken measures to have the earliest intelligence of any military array or act of hostility against the laws of the U.S. and you may depend upon receiving advices of every movement, which it is important you should be acquainted with. I have the honor to be very respectfully your sincere friend and humble sevt.

J. R. Poinsett

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr Poinsett recd. 6th. of March 1833

ALS, DLC (42). This letter was likely a reply to AJ’s of February 17 (above). AJ replied on March 6 (below).

1. The nullification ordinance stated that any congressional legislation or direct federal action to enforce tariff collections would of itself be considered “inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union,” and that in that event the state’s people “will forthwith proceed to organize a separate Government” (Report of the Convention, p. 27).

2. The November South Carolina convention had adopted the nullification ordinance by a vote of 136 to 26 (State Papers on Nullification, pp. 314–15).

To Mary Ann Eastin Polk

[This letter is available only as excerpted in a modern printing.]

From your long silence I was afraid I had been forgotten. I am happy to find that in this I am mistaken, and can find in part an excuse for you, as your attention must have been, and justly so, taken up with your dear little Sarah Rachel, whose beauty and sprightly appearance I have no doubt you do justice to in your description. Kiss her for me and present her with my blessing. May she grow and prosper and be a consolation to you and your husband in your declining years and an ornament to the society in which she may be placed.1

You know I have always been an advocate for the harmony of connections and families. To insure this harmony between you and Sarah I would advise you to submit the sprightliness and beauty of your Sarah Rachel and her little Rachel to the adjudication of a court of inquiry to settle this important matter, for Sarah writes me that her Rachel is one of the most sprightly and beautiful she ever saw. . . . I do not think that the esteem you and Sarah hold your daughters is either unnatural or a proof of vanity; it shows the ardent love of mothers who, and rightly has nature so ordered, always think their own offspring superior to their neighbors.

Printed extract, Pauline Wilcox Burke, Emily Donelson of Tennessee (Richmond, Va., 1941), vol. 2, pp. 43–44 (22-0794). Burke’s text includes the ellipses. A footnote (p. 202) says the text comes from a copy in a scrapbook and gives an implausible date of March 18, when AJ Jr. and Sarah were with AJ in Washington. The likely date is February, before they arrived from the Hermitage and thus before AJ first saw the baby Rachel.

1. Mary’s daughter Sarah Rachel Polk had been born on January 24.
March

From Ann McCannon Cochran Edrington

Baltimore March 1st 1833.

Mrs Dr Edrington’s compliments to the President, and respectfully and earnestly requests of him to do her the pleasure to favour her with a lock of his hair, to be preserved in connection with a similar relic of the vener-ated Carroll, and many endeared friends.¹

Mrs E would do injustice to her own feelings, were she to omit this occasion of tendering to the President her congratulations on the recent manifestation of confidence in his administration of the government of our free and happy country, and of affection for his person and character awarded to him by his fellow citizens. Nor can she fail to express her hopes that the latter days of a life marked by so many interesting inci-dents, and distinguished by such important services, may be as peaceful and happy as the former ones have been brilliant and useful.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mrs. Dr Edmonston requests a lock of hair—to be sent by Mr. Barry when, applied for by him. A. J.

AN, DLC (42). Edrington (1809–1884) was the wife of Baltimore physician Edmund Gordon Edrington (1801–1859).

¹. Charles Carroll (1737–1832) of Maryland, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, had died in Baltimore on November 14, 1832.

From John Ross

Brown’s Hotel Washington City,
March 1st 1833.¹

Sir,—

In behalf of the Cherokee Delegation, I beg leave to state, that so far as we have had the honor to confer with the Secretary of war upon matters touching the general concerns of our nation, nothing of a satisfactory character has taken place; nor, is it possible for us to see that any thing per-manently beneficial to the future tranquility and happiness of our nation
can ever grow out of the principle upon which the propositions offered us are based—the Delegation would therefore respectfully solicit an interview with you, previous to our departure for our homes, and also request to be informed on what day and hour will it be most convenient to yourself to see and converse with us on the momentous concerns of our nation.2

Very respectfully, I have the Honor to be, Sir, Your Ob’t Humble Serv’t

JNO. ROSS.

In behalf of the Cherokee Delegation.

Printed, Cherokee Phoenix and Indians’ Advocate, August 17, 1833 (mAJs). Papers of John Ross, 1:265–66. Ross (1790–1866) was the principal chief of the eastern Cherokees. In April 1832, Secretary of War Cass had proposed terms to the Cherokees for their removal west of the Mississippi. The Cherokee General Council convened in July and unanimously rejected the proposal, affirming their refusal to remove and demanding the federal protection promised to them by treaty. In October the General Council reconvened, again rejected removal, and appointed Richard Taylor (1788–1853), John Fox Baldridge, and Joseph Vann (c1800–1844), with Ross, as a delegation to Washington “on all subjects relative to the interests of the nation” (SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, pp. 816–17, Serial 245; vol. 3, pp. 418–19, 421–27, 513–14, Serial 246). The delegates met briefly with AJ in Washington on January 9, 1833. On January 28 they wrote Cass, declaring their “unshaken” opposition to removal under duress and reiterating their protest against Georgia’s encroachments and usurpations. Cass replied on February 2, avowing AJ’s deep solicitude for their welfare and his conviction that removal on the generous terms offered by the government was essential to their security and prosperity. The Cherokees replied on February 14, again rejecting removal and demanding the fulfillment of treaty obligations. On February 20 Cass offered to discuss an arrangement to “terminate all the difficulties,” but restated AJ’s view “that he has no right to arrest the laws of Georgia within the limits of that State, nor can he take any measure to procure such a result” (SDoc 71, 23d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 27–36, Serial 268).

1. Jesse Brown (c1768–1847) operated the Indian Queen Hotel in Washington.

2. AJ Donelson replied this same day proposing an interview with AJ on March 5 (Cherokee Phoenix, August 17, 1833). At that meeting, as Ross later informed the Cherokee General Council, AJ offered $3 million for all the Cherokees’ land east of the Mississippi if they would pay for their own removal and establishment in the West. Ross replied that “he was not authorized to treat, but that was not the worth of the gold mines in Georgia.” He queried in turn why the government could not buy up the claims of Georgians who had won titles to Cherokee land in a state lottery “and let them emigrate westwardly” (SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 4, pp. 411–12, Serial 247). The delegation left Washington on March 10 and reported to the Cherokee General Council in May. Georgia governor Wilson Lumpkin wrote AJ about it on April 22 (below).

From Nathaniel Beverley Tucker

[On February 25, the House of Representatives voted to amend its Verplanck tariff bill by replacing it entirely with the Compromise measure that Clay had first introduced in the Senate. The House passed it the next day by 119 to 85. On March 1, the day of this letter, the House also passed the Senate’s revenue collection “Force Bill” by 149 to 47. The same day, the Senate passed Clay’s Compromise tariff, now returned from the
House, by 29 to 16. The next day, March 2, a Saturday, Jackson signed both measures into law, and the Twenty-second Congress adjourned.

Washington March 1. 1833.

Sir

I earnestly intreat you to pardon the liberty I am about to take. The time is one which does not admit of that extreme and fastidious ceremony which sacrifices the substance of friendship to the forms of society. I am sensible that nothing can seem more presumptuous than for an unauthorized and private individual to intrude himself into your councils. But when I see that deliberate treachery or intemperate zeal, on the part of your professed friends, is about to involve you in difficulty, I plead the emergency as my excuse; and throw myself on your candor.

Let me beg you to read the third section of the bill for enforcing the collection of the Revenue, rather with the eye of a Lawyer than that of a Statesman. The purpose of that Section is to secure the people of any State from unjust prosecutions for acts done in obedience to the Laws of the United States. So far the object of the Law is good, but in pursuing this a door has been opened to consequences which you, I am sure Sir, do not desire, and which seem to have been strangely overlooked by the framers and advocates of the bill.¹

It is certainly not extravagant to suppose, that, of the many cases, which, under this Law, would be removed from the State Courts, on the alleged ground of a defence arising under the Revenue Laws of the United States, some one case might occur, in which that defence might not be substantiated on the trial. In such an event the defendant must be found guilty.

Now for this contingency the framers of the bill have made no provision. It is not enough to say that such a case is possible and even probable, as it surely is. Your enemies are aware of the difficulties which such a case would present, and will be sure to make one.

The law being contrived for the protection of the innocent proceeds on the supposition that the defendant in each case will prove to be so, and therefore gives only a general direction that the Court shall proceed to final Judgment. Where this Judgment should be on a verdict of acquittal there would be no difficulty. On the contrary such a verdict would afford a most acceptable relief from the embarrassment which a federal Judge must feel while trying an indictment on a State Law, for an offence "against the peace and dignity of a State."

But if a verdict of acquittal would relieve the Court, how must a verdict of conviction embarrass it? In a case of murder capital case, I am persuaded you will at once see that no Judge of a federal Court would presume to pass sentence of death. The execution of such a sentence, would, as you are aware, Sir, involve him in the legal guilt of murder.

For this perplexing difficulty the bill has made no provision. The Judge must necessarily disregard its authority at this stage.
of proceeding. But what could he do? The law bill provides no means for restoring the case to the jurisdiction of the State Courts, and makes it at least as doubtful, as some other questions, about which able men are found to differ, whether the culprit must not escape altogether. Discharged he must be. Every moment of his detention, from the time when it appears that his case does not present a good defence under the Laws of the United States, is unlawful imprisonment. His petition can make no difference, so soon as he recalls the consent implied in the petition there in, because consent cannot give jurisdiction. His detention becomes wrongful the moment he demands his discharge.

I flatter myself, Sir, that the difficulty which the inadvertence of your friends, and the craft of your enemies (for they are aware of this thing) have thus prepared for you, is one which your sagacity and address will readily turn to your advantage, and to the benefit of our country. It affords you an opportunity to show, in the most unequivocal manner, your respect for the Constitution; and to give the lie to that construction of your conduct, which represents you as seeking, at all hazards, an opportunity to imbue your sword in the blood of your native State. Believe me, Sir, the bill, at this stage of the business, is of no use except to counteract the evils which it alone will produce is at this moment of no use to counteract any evils except those of its own creation. The hollow and treacherous compromise of Mr. Clay’s bill, (hollow and treacherous between the parties, & as to you) estops the nullifiers of South Carolina from proceeding to the extremities against which this bill was meant to guard. This Bill itself is looked on by them as the occasion for renewing their opposition to the authority of the Federal Government, on a new other and stronger ground, & rallying, not South Carolina alone, but the whole Slave-holding interest in opposition to that oppression which they apprehend from a fixed interest of a fixed majority, fortified by a construction of the Constitution which makes that majority the sole judge of it’s own powers and rights. I am by no means sure that they desired to amend one of the defects of the bill. They would have you pass it with faults ten times greater. Reject it, and you disarm them. Reject it, and you have an opportunity of giving the lie to their worst imputations. Reject it for the glaring and unpardonable defect that I have exposed, and a door is open to you for correcting, beyond the possibility of mistake, all the misapprehensions of the Proclamation of which you did me the honour to speak the other day. Let the Southern States be restored to that sense of political security which has been alarmed by the proclamation; let the doctrines of the ancient democracy be restablished; let us be no longer shocked with the idea that in any collision between federal and State authority the Law of Treason, and not the law of arms is to be the arbiter of the fate of honorable men; and you will find that the relinquishment of the American System however gradual, and the concessions of the Bill of compromise, however inadequate, will be received as satisfactory for the
present. We read, in an oriental fabulist, of a Sword the wounds of which were immedicable, but by a magic virtue residing in the hilt, at the touch of which they instantly healed. Such an instrument is in your hands. Apply it, and you restore peace to your Country, and reestablish yourself in the hearts of your true friends, the Republican party in the United States.

I am persuaded, Sir, that nothing short of this will have that effect; and I frankly declare that I have no desire to see this excitement pass away on any other terms. Nor will it. Let a Government of force succeed a Government of opinion, and men will lose no time in trying whether they can be governed by force. Let the faculty of secession and the right to secede for good cause, and the right to decide on the sufficiency of the cause be authoritatively denied to the States, and they will lose no time in bringing the question to the only practical issue arbitrament. God forbid they should hesitate! But let these grand principles be distinctly acknowledged, & the instant restoration of harmony will be the result. No man, Sir, better understands, than you, those workings of the human heart on which I predicate these remarks. For myself Anticipating the course which the present aspect of affairs may make it necessary for the Southern States to pursue, I could not go with and fully decided as to the part which it would belong to me to act in such a crisis I could not go to my task with a clean conscience, without first doing all I could to avert the necessity it.

It will, I trust, take something from the appearance of presumption in this letter, that my connexion with your old and approved friend Mr. White of Tennessee, enables me to have his judgment on it before submitting it to you. You will receive it through his hands or not at all. To him and to your other friend, my brother Mr. Randolph, alone is its existence known. To none other will it be known but through you.

I am sensible, Sir, that, had I any thing to hope or to fear for myself, I might be thought to put much to hazard in thus approaching you. Such is not my own estimate of you; but if it were it would be the more my duty and my pride to avail myself of the advantages of a private Station to do what men in office might shrink from. At such a time as this, it would be foolish and wicked to forego the independence and the means of usefulness, which he enjoys, who is a private man from choice, for any thing in the gift of President or people.

Earnestly hoping that my freedom may not have prejudiced the good cause in which I have used it, I remain, Sir, with the highest respect, and the most sincere wishes for your happiness and honour your friend & obedt Servt.

AL draft, ViW (22-0587).

1. Section 3 of the revenue collection bill provided that any person sued or prosecuted in state court for “any act done under the revenue laws of the United States” could remove the proceedings by petition to a U.S. circuit court. Should the plaintiff not pursue the case in the federal court, judgment and costs were to be rendered in favor of the defendant (Statutes 4:633–34).
2. Tucker had called on AJ at the White House on February 21. According to his memorandum of their conversation, Tucker warned AJ that his proclamation’s threat to treat seceders as individual traitors aroused “uneasiness and alarm” and was itself likely to provoke secession. AJ replied that secession was in effect a resort to revolution, “a sacred right” but only if sustained by victory at arms. Pressed by Tucker, AJ conceded that such a contest would be fought under “the laws of war,” with “the rights of war” observed and the responsibility and consequences falling “on the State in its political character” rather than on individuals (Bryan Family Papers, ViU).

3. Hugh L. White was the uncle of Tucker’s wife, Lucy Ann Smith Tucker.

**From Henry Toland**

City of Washington 2nd March 1833

Dear Sir

I called twice to bid you adieu, and to express to you (if I could find words emphatic enough to do it in) the grateful sense I entertain of your Kindnesses towards me. Thro’ you I have been relieved from a burthen which otherwise would have attended me though life, and I am now enabled to avail myself of some remaining years of energetic exertion, to provide for a fine family whom I will teach to bless you.¹ I intend going in the stage at 2 o’Clock. When I was last in Philadelphia, I made enquiry respecting the service of silver. The weights are usually as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tea urn</td>
<td>100 oz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea pot</td>
<td>40 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar dish</td>
<td>32 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cream pot</td>
<td>14 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>186 oz @ 1 87/100 $348 75/100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the 4th inst. you may perhaps find time to write me a line respecting them. I intended if I had seen you, to have recommended my old school fellow, Mr Charles Biddle, for some situation. He tells me that his pecuniary situation is very distressing, and as he is a man of undoubted talents and fidelity, I hope you may be pleased to consider him.² With the most affectionate respect I remain your friend

Henry Toland

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. Toland—recd. 2nd. March 1833 To be answered A. J

answered 5th. of March 1833—requesting the plate to be sent to Nashville care of Mr Nichol. A. J

plate ordered, cost $348—check to be sent when shipped for Nashvill—A. J.

additional order for 2 dozen table & 2 of tea spoons—to be filed A. J.
ALS, DLC (42). Toland (1785–1863) was a Philadelphia merchant and AJ’s supplier of furniture and housewares for the Hermitage. AJ had nominated him on February 1 to be navy agent at Philadelphia. He wrote Toland about the silver on March 17 (below).

1. Toland had become indebted to the government for about $170,000 on customs bonds, nearly $140,000 of it as surety for the failed import firm of J. C. & W. H. Smith and the rest on his own account. In September 1832 he had petitioned Treasury secretary McLane for relief under the federal insolvent debtor laws of 1831 and 1832. On February 25, 1833, McLane approved releasing Toland from his liability as surety upon his giving bond to discharge his own debt of $31,000 plus interest within five years. On February 28 McLane explained the arrangement to George M. Dallas, chair of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, to which Toland’s nomination as navy agent had been referred (DNA-RG 46). Dallas reported the nomination and the Senate confirmed it the same day.

2. Charles Biddle (1787–1836) was a Nashville lawyer and brother of Bank of the United States president Nicholas Biddle. AJ had nominated him for a Florida Territory district judgeship in 1832, but the Senate rejected him. John Eaton wrote AJ about him on March 23 (below).

To Robert Johnstone Chester

Washington March 3rd. 1833—

My Dr Sir

yours of the 14th ult. was duly received. The chikisaw treaty was ratified by the Senate on the 1rst. instant, and on yesterday your name as Survayor was presented to them—with a receiver & Register. I was apprehensive that as you were not an inhabitant of the state of Mississippi that you would be rejected, as they had rejected Gwinn, then Genl B. Coleman, and lastly Mr Williford as register for Mount Salus. As I had anticipated you were rejected, I then sent a nomination communication, that until their resolution was recinded, concluding from their various rejections of men, fit, honest, capable, & every way beyond exception, that the only ground for rejection must be, because they were not citizens of Mississippi, & this being an encroachment on the Executive discretion in appointments as prescribed in the constitution, that I should not present any more nominations to them for office, in Mississippi, untill that resolution was recinded.¹

The resolution was recinded, but having reported your rejection, it could not be reconsidered without unanimous consent. I was then determined to renominate Gwinn, as receiver, which I did, and he was approved, which gave me a triumph over the factious senate headed by Poindexter—but without benefit to you under the rule before mentioned, as your case could not be reconsidered. Although I have obtained a triumph over Poindexter, still I am sorely mortified at your defeat—but remembering for the present the old ‘adage’ that what cannot be cured, must be endured, still, you may resting well assured that no opportunity will be omitted that can be embraced with propriety, to promote your interest.

Congress adjourned about day light this morning, and I am not very well, and have to prepare for my inaguration tomorrow, & can only add,
that your friend Genl Coffee was with me at the capitol last night, and is truly disgusted with the scenes, & mortified at your rejection.

With my love to Betsy & the children the good old lady & all my connection with my congratulations to the new married pair I remain yr. friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THi (22-0663). Chester (1793–1892) was the postmaster at Jackson, Tenn., and husband of Rachel Jackson’s niece Elizabeth Hays Chester (1805–1841).

The Senate had voted on February 28 to amend and approve the Chickasaw Treaty of Pontotoc Creek, and AJ ratified it on March 1. On March 2, the session’s last day, he nominated Chester for surveyor and Joel Henry Dyer and William Forbes Savage for land office register and receiver in the ceded Chickasaw territory. The Senate confirmed Savage, of Alabama, by 21 to 5, but rejected Tennesseans Chester and Dyer, both by votes of 19 to 16.

Back on February 3, 1831, the Senate had adopted a resolution by George Poindexter of Mississippi “that it is inexpedient to appoint a citizen of any one State to an office which may be created or become vacant in any other State of the Union within which such citizen does not reside, without some evident necessity for such appointment.” The resolution had been sparked by AJ’s December 1830 nomination of his nephew Stockley D. Hays of Tennessee to be surveyor of public lands in Mississippi and Louisiana. In a compromise, Hays was instead nominated and confirmed as register of the Mount Salus (Clinton) land office in Mississippi. After he died in September 1831, AJ gave a recess appointment as register to Mount Salus to Samuel Gwin (c1794–1838), also a Tennessean and the son of AJ’s friend and neighbor James Gwin. The Senate rejected Gwin’s nomination in December 1831 by 25 to 13. AJ renominated him in the same session on June 11, 1832, but on July 10 the Senate tabled the nomination by 27 to 17. On July 21, after the session expired, AJ gave Gwin another recess appointment. He nominated him again on February 19, 1833, and on February 27 the Senate rejected him again, 20 to 19. The next day, February 28, AJ nominated Blackman Coleman (d. 1840) of Tennessee as register of Mount Salus in Gwin’s place. The Senate rejected him, 14 to 12, on March 1. On March 2, the last day of the session, AJ nominated Tennessean William Lancaster Williford (1781–1855). The Senate also rejected him, 22 to 16.

After the rejections of Chester, Dyer, and Williford on March 2, AJ sent a message to the Senate attributing them to Poindexter’s 1831 resolution and declining to nominate further as long as the Senate held to what he termed “an unconstitutional restraint upon the authority of the President in relation to appointments to office.” Before AJ’s message was entered in its journal, the Senate voted by 17 to 9 to rescind the 1831 resolution. Later that day AJ submitted new nominations for the Mississippi vacancies, including Gwin for register of a newly created land office. All were confirmed (Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:150–51, 158, 161, 181, 188–89, 255, 272, 315, 317, 322, 325–27, 329–31, 333).

1. AJ’s “fit, honest, capable” echoed Thomas Jefferson’s famous words in a July 12, 1801, letter that the only questions about a candidate ought to be “is he honest? is he capable? is he faithful to the constitution?” (Papers of Thomas Jefferson, 34:556).

2. The old lady was Elizabeth Chester’s mother, Rachel Jackson’s sister Jane Donelson Hays (1766–1834).

Second Inaugural Address

[On March 4, Andrew Jackson was inaugurated for a second term as president of the United States in a ceremony at the Capitol. Chief Justice John Marshall administered the oath of office. Jackson’s inaugural address

Second Inaugural Address

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was widely published in newspapers and is in Richardson, 3:3–5. The Library of Congress holds four drafts of the address, all printed here. The first is by Jackson. It was apparently furnished to presidential wordsmith Amos Kendall, who produced a second draft. Jackson then copied it over with minor changes. The fourth draft by Andrew J. Donelson brought the text to nearly final form.

Draft by Andrew Jackson

Fellow Citizens

Four years has rolled around since I on a similar occasion appeared before you on a similar occasion to undertake the arduous duties which the favour of my countrymen had devolved on me by electing me to the highest office in their gift. Having They have continued their confidence in me & a second time by their free and unsolicited suffrages elected me to this high & responsible office——on such an occasion the expression of my heartfelt gratitude which has been bestowed upon my past efforts in their service is inadequate, but the best and only return I can offer for so distinguished an honor. I shall endeavour to prove my gratitude by persevering efforts to perform my part in the administration of the government with fidelity to the constitution, and with an anxious hope that the great principles upon which it has been founded, successful as they have been, as the instrument of our prosperity and happiness, will be found to be capable of perpetuating these blessings, at the same time that the strengthen the guarantees of liberty and freedom.

The incidents of the last four years have furnished so many occasions for exposition of the views which I entertain of the policy called for at this interesting period of our history by those charged with the administration of our Government, that I deem it unnecessary here to repeat the principles of action to which they pledge my future exertions as the agent of the people. Those incidents where they have led me to differ with the other coordinate departments of the Government, impress me the more solemnly with a just sense of the importance of each as checks upon the others in administering our admirable system of government—they have increased the diffidence with which I first approached the duties chair of the chief magistrate and will teach me, with the distrust of my own abilities, the necessity of relying on that enlightened cooperation and aid which it is the praise of our citizens generally and of their representatives to be able to render with safety and effect to all the functionaries they have created. But above all my past experience in the discharge of the delicate and important trusts which are confided to me inculcates most solemnly the justice of that reliance upon almighty aid which has been so signaly exerted in upholding the infancy of our institutions, and which we may be permitted to hope will never be withdrawn, as long as we continue to appreciate the blessings which they have secured to us.
Devoting all my humble efforts, as they have been heretofore, to the simple discharge of the functions of my office without transcending its authority; and keeping a steady eye to the limited character of our Government, it shall be my great object to contribute, all that the executive can, to remove every just cause of complaint, and preserve for the Government that simplicity and economy on which depends its efficiency and its capacity to attain the beneficent purposes of its creation. By the preservation of peace both at home and abroad, by the removal of every unnecessary burthen upon the free enterprise of our citizens, and by the abstinence from every power which is not clearly granted and necessary to protect the rights & liberty of the citizens, and the true interests of the country, I trust that the few clouds which now hang in our political horizon will soon be expelled, and every apprehension unfavorable to the prosperity, perpetuity of our happy union & increasing prosperity of our free institutions be banished. I say forever banished, for can we Americans, and as such, hesitate between Union and the miseries and dangers of disunion I answer for my fellow citizens, that we cannot—we will be [. . .] banish sectional feeling.

AD, DLC (22-0665). The bottom of the last page is torn.

1. The text between the two pointer marks is circled in pencil and written next to it in the margin is “the other side ☹.” No replacement text has been found.

Draft by Amos Kendall

Fellow Citizens,

The will of the American people, expressed through their unsolicited suffrages, calls me before you to pass through the solemnities preparatory to taking upon myself the duties of President of the United States for another term of four years. For their approbation of my administration through a period which has not been without its difficulties, and for this renewed expression of their confidence in my good intentions, I find no adequate terms to express my heart-felt gratitude. It shall be displayed, to the extent of my humble powers, in continued efforts so to administer their government as to preserve their liberty and promote their happiness.

So many incidents have occurred within the last four years which have necessarily called forth, sometimes under circumstances the most delicate and painful, my views of the principles and policy which ought to be pursued by the general government, that I need but touch upon them now.

The foreign policy which has generally pursued since soon after the adoption of the present constitution, has and very generally pursued by each successive administration has been crowned with almost complete success, and has elevated our character among the nations of the earth. To do justice to all and submit to wrong from none, has been during my administration the governing maxim, of foreign policy, and so happy have been its results, that we are not only
at peace with all the world but few causes of controversy, and those of minor importance, are left to be adjusted.¹ Our discussions with foreign powers will hereafter relate to little else than commercial treaties and arrangements, having in view the advancement of our trade on terms of perfect reciprocity with all maritime nations.

In the domestic policy of this government, there are two objects which have been, and will continue to be, the objects of my unceasing solicitude. They are—

The preservation of the reserved rights of the several States and
The integrity of the Union.

My experience in public life and the observation of a life somewhat advanced, confirm the impressions long since imbibed by me, that the destruction of our state governments, or the annihilation of their control over the local concerns of the people, would lead directly to revolution and anarchy, and finally to despotism and military domination. In proportion, therefore, as the general government encroaches upon the rights of the states, in the same proportion does it impair its own power and detract from its ability to fulfill the purposes of its creation. Solemnly impressed with these considerations, my countrymen will ever find me raising my voice, and if need be, exercising, as I have already done, the power they have placed in my hands, to repress any measures which may, directly or indirectly, encroach on the reserved rights of the states or tend to consolidate all political power in the general government. Rather than create discontents and heartburnings among the people or the states, I deem it far better to refrain from the exercise of even rightful powers, unless it be necessary to the preservation of the government or the safety of the people.

Equally important is the preservation of our union and the support of the general government in the exercise of its essential powers. Without union our independence and liberty would never have been achieved; without union they can never be maintained. Divided into twenty four or even a smaller number of separate communities, we shall see our internal trade burdened by numberless restraints and exactions, communication between distant points and persons obstructed or cut off, our sons made soldiers to deluge with blood the fields they now till in peace, the mass of our people borne down and impoverished by taxes to support armies and navies, and military leaders, at the head of their victorious legions, becoming our lawgivers and judges. The loss of liberty, of all good government, of peace, plenty and happiness, must inevitably follow a dissolution of the union. In supporting the union, we therefore, we support all that is dear to the freeman and philanthropist.

The time at which I stand before you is one of portentous importance. The eyes of the world are fixed on our Republic. The event of the existing crisis will be decisive in the opinion of mankind of the practicability or
impracticability of the federal system of government. Great is the stake which mankind have in our hands; great is the responsibility which must rest upon our heads. Let us realize the interesting attitude in which we stand before the world. Let us exercise forbearance and firmness. Let us extricate our country from the dangers which surround it and learn wisdom from the lessons they inculcate. That people is not best governed who have the most laws. Legislation which is partial in its objects or effect, which depresses one man or interest at the expense of another, or is supposed to do so, will ever lead to discontents, murmurings, dissen-
tion and revolution. Government should treat all alike; and the surest means of attaining that end is to let all alone as far as is compatible with public justice, peace and safety. To bring our government to the adoption and practice of this principle in its legislation as well as its general administration, and thereby to preserve it as a blessing to America and an example to the world, will continue to be the object of my unceasing solicitude.

In the mean time, misguided men must not be permitted, in efforts to correct existing abuses or in pursuance of less worthy designs, to impair or overthrow a system of government which is the pride of our fathers and the only hope of ourselves and our posterity. If, in madness or delusion, any one shall lift his paricidal hand against this blessed union, which, like Heaven’s canopy, spreads over us all, and if it does not make us all happy, protects us from unnumbered ills, the arms of tens of thousands will be raised to save it and the curse of millions will fall upon the head which may have plotted its destruction. For myself, when I approach the Sared Volume and take a solemn Oath to support and defend this Constitution, I feel, in the depths of my soul, that it is the highest, most sacred and most irreversible part of my obligation, to preserve the union of these states although it may cost me my life.

Finally, it is my most fervent prayer to that Almighty Being before whom I now stand, that Ruler of Nations Him who has hitherto protected our country in war and so signally blessed it in peace, that He will teach us both justice and moderation, allay excited passions, lead back the misguided to the path of reason and duty, save our country from civil dis-
sentions and spare me the painful necessity of resorting to those terrible powers which are vested in me by the constitution and acts of Congress, to execute the laws, suppress insurrection and repel invasion.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Rough draft of A. Jackson Second inaugural address To be kept on file A. J.

AD, DLC (77).

1. AJ’s first annual message to Congress on December 8, 1829, declared that in foreign relations it was his “settled purpose to ask nothing that is not clearly right and to submit to nothing that is wrong” (Richardson, 2:443).
Fellow Citizens

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In the domestic policy of this government, there are two objects which especially deserve the attention of the People & their Rulers & which have been, and will continue to be, the objects of my increasing solicitude.¹ They are—The preservation of the reserved rights of the several states and The integrity of the union.

My experience in public life concerns, and the observation of a life somewhat advanced, confirm the impressions long since imbibed by me, that the destruction of our state governments, or the annihilation of their control over the local concerns of the people, would lead directly to revolution and anarchy, and finally to despotism and military domination. In proportion, therefore, as the general government encroaches upon the rights of the states, in the same proportion does it impair its own power and detract from its ability to fulfil the purposes of its creation. Solemnly impressed with these considerations, my countrymen will ever find me raising my voice, & if need be, exercising as I have already done, the power they have placed in my hands, to repress any measures which may, directly or indirectly, encroach on the reserved rights of the states or tend or tend to consolidate all political power in the general government.

¹ The preservation of the reserved rights of the several states and The integrity of the union.
Rather than to create discontents and heartburnings among the people, or the states, I deem it far better to refrain from the exercise of even rightful powers, unless it be necessary to the preservation of the government or the safety of the people.

Equally important is the preservation of the our union and the support of the general government in the exercise of its essential powers. Without Union our independence and liberty would never have been achieved, without union they can never be maintained. Divided into twenty four or even a small number of separate communities, we shall see our internal trade burdened by numberless restraints and exactions, communication between distant points and persons obstructed, or cut off, our sons made soldiers to deluge with blood the fields they now till in peace, the mass of our people borne down and impoverished by taxes to support armies and navies, and military leaders, at the head of their victorious legions, becoming our lawgivers and judges. The loss of liberty, of all good government, of peace, plenty and happiness, must inevitably follow a dissolution of the Union. In supporting the union, therefore, we support all that is dear to the freeman and philanthropist.

The time at which I stand before you is one of portentous importance. The eyes of the world are fixed on our Republic. The event of the existing crisis will be decisive in the opinion of mankind of the practicability, or impracticibility of the federal system of government. Great is the stake which mankind have in our hands; great is the responsibility which must rest upon our heads the People of the U.S.² Let us realize the interesting attitude in which we stand before the world. Let us exercise forbearance and firmness. Let us extricate our country from the dangers which surround it and learn wisdom from the lessons they inculcate. That people is not best governed who have the most laws. Legislation which is partial in its objects or effect, which depresses one man or interest at the expence of another, or is supposed to do so, will ever lead to discontents, murmurings, dissention and revolution. Government should treat all alike; and the surest means of attaining that end, is to let all alone as far as is compatible with publick justice, peace and safety. To bring the our government to the adoption and practice of this principle in its legislation as well as its general administration, and thereby to preserve it as a blessing to America and an example to the world, will continue to be the object of my increasing solicitude.

In the mean time, misguided men must not be permitted, in effect to correct existing abuses or in pursuance of less worthy motives and designs, to impair or overthrow a system of government which is the pride of our fathers, and the only hope of ourselves and our posterity. If, in madness or delusion, any one shall lift his paracidal hand against this blessed union, which, like Heavens Canopy, spreads over us all, and if it does not make us all happy, protects us from unnumbered ills, the arms of tens of thousands will be raised to save it, and the curse of millions will fall upon the
head which may have plotted its destruction. For myself, when I approach
the sacred volume and take a solemn Oath to support and defend this
constitution, I feel in the depths of my soul, that it is the highest, most
sacred and most irreversible part of my obligation, to preserve this union
the union of these states, although it may cost me my life.

Finally it is my most fervent prayer to that almighty being before whom
I now stand, Him who has hitherto protected our country in war, and so
signally blessed it in peace, that He will teach us justice and moderation,
allay excited passions, lead back the misguided to the path of reason and
duty, and spare me the painful necessity of resorting to these terrible pow-
ers which are vested in me by the constitution and acts of Congress, to
execute the laws, suppress insurrection, and repel invasion.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Rough draft of inaugural address—March 1rst. 1833—
A. J—

AD, DLC (42).

1. The phrase “which especially deserve the attention of the People & their Rulers &” is
a penciled insertion.
2. The change from “our heads” to “the People of the U.S.” is a penciled insertion.

Draft by Andrew Jackson Donelson

Fellow citizens

The will of the American people, expressed thro’ their unsolicited suf-
frages, calls me before you to pass thro’ the solemnities preparatory to
taking upon myself the duties of President of the United States for another
term of four years. For their approbation of my administration which
has not been public conduct thro’ a period which has not been without
its difficulties, and for this renewed expression of their confidence in my
good intentions, I find no language am at a loss for terms adequate to
the expression of my gratitude. It shall be displayed, to the extent of my
humble powers, in continued efforts so to administer the Government as
to preserve their liberty and promote their happiness.

So many incidents events have occurred within the last four years
which have necessarily called forth, sometimes under circumstances the
most delicate and painful, my views of the principles and policy which
ought to be pursued by the General Government, that I need but touch
upon them on this occasion but allude to a few leading considerations,
connected with some of them.

The foreign policy adopted by our Government soon after the for-
mation of the present constitution, and very generally pursued by each
successive administrations, has been crowned with almost complete suc-
cess, and has elevated our character among the nations of the earth. To
do justice to all and submit to wrong from none, has been during my
administration its governing maxim, and so happy have been its results,
that we are not only at peace with all the world, but have few causes of controversy, and those of minor importance remaining unadjusted. Our discussions with foreign powers will hereafter relate to little else than commercial Treaties and arrangements having in view the advancement of our trade on terms of perfect reciprocity with all maritime nations.

In the domestic policy of this Government there are two subjects objects which especially draw the attention of the people and their Representatives, and which have been and will continue to be, the subjects objects of my increasing solicitude. They are the preservation of the reserved rights of the several states and the integrity of the union.

These great objects are necessarily connected and can only be attained by an enlightened exercise of the acknowledged powers of each within its appropriate sphere, in conformity with the public will constitutionally expressed. For the accomplishment of these objects it becomes the duty of all to yield a ready and patriotic submission to the laws constitutionally enacted, and thereby promote and strengthen a proper confidence in those institutions of the several states and of the United States which the people themselves have ordained for their own Government.

My experience in public concerns, and the observation of a life somewhat advanced, confirm the impressions opinions long since imbibed by me, that the destruction of our state Governments, or the annihilation of their control over the local concerns of the people, would lead directly to revolution and anarchy, and finally to despotism and military domination. In proportion therefore as the general Government encroaches upon the rights of the states, in the same proportion does it impair its own power and detract from its ability to fulfil the purposes of its creation. Solemnly impressed with these considerations my countrymen will ever find me raising my voice, and if need be exercising as I have already done, ready to exercise the my constitutional powers they have placed in my hands to repress in arresting any measures which may directly or indirectly encroach on the reserved rights of the states, or tend to consolidate all political power in the general Government. But of equal and indeed of incalculable importance is the union of these states and the sacred duty of all to contribute to its preservation by a generous liberal support of the general government in the exercise of its essential just powers. You have been wisely admonished to “acustom yourselves to think and speak of the union as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety, discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of any attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.”

Without union our independence and liberty would never have been achieved—without union they can never be maintained. Divided into Twenty four, or even a smaller number of separate communities, we shall see our internal trade burdened with numberless
restraints and exactions; communication between distant points and sections obstructed, or cut off; our sons made soldiers to deluge with blood the fields they now till in peace; the mass of our people borne down and impoverished by taxes to support armies and navies; and military leaders at the head of their victorious legions becoming our lawgivers and judges. The loss of liberty, of all good government, of peace, plenty and happiness, must inevitably follow a dissolution of the union. In supporting it therefore we support all that is dear to the freeman and philanthropist.

The time at which I stand before you is one of portentious importance full of interest. The eyes of the world all nations are fixed on our republic. The event of the existing crisis will be decisive in the opinion of mankind of the practicability or impracticability of the our federal system of Government. Great is the stake which mankind have placed in our hands: great is the responsibility which must rest upon the people of the United States. Let us realize the interesting importance of the attitude in which we stand before the world. Let us exercise forbearance and firmness. Let us extricate our country from the dangers which surround it, and learn wisdom from the lessons they inculcate.

Deeply impressed with the truth of these observations and under the obligation of that solemn oath which I am presently about to take, I shall continue to exert all my faculties to maintain the just powers of the constitution, and to transmit unimpaired to posterity the blessings of our federal union. To those ends At the same time it will be my aim to inculcate both by my example and by my official action the necessity of exercising by the general Government of those powers only that are clearly delegated and essential necessary to the duties confided to its administration; to encourage simplicity and economy in the expenditures of the Government; to raise no more money from the people than may be requisite for these objects, and in a manner that will best promote the interests of all classes of the community, and of all portions of the union. Constantly bearing in mind that in entering into society “individuals must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest,” it will be my desire to so to discharge my duties as to foster a spirit by with our brethren in all parts of the country a spirit of liberal concession and compromise; and by reconciling our fellow citizens to those partial sacrifices which they must unavoidably make for the preservation of a greater good to recommend our invaluable Government and union to the confidence and affections of the American people.

Finally, it is my most fervent prayer, to that Almighty Being before whom I now stand, and who has kept us in his hands from the infancy of our republic to the present day, that he will so overrule all my intentions and actions, and inspire the hearts of my fellow citizens, that we may be preserved from dangers of all kinds, and continue forever a united and happy people.
To William Donelson

Washington March 6th 1833—

My Dr. Sir,

I have neither written to you, except sending you a document, nor have I recd. a line from you, since I left Tennessee—nor would the crowd & business with which I am surrounded, permit me now, but the interest of our young friend is concerned (John Donelson jnr) for whom the within letter is, and it is necessary that he should get it as early as possible—it is on business of importance to him, and it is necessary he should get it soon, & I know not where a letter may reach him. Send it to him as early as you can.¹

I am not well, &c I had nearly lost Sarah last Sunday night, &c Monday night—she had severe spasms—but thank god she is I trust beyond all danger—it was brought on by debility & fatigue of travelling and the anxiety about her dear little Rachel. The ballance of the family are all well. Genl Coffee and they Maries, left us yesterday for home—the weather is unusually severe—the first deep snow this winter, is now on the earth—the rivers to day closed, &c all travelling stopped.²

I have not time to write to Mr Hotzclaw about my hands &c farm. I have much anxiety about them—will you have the goodness to converse with him &c remind him that I rely on his promise that he will rule with humanity—feed & cloath well, and work in moderation. The sudden death of Aneca, has given me much pain, &c anxiety—you know I lost one servant by the cruelty of Walton, severals by the inattention of Mr Steel, &c jame by being swung & whipped, and the knot of the cowhide striking him on the lower part of the privates—now, Mr Hotzclaw has agreed to chastise them on the hips; Anaca, lost her life by the imprudence of being sent out into the wet at an improper season—it is easy to destroy by imprudence, but not in the power of man, to restore—therefore, I expect great caution hereafter with humanity to be exercised—will you write me when you have leisure—³

Present me to Elisabeth and the old Lady your mother, Mr Martin & family &c all our connections[.].¹⁴ yr friend

Andrew Jackson

P.S. send you an inaugural address &c one for Mr Martin to be laid up by him for my son⁴

¹
done
²
done
³
done
⁴
done
I should regret that from any cruelty I should be compelled to separate from Hotzclaw

ALS, College of Life Foundation, Inc. (mAJs). Donelson replied on March 26 (below).
1. AJ explained this letter to John Coffee on March 16 (below).
2. AJ Jr., Sarah, and Rachel had arrived from the Hermitage. The two Marys were Coffee’s daughter Mary Donelson Coffee and Mary McLemore.
3. Ira Walton had been Hermitage overseer from January to August 1827, when AJ dismissed him for killing the slave Gilbert. Graves W. Steele (d. 1838) was overseer from 1829 to 1832. Anaca (c1817–1833) had been a Hermitage slave. “Jame” may have been AJ’s servant Jim or James, who died in 1829.
4. Elizabeth Anderson Donelson (1809–1841) was William’s second wife. His mother was Mary Purnell Donelson (1763–1848). George Washington Martin was William’s brother-in-law. His wife Lucinda was the sister of William’s late first wife, Rachel Donelson, and also of AJ Jr.
5. AJ’s “son” was his namesake, Martin’s son Andrew Jackson Martin.

To Joel Roberts Poinsett

[Printed here is Jackson’s draft, followed by the sent letter.]

Washington March 6th. 1833

My Dear Sir,

your letters of the 22nd. & 28th. ultimo are both before me, and I hasten to answer by Col. Drayton, who leaves the city tomorrow morning.

I rejoice at the firmness lately evinced by the Union party. The judiciary bill more effectually securing the collection of the revenue, or, as others call it, the enforcing bill has passed by the unknown majority of 102. This gives the death blow to nullification & secession forever, as it is an expression of the people from Main to Louisiana, that the laws shall be executed, and no state has a right to secede without the consent of the rest, or at least a constitutional number of the states, 3/4.

The Tariff bill has also passed. The other law being first passed, it was right to Legislate for the Union, and reduce the tariff to the wants of the government—the enforcing bill shew to the world the determination of Congress to execute the laws—this being done, the passage of the tariff was only an evidence that Congress could not be detered by a faction, that she was prepared to crush, if found in the attitude of rebellion & treason in an instant, from legislating for the general good, not from any fear of this faction, but for the sake of justice to the people whose pocketts were to be uselessly drained of many millions—on these grounds was the tariff passed, and on none other.

I am happy that you intend moving on pari passu, with the nullifiers, and that your convention is called to meet at charleston, to be prepared to act if necessary in support of the Union. The stake is an important one,
and worthy of the Patriots best efforts to maintain it—for on it rests our liberty & the hopes of the world. Should the nullifiers determine to secede, form a constitution & submit it to the people—surely no one who loves his country and our happy union will vote upon such a subject—the act would be one giving acquiescence to the right of secessions by a single state which would be derogatory to every one who is in favour of our constitutional confederation, & Union, and in favour of defending our constitution—for gods sake let the union convention come forth in all the majesty of their strength against such an unholy procedure.

I have only time to say one word on the subject of the union members attending the nullifying convention. My opinion is, they ought to attend, and with as much boldness, but more talent, hold their tyrannical, wicked & unconstitutional proceedings to the world in all their deformity, as Calhoun has done in the Senate of the United States, his unholy & unconstitutional doctrines—but the moment they determine on secession & the forming of a constitution on that basis, to withdraw making a solemn protest against their proceedings—then to forthwith to join your convention, and come forth with your proclamation denouncing their course, and your firm determination to adhere to, & support the Union of these United States to the last extremity.

I must refer you to Col Drayton for the news of this place—keep me constantly & correctly advised of all matters relating to the conduct & movements of the nullifiers, & all will be well, and the federal union preserved[.]

yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS draft, DLC (73).

1. The revenue collection bill had passed the House by 149 to 47. Constitutional amendments must be approved by legislatures or conventions in three-fourths of the states.

Washington, March 6, 1833.

My Dear Sir,

Your letters of the 22nd. & 28th. ultimo are both before me, and I hasten to give you a reply by Col. Drayton, who leaves in the morning.

I rejoice at the firmness lately evinced by the Union party. The Bill more effectually securing the collection of the revenue, or, as some call it, the enforcing Bill has passed the house of Reps by the unparalleled majority of 102. I say unparalled because it surely has not happened, according to my recollection, in the course of our legislation, that any measure, so violently contested as this has been, has been sustained by such a vote. This Bill gives the death blow to Nullification or Secession, and, if the Nullifiers of your state have any regard for the Union, or the bold, but respectfull expression of the peoples determination, that the laws shall be executed, and that no state shall secede at her will and pleasure, there will be no difficulty.
The Tariff Bill has also become a law, but was not passed until after the collection Bill. The passage of the collection Bill proves to the world the fixed determination of Congress to execute, as far as their action was necessary, the laws passed in persuasion of the constitution. I have always thought that Congress should reduce the Tariff to the wants of the Government, and the passage of such a Bill became peculiarly proper after Congress had, by the passage of the "enforcing" Bill, so fully shewn to the world that she was not to be detered by a faction, which, if found in rebellion and treason, she was prepared to crush in an instant.

The Bill which has passed is not of the exact character which I would have prefered, but it is hoped that it may have a good effect in the South as most, if not all, of her prominent men gave it their support.

Congress displayed, after shewing how little it regarded the threat of some South Carolinians, a proper sense of justice to the people by making the reduction they did, and, to that extent, relieving the people of useless taxation.

I am happy to learn that you intend moving on pari passu with the nullification party, and that your convention is called to meet at charleston to be prepared to act, if necessary, in support of the Union. The stake is an important one, and the retention of it worthy the patriots best, and noblest efforts. If lost the world may bid adieu to liberty and all that is dear to freemen.

Should the nullifiers be rash enough to attempt Secession, and form a constitution and submit it to the people surely no one would countenance such an unauthorized act by voting on the question. I do not doubt but that those who love their country and our happy union would, in such event, be united to a man in their maintenance, and that the Union convention would come forth in the majesty of her strength—which consists in the justice of her cause and the will of the people—in denunciation of such an unholy procedure.

I have only time to say one word on the Subject of the union members attending the nullifying convention. My opinion is, that they ought to attend, but upon this condition that they present, with boldness and talent, the tyrannical, wicked and unconstitutional proceedings of the Nullifiers to the world, in all their naked deformity. The Union party will always gain by coming in open contact with the Nullifiers. Reason must, when exercised, always triumph over error. Witness Calhoun’s defeat in the Senate. If the nullifying Convention determine on secession, and forming a new constitution the Union members ought, after entering their solemn protest against the proceedings, immediately to withdraw, and forthwith join the Union convention, which ought then to issue its proclamation, or determination, to adhere to, and support the Union of these United States, to the last extremity.
I must refer you to Col. Drayton for the news of the city. Keep me constantly advised of matters relating to the conduct or movements of the nullifiers, and all will be well, and the federal union preserved. Yr. Friend

Andrew Jackson

LS in George Breathitt's hand, PHi (22-0676). Poinsett replied on March 21 (below).

From Burnard Warner Holtzclaw

March 6th. 1833 I Recived your letter March 2d.

Dr Sir

I now inform you that your famley ar well at presenes and we ar doing well but Samson is ded your mares and colts all looks well but the colte wich Andrew bought of Mr. Robson is ded the case I can not Tel he live 9 days after he came Home I Cuting him open and on his side I fond a not or a lompe and by looking I found Two of his Ribes Broke but wase well and on this not wase a corde went from his Harte to this corde as bige as his wine pipe colte was solde to save his life I Git alongue with you Negroies Verer will indeede I have not woolds to giv all a sute March 2d. we had a snow and verrv cold I have a bout one 100 and 50 acres of lande plowg for corn and cotton last yeare you made 36 Bales of Cotton but Ship 41 Balies

Burnard. W. Holtzclaw

[Endorsed by AJ:] answered 17th. of March 1833. recd. same day—A. J.

ALS, DLC (42). Two Hermitage slaves named Sampson died in 1833: Big Sampson (c1779–1833), whom AJ had purchased in Mobile in 1814, and the gardener Old Sampson (c1770–1833).

To Andrew Thompson Judson et al.

WASHINGTON, March 7th, 1833

Gentlemen—I avail myself of the first opportunity afforded me since the adjournment of Congress to acknowledge the receipt of your flattering letter of the 5th of February last, transmitting, in behalf of the citizens of Hartford, Connecticut, the resolution they had adopted on the previous eighth of January.

To know that my character and the course of my administration are viewed with sentiments of kindness and approbation, so cordial and unqualified as those which are manifested in your communication, and by
a portion of my fellow citizens to whom I am personally a stranger, is a
pleasure which more than repays the privations and cares that have made
them familiar with my name.

Could any thing add to the desire I have long indulged to visit New
England and examine the republican institutions which her sons have
raised up with so much public spirit and success, it would be the satisfac-
tion I should expect to derive from a personal intercourse with the citizens
themselves. I am at present unable to say when I can embrace an opportu-
nity to gratify this desire; but I trust it may be in my power in the course
of the present or the next year.

I am, gentlemen, With sentiments of great respect and regard, Your
obedient servant,

ANDREW JACKSON.

Printed, Washington Globe, March 15, 1833 (mAJs), Niles, April 6, 1833 (22-0684). Judson
(1784–1853) was an attorney and sometime state legislator and later a congressman and
federal judge. A citizens’ meeting at Hartford on January 8 had deputed a committee to
devote AJ to visit New England. Judson headed the six-man committee, which also included
Hartford postmaster John M. Niles and Gideon Welles. The committee had written AJ on
February 5. AJ visited Hartford on his northern tour on June 17.

To Roger Brooke Taney

[In 1816, Congress had chartered the second Bank of the United States
(BUS) for twenty years. The Bank served as the government’s own banker: it received, held, transported, and disbursed federal funds, and its notes
were legal tender for debts due the government. It enjoyed, in the words of
the charter, “exclusive privileges and benefits,” including a congressional
pledge to incorporate no other bank outside the District of Columbia. The
government owned one-fifth of the Bank’s $35 million capital stock, and
the president, with Senate consent, annually appointed five of its twenty-
five directors. Headquartered in Philadelphia, the Bank was empowered
to establish offices wherever it chose, and in 1833 it operated twenty-six
branches in twenty states and Washington, D.C. Jackson had vetoed a
bill to extend the Bank’s charter in July 1832, but it still held full powers
under its original charter, due to expire in 1836 (Statutes, 3:266–77).

Roger Taney (1777–1864) was Jackson’s attorney general, appointed
in 1831. In his fourth annual message on December 4, 1832, Jackson
observed that the Bank had been subjected to “many serious charges
impeaching its character, and which if true may justly excite the apprehen-
sion that it is no longer a safe depository of the money of the people.”
Alluding to an arrangement made by the Bank in 1832 to postpone
redemption of part of the public debt, and also to the reported overex-
tension of its western loans, he urged Congress to investigate whether
the public deposits were “entirely safe” in its keeping (Richardson, 2:599–600).

In his separate annual report to Congress on December 5, 1832, Treasury secretary McLane explained the debt postponement. He related that in July he had directed BUS president Nicholas Biddle to prepare to redeem on October 1, from federal funds on deposit, two-thirds of the roughly $13 million in outstanding three per cent certificates, which made up nearly the last of the federal government’s debt. Many of these certificates were held in Europe. On grounds that the spread of cholera, on top of the disruption from a large specie payout, threatened massive commercial dislocation and required the Bank “to keep itself in an attitude to afford relief,” Biddle had undertaken to spread out the payment. He dispatched Thomas Cadwalader (1779–1841) to London to arrange with Baring Brothers, the Bank’s British correspondent, for it to obtain control of up to $5 million in foreign-held certificates and defer their redemption for up to a year, with the BUS paying interest in the interval. On August 22 Cadwalader accordingly signed a contract with Barings for it to buy up European-held three per cents on the BUS’s behalf. On October 15, Biddle wrote Barings to disavow Cadwalader’s contract, as it violated a BUS charter provision which barred it from purchasing federal debt on its own account. Instead, Biddle proposed that Barings forward the certificates to the BUS for it to redeem, crediting the holders on its books. The threat of crisis having passed by this time, the Bank was now prepared to pay them either immediately or, as previously contemplated, in one year with interest.

Reporting these facts to Congress on December 5, McLane censured Biddle’s arrangement for postponing surrender of the certificates, which left the debt undischarged and the government funds slated for that purpose in the Bank’s own hands. McLane said that this and other recent Bank dealings, especially in its western branches, had “tended to disturb the public confidence in the management of the institution” and had “suggested an inquiry into the security of the bank, as the depository of the public funds” (HRDoc 3, 22d Cong, 2d sess., pp. 12–14, Serial 233).

Five days later, on December 10, McLane conveyed the results of that inquiry to the House of Representatives. He reported that on November 26 he had deputed Henry Toland of Philadelphia to examine the Bank’s books and report on its solvency and particularly on the condition of its western branches. Toland’s December 4 report, enclosed by McLane, stated that the Bank was doubtlessly sound, with assets more than double its liabilities, and that its western loans were “in a safe and wholesome state” with no risk of unusual loss (HRDoc 8, 22d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 233). On December 12 McLane submitted to the House further documents concerning the three per cents, including an October 27 letter from Biddle explaining that the postponement arrangement had been a
precaution against what seemed at the time a looming “general prostration of commerce” from the cholera. With that “great disaster” averted, the Bank was now paying off the three per cents as fast as it could collect them, “without causing the least perceptible disturbance of the business of the country” (HRDoc 9, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 4–5, Serial 233).

On December 13 the House of Representatives referred the whole subject to its Committee of Ways and Means, chaired by Gulian Verplanck. The committee collected documents, took testimony, and reported to the House on March 1, 1833. Verplanck’s majority report reproved Cadwalader’s disavowed contract with Barings as unauthorized and improper. But with the debt now almost fully paid, the postponement arrangement “seems no longer to present any important or practical object of inquiry, or to call for or admit any action of Congress upon it.” Otherwise the Bank was soundly managed and held ample specie to meet all contingencies. Verplanck’s report concluded with a resolution “That the Government deposits may, in the opinion of the House, be safely continued in the Bank of the United States” (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 1–5, Serial 236).

James K. Polk of Tennessee submitted a minority report for three members of the seven-man committee. Polk’s report charged that the Bank had concealed the arrangement about the three per cents from the government and even from its own directors in order to hide its true motive: not a concern for commercial stability, but an inability to pay brought on by its reckless extension of unsound western loans. Having lent out the government deposits, said Polk, the Bank had lacked funds to promptly redeem the three per cents in 1832, and indeed still lacked them now. Its condition was even worse than during an earlier crisis in 1819, when by its own later admission it had come within a month of being unable to meet its obligations in specie. Polk’s report impugned the honesty of the Bank’s management and the credibility of its reports, challenged the safety of government funds in its hands, and ended by questioning “whether existing facts are sufficient to justify the Executive in taking any step against the bank, authorized by its charter” (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 7–42, Serial 236).

On March 2, the last day of the session and one day after receiving the committee reports, the House adopted, by a vote of 109 to 46, Verplanck’s resolution “That the Government deposits may, in the opinion of this House, be safely continued in the Bank of the United States” (House Journal, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 450, 463–65, Serial 232)."
has only power to order a scire facias to repeal its charter, when the facts warrant it.\footnote{Section 23 of the charter authorized the president or Congress, if given “reason to believe that the charter has been violated,” to procure a writ of scire facias requiring the Bank to appear and show cause in federal court why its charter should not be forfeited (Statutes, 3:276–77).}

The Secretary of the Treasury has the sole power, under the charter, to manage the deposits, I have therefore confined my requirement for your opinion in writing to the violation of its charter, if, from the facts disclosed in the reports of the minority & majority of the committee of ways & means the facts warrant it; leaving the Secretary to his own deliberations as to the removal of the deposits, & where to entrust them, believing that he will, if he thinks it necessary, apply for directions, or council in this matter.\footnote{Section 16 of the charter stated that federal money should be deposited in the Bank and its branches “unless the Secretary of the Treasury shall at any time otherwise order and direct,” in which case he was to report his reasons “immediately” to Congress if it was in session or “immediately after” its next convening (Statutes, 3:274).}

From a careful perusal of the reports, this night I have come to the conclusion, that my former opinion of the incapacity of the Bank to continue specie payment for one month after it meets the payment of the public debt, is confirmed—but much perplexity will occur in finding safe deposits for the public funds, & ought to be well weighed—on this subject I will be happy to see & converse with you, when your leisure will permit. In haste yrs

Andrew Jackson


1. Section 23 of the charter authorized the president or Congress, if given “reason to believe that the charter has been violated,” to procure a writ of scire facias requiring the Bank to appear and show cause in federal court why its charter should not be forfeited (Statutes, 3:276–77).

2. Section 16 of the charter stated that federal money should be deposited in the Bank and its branches “unless the Secretary of the Treasury shall at any time otherwise order and direct,” in which case he was to report his reasons “immediately” to Congress if it was in session or “immediately after” its next convening (Statutes, 3:274).

\textbf{To Edward Livingston}

[The 1783 Treaty of Paris ending the Revolutionary War had described a boundary between the United States and British Canada. But in the Northeast region between New Brunswick and Massachusetts (later Maine), vague wording and a flawed map made it impossible to translate the treaty’s language into a line on the ground acceptable to both sides. Pursuant to a clause in the 1814 Treaty of Ghent, the U.S. and Britain agreed in 1827 to submit the dispute for “final and conclusive” arbitration (Treaties, 2:576–78). King William I of the Netherlands was chosen as arbiter. He issued his award on January 10, 1831. Contrary to his instructions, William did not choose either the American or British position, but proposed a compromise line of his own. It gave the United States nearly two-thirds of the disputed territory but would require Maine to relinquish its claim to the rest, over which it had adamantly asserted full sovereignty.]
Assured that Britain would accept the award, Jackson submitted it to the Senate for advice and consent on December 7, 1831 (Richardson, 2:559). Subsequently the administration opened negotiations with a Maine delegation to indemnify the state for its acquiescence with a grant of western federal land (Jackson Papers, 10:206–9, 268, 488). But the Senate declined to approve the award, instead voting by 23 to 22 on June 23, 1832, to advise Jackson to open a new negotiation with Britain (Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:263–64).

March 14th. 1833—

The President with his respects to the sec. of State incloses, that it may remain on the files of his dept, a recommendation of five of the members of Congress from Main—recommending Andrew Stevenson as minister to England, giving in part for reasons, the boundary question, and the great confidence they repose in him1

you will confidentially notify Mr A. Stevenson that the President means to confer that appointment upon him as soon, as information that is expected, is received from our minister now Charge De affairs from England, and that if he accepts, he may hold himself in readiness to repair to that court in the course of the approaching summer2


1. Five Maine congressmen led by John Anderson had written AJ on March 2. Stating that they understood AJ intended to appoint a Virginian as minister to Britain, they endorsed Stevenson for the post and also recommended William P. Preble of Maine as his associate to help renegotiate the Northeast boundary (DNA-RG 59, M639-23).

2. Chargé d’affaires Aaron Vail (1796–1878) had been the U.S. diplomatic representative in Britain since Martin Van Buren’s withdrawal as minister in March 1832 following his rejection by the Senate. Livingston had written Vail on February 26 to press the British to agree to reopen a Northeast boundary negotiation, either in Washington or London (DNA-RG 59, M77-73). Vail replied on April 6 and May 22 that the British government had transferred the matter to Washington by entrusting it to Charles Richard Vaughan, who in April returned to the United States to resume his former post as British minister (DNA-RG 59, M30-36).

To Edward Livingston

March 15th. 1833

The President with his respects to E. Livingston Esqr Sec. of State, enclo[ses] a letter just received from Col. A. B[utler] with a request that he prepare [a] letter in reply, consistant with [the] endorsement made on the letter, [adding] any thing that your own judgt. [may] suggest on this subject. Instru[ct] Col Butler to bring the negotia[tion] to a close. The
convention in Texas met the 1rst. of next april to form a constitution for themselves; when [this] is done, Mexico can never annex it to her jurisdiction again, or control its Legislation, or exercise any power over its Territory—it will be useless after this act, to enter into a treaty of boundary with Mexico—

AN, DNA-RG 59 (M97-7). William R. Manning, ed., Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Inter-American Affairs, 1831–1860 (Washington, 1937), 8:258–59. AJ enclosed Anthony Butler's letter of February 10 (above). The manuscript is torn along the right margin. Likely missing text has been supplied in brackets.

On March 20, Livingston instructed Butler to bring his Texas negotiation “to a speedy conclusion” because it was “doubtful whether in a few weeks any stipulation could be carried into effect.” Butler was also to reject any official overture for a loan to the Mexican government and not to encourage a private loan either, as recent events had “entirely destroyed all confidence in their stability, their resources and their punctuality” (DNA-RG 59, M77-9). The Texas convention met on April 1 at San Felipe, where delegates drafted a state constitution for submission to the Mexican congress.

From the Marquis de Lafayette

Paris March 15th. 1833

My dear Sir,

It is superfluous to tell you with what anxiety I am every week panting from news from our dear American Country. My feelings, Congenial with yours, and those of every veteran who shared with us the honor of shedding our blood in the confederate cause of independence and freedom, at the threatened possibility of a separation, have been expressed in a letter which I have with pleasure seen propagated throughout the Union. Happy I am to hear matters will be accomodated without a Collision; Conciliating dispositions are far from being a sign of weackness, particularly under a republican Government. My patriotic and affct. wishes attend you, but this letter is destined to a personal purpose.

signed Lafayette

Extract, Archives de la Chateau de La Grange (mAJs). Mémoires, Correspondance et Manuscrits du Général Lafayette (Brussels, 1839), 12:275–76 (22-0773). Lafayette (1757–1834), a venerated hero of the American Revolution, had become a friend of AJ while touring the United States in 1824–25. On September 27, 1832, he had written to artist and inventor Samuel F. B. Morse, then returning home from Europe. Lafayette asked Morse to help inform Americans how their “violent collisions, threats of a separation, and reciprocal abuse” were being used “to injure the character and question the stability of Republican institutions.” He said he depended too much on American “patriotism and good sense” to fear a dissolution of the Union, but wished that if it did occur, “it ought at least in charity not to take place before the non remote period when every one of those who have fought and bled in the cause” of American independence had died (Morse Papers, DLC). Morse furnished an extract of the letter to the New York Observer, from which it was widely reprinted.
To John Coffee

Washington March 16th. 1833—

Dear General

I have posponed writing you expecting every day to hear from you on some part of your journey—as yet, we have not heard from you since you left Baltimore, and we are very solicitous to hear from you.1 Sarah has recovered, and all the family are now in health except myself, & I am on the mend—nothing new, except at a party on thursday night last in Georgetown, my boy George, left his horses in the carriage, went into the House, to take his grog—the horses started, and ran with the carriage some distance and at a turn upset her, and broke the body to pieces—thus went my new carriage that cost me $1000—still I am happy that there was no other injury.2 This retrenchment on my funds, with the additional expence that poor Thomas Donelsons visit will throw upon me, may occasion me to call upon, the House of Pearson & Co, for the small sum due.3 I only name this, that you may say to them that I may call, that if I should, they may not be taken by surprise.

I had an interview with the judge Black since you left me, who called to get Mr John Donelsons address, which I gave him. I have wrote John & inclosed the letter to William Donelson to have it forwarded to him, advising him, of the arrangement, & giving him a letter to Mr Bell the Survayor. I wish you to write to Mr Donelson under cover to Col George Martin notifying him of the engagement & urging him to see Mr Bell soon and close the engagement.4

It is desirable to have the best part of the chikesaw country in markett this fall so that a sufficient fund may be raised to meet all the wants of the chikesaws.

I have seen the secrete journal of the senate since you left me. Poor Poindexter made an effort to have the chikesaw treaty rejected by a reference to the President to open another negotiation with them—failing in this, he did not vote upon it—if he had—he must have voted against it—this ought to be known in Mississippi, as his election comes on next fall.5 Those who voted against the judiciary bill, alias the enforcing bill, will be placed in an unpleasant dilemma, as soon as the expose of the votes of Virginia, North Carolina, So Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, K.y. and Pennsylvania, are made which is now preparing, shewing that all these voted for the enforcing bill recommended by Mr jefferson to execute the embargo, and non intercourse laws, which is much stronger than the present.6 The southern nullifiers who voted against the present bill, stand precisely in the place of the Federalist of that day, the epithets of the Federalists, & arguments were the same then, as the nullifiers are now. Jeffersons bill was called the bloody bill, & he charged with usur-pation & violation of the constitution. Calhoun & his associates brand
it with the same epithets, and shew, that they have changed sides. There cannot be a man who voted against the bill that are not nullifiers at heart, or at least would destroy the union, for selfish views, but few of them will ever get back to congress—and altho I have a private friendship for some, I am sure but few of them ought to be returned. Clay's tariff bill cannot be satisfactory to the south—it may give the nullifiers a pretext to clear their way for a disgracefull retreat, but the onerous duty on course wollings, which was the ground of their real complaint is fixed upon them forever, and that by their own representatives. I have just learned that the nullifiers have split upon this subject—it is late, with my best respects to Polly & the children, I am yr friend7

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THi (22-0776).
1. Coffee had left Washington for home on March 5.
2. In the spring of 1832, AJ had purchased a carriage from Brewster, Lawrence & Co. in New York for $1,000. The slave George (d. 1865) was AJ's personal servant and carriage driver.
3. Thomas J. Donelson was on his way from Tennessee to Philadelphia, where his brother Samuel was about to graduate from medical school. Percifor F. Pearson (1794–1839) was a Florence, Ala., merchant and keeper of accounts for the Hutchings estate, about which AJ wrote Coffee this same day (below). In January 1832, Pearson had received on AJ's behalf $331.75 that William Griffin (c1780–c1839) owed him for purchase of a slave named George in 1823. At Coffee's direction, Pearson had applied $211.35 to settle AJ's account with Hutchings and held the remainder to AJ's credit (Jackson Papers, 10:79–80). AJ wrote to Coffee's son John Donelson Coffee about it on December 30 (below).
4. John Black (1800–1854) was a U.S. Senator from Mississippi. On March 2, AJ had nominated and the Senate confirmed Mississippi legislator John Bell as surveyor of the lands ceded by the Chickasaws in the Treaty of Pontotoc Creek. AJ was seeking employment for John Donelson (1807–1879) under him. Donelson wrote AJ on May 8 (below).
5. Poindexter's motion to return the Treaty of Pontotoc Creek to AJ for further negotiation failed in the Senate on February 28. He did not vote on the final resolution of advice and consent later the same day (Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:318–21).
6. An April 1 Globe editorial entitled “The Bloody Bill” reproved “extravagant denunciations” of the new revenue collection Act or “Force Bill,” arguing that it gave narrower authority for armed coercion than Congress had previously granted in laws to deal with lesser emergencies, some of which were in fact still in force. A law to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion by armed force had passed without dissent in 1792, and in 1809 Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia congressmen and senators had overwhelmingly supported a sweeping military authorization in an Act to enforce Jefferson's embargo. The present law, said the Globe, was “comparatively mild,” not a “bloody bill” but “a bill of peace.”
7. Polly was Coffee's wife, Mary Donelson Coffee (1793–1871), the daughter of Rachel Jackson's brother John and the sister of William Donelson, John Donelson (1787–1840), and Emily Tennessee Donelson. The second section of the Compromise tariff repealed the clause in the 1832 law that had provided for a five per cent duty on coarse woolens valued at thirty-five cents or less a square yard, thus leaving the duty on all imported woolens at fifty per cent. The Compromise provided for reducing this and all other duties that had been set above twenty per cent in the 1832 law in a series of incremental stages, finally bringing them down to a uniform twenty per cent on June 30, 1842. After that date, duties were to be paid in cash and "laid for the purpose of raising such revenue as may be necessary to an economical administration of the government" (Statutes, 4:629–31). The House's Verplanck bill would have lowered the woolens rate to twenty per cent in 1835.
To John Coffee

Washington March 16th. 1833

Dr Genl

I had intended before you left me to give you a full power and directions, to settle with, & deliver over to my ward Andrew J. Hutchings his estate, intrusted to my charge, as Executory guardian. He is now Twenty one years old. I therefore authorize and request you, to have an order of your court made appointing two commissioners to examine the accounts, & settle the estate; and when settled, deliver the same to A. J. Hutchings and take his receipt in full for the same, upon the Books containing the accounts of the estate.

I would advise you to have Mr Bennet Smith, the grandfather, notified to attend, and have Mr Pearson, who has kept, & arranged the accounts, with Mr Eastons statement, present to explain the whole accounts, and have the whole settled in the grandfathers presence.

Present my love to Hutchings, say to him, that I have regretted his failing to write me, as he promised when he last left me at the Hermitage. Whatever he may think, I know I have performed all my pledges to his father on his dying bed, & to bring him into life, with a good education, pure morals, & a good estate, has been a subject of great attention, & much solicitude—and to hear of his prosperity, happiness, and good standing in society, will be a source of high gratification—his welfare has been my last, & greatest solicitude, and my prayers will be continued for his long life, & prosperity. Why he has not written me I cannot conjecture.

I am very respectfully yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THi (22-0780). Andrew Jackson Hutchings (1811–1841) was the orphaned son of Rachel Jackson’s nephew and AJ’s late business partner John Hutchings (c1776–1817). AJ was Hutchings’s guardian and, with Coffee, co-executor of his estate. He wrote Coffee again about it on May 3 (below).

1. Bennett Smith (c1764–1848), a lawyer in Rutherford County, Tenn., was AJ Hutchings’s maternal grandfather. William Eastin (1784–1829), Mary Ann Eastin Polk’s father and Coffee’s brother-in-law, had been Pearson’s business partner in Florence. He had owed a debt to the Hutchings estate, which AJ and Coffee had arranged for him to pay by supplying merchandise to Hutchings’s farm. AJ wrote Hutchings about it on August 29 (below).

From Augustus Fitch

[On March 11, the South Carolina state convention reconvened at Columbia pursuant to president James Hamilton Jr.’s February 13 proclamation. On March 15, the convention adopted by 153 to 4 an ordinance]
rescinding the nullification ordinance of November 24, 1832, and its implementing legislation. A preamble explained the action by saying that the Compromise tariff provided such a reduction of duties “as will ultimately reduce them to the Revenue Standard—and provides that no more Revenue shall be raised than may be necessary to defray the economical expenses of the Government” ([Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina [Columbia, 1833], pp. 104, 110].]

Columbia March 16th. 1833

Sir,
The Ordinance rescinding the Ordinance of Nullification and all the laws passed in pursuance thereof passed the Convention yesterday, only four Nullifiers voting against it. A few remarks from Judge Richardson, who thought Mr. Clay’s Bill did not fully abandon the principle of protection, brought out Mr. McDuffie, who dealt profusely in opprobrious epithets towards the chief Magistrate of the United States, and the members of his Cabinet; he spoke most lovingly of “our great ally in the West, whom we had recently gained;” congratulated the Convention on the triumph of Nullification, and concluded by advising the State to retain its belligerent attitude, as we had no rights except those we could command by force and arms—the despotism at Washington having swallowed up every thing.1

The Committee of 21 reported an Ordinance prescribing another oath to be taken by citizens. I will forward a copy of the report of the Committee, as soon as I can obtain one. It is thought however that the new oath will not receive the sanction of the convention.2

Genl. Hamilton made quite a conciliatory speech yesterday towards the Union party, which Judge O’Neill very cordially responded to.3 Very respectfully Yours &c

Augustus Fitch

P.S. This is also a great muster-day here. Gov. Hayne is to review the Volunteers, but he will not find them any great affair.

Saturday, March 16th      A. F.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr Fitz—The ordinance & all laws under it repealed—so ends the wicked & disgraceful conduct of Calhoun McDuffie & the their co, nullies, They will only be remembered, to be held up to scorn, by every one who loves freedom, our glorious constitution & government of laws     A. J.

1. In debate on March 15, Unionist delegate John Smythe Richardson (1777–1850) favored the rescinding ordinance but opposed the preamble on grounds that it grossly overstated the extent of the Compromise reductions, which really represented merely “the inception of the overthrow of the American system” rather than its full accomplishment. Delegate George McDuffie (1790–1851), a congressman and leading nullifier, defended the Compromise not as fully satisfactory but as “an achievement” and “a victory,” in that South Carolina had compelled AJ and Congress to abandon the 1832 tariff and forswear the principle of protection. McDuffie denounced the Force Bill for granting AJ powers “far more than dictatorial,” and he warned that South Carolina required “resolute watchfulness” and “a thorough system of defence” to deter future attacks from a pro-tariff and antislavery North (Speeches Delivered in the Convention of the State of South-Carolina [Charleston, 1833], pp. 37–42). The “great ally in the West” was Henry Clay. Though the Charleston Southern Patriot’s summary account on March 18 quoted this phrase, the official full report of McDuffie’s speech did not contain it, nor mention AJ’s Cabinet.

2. The convention on March 11 had appointed a committee of twenty-one to prepare its business. On March 15 the committee reported an ordinance in response to the Force Bill. It required public officers in South Carolina to take a test oath declaring allegiance to the state. The ordinance was amended in debate and passed on March 18 by a vote of 132 to 19. In final form, it declared the Force Bill unconstitutional, “destructive of public liberty,” and “null and void, within the limits of this State,” and authorized legislation to prevent its enforcement. The ordinance also declared that South Carolinians owed allegiance to the state and “obedience only, and not allegiance” to any other authority. Rather than decreeing an oath, it empowered the legislature to prescribe and administer “suitable oaths or affirmations” binding officers to their state allegiance “and abjuring all other allegiances” (Journal of the Convention, pp. 94, 102, 112–13, 116–30).

3. James Hamilton Jr., spoke in the convention in favor of accepting the Compromise tariff. In a speech against the Force Bill nullification and the test oath, jurist and Unionist delegate John Belton O’Neall (1793–1863) praised Hamilton’s “conciliatory observations . . . as the indications of a disposition to restore internal tranquillity and domestic peace” (Speeches Delivered in the Convention, pp. 42–47).

To John Coffee

Washington March 17th. 1833—

Dr. Genl,

I wrote you last night, and this morning I have received your letter of the 10th. from Pittsburgh—and whilst we rejoice to hear of your safe passage on to Pittsburgh, we sincerely regret to hear of your indisposition, and pray for your speedy restoration to your usual good health, which we hope, a little good weather & rest, when you reach home, will give you. As it being a dropsy in the chest, I cannot believe, as you would have discovered some symptoms in other parts of the body before it made its appearence in your chest, and therefore hope it is only the effects of the general bad colds or influensa, that is prevading our country. Therefore I hope you will find your disease cease, with your cough, & cold—write me as soon as you get home, and let me know how you, & all your family are.

Sarah has quite recovered, and the little Rachel is growing finely havi

•  March 1833 •
hear of your health often, as we all feel great solicitude about you, & all join in kind respects to you & your amiable family. present me kindly to Hutchings.

I have last evening forward you a full power to have settled & delivered over to Hutchings his estate—if your health will permit please attend to it early, and with my best wishes I am your friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THi (22-0791).

To Henry Toland

Washington March 17th. 1833—

My Dr Sir,

Presuming that the gentleman who is preparing for me the four pieces of silver ware ordered, I have at the prices named in your letter, Please I have to request that you have added to that order two Dozzen table, and two Dozzen tea spoons, plain, with the letters A. J. on each—add them to the bill and have them forwarded with the others to the care of Josiah Nichol merchant Nashville, forwarding to me the bills, for which I will send you a check for the whole. I have to tender you my thanks for the elegant present of the gilt coffee cup & saucer which you presented me thro your friend—it is an elegant specimen of the arts, & will be kept preserved by me as a memento of your kindness.¹

It gives me great pleasure to learn that your appointment has given such general satisfaction, and I shall always rejoice to hear of your prosperity[.] With my respects to your amiable family I am with great respect yr mo. obdt. servt.

Andrew Jackson

ALS draft, DLC (42). Toland replied on March 20 (below).

¹. Toland had sent AJ a cup and saucer through George Washington South (1799–1884), a partner with the Philadelphia merchant firm Lewis Veron & Co.

From Hardy Murfree Cryer


Dear Friend,

In these two words much is expressed; and still more implied. Your friendly letter of the 20 ulm. was received by due course of mail; the perusal of which inspired me afresh with those endearing reflections which should ever keep us in mind of the fraternity that exists between man and his “brother & Companion” in this vale of human misery.¹ I should have written
you frequently, but I knew you were unceasingly engaged, in watching & planing for the safety of the republick. O! those miserable Jacobins! of the South & elsewhere—that would raise the Whirlwind of revolution—which might shake down the Temple of Liberty—& demolish the Altars of party in our American Canaan—they now feel as the ‘Devil’ did—when rebuked by the Saviour, with a “get thee hence Satan.”

They feel that they are look’d at by the Eye of Authority, which vigilently guards the interests of the great American family. I think all good citizens should ever pray in accordance with the instructions of the Apostle of Gentiles—“I exhort therefore that first of all, supplication—prayers—intercessions & giving of thanks, be made for all men. For Kings (Rulers) and for all that are in authority; that we may lead quiet & peacable lives—(how different from the boiling pot, of nullification) in all godliness & honesty.” For this is good and acceptable in the Sight of God our Saviour.”

I humbly trust, that the fair fabrick of our political & religious liberty will endure—till Sun, moon & stars shall fail—when the tribes & kindreds of the whole earth shall see the lights by virtue of which every man shall behold in face of his neighbour the features of a friend & brother. I inclose you two documents, One written & the other printed. The written One is ‘a facSimile’ of Dr. A. Clark’s letter to certain brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. This paper was presented to you, through me by my Old & Venerable Friend & Father Bishop McKendree, as a token of respect & good will towards you Sir. Read the expression of American Sentiments that glowed in the heart of “the learned Irishman”—lately the ornament of the Scientifick & religious world. File this paper among the archives of your most invaluable State Papers. The Venerable Clark now sleeps in the peaceful Tomb close by the side of the Apostolick Wesley—and with Cholera—“broke by Sickness in a day.”

The printed paper relates as you will see to a very tender subject—it needs no interpreting to you Sir. She was one of the fairest & most fragrant of flowers! Show this letter and the printed paper to Majr. Eaton & his lady—and to any of your family or friends—and please to retain it in your possession—for my sake—and the sake of the dear Mother of such a daughter. Heaven has given us a little one in lieu of the beloved Martha. And we call her “Melsona Rosa.” She was born on the 19th. of Novr. 1832. If you have leisure, please to write me on the reception of this—and as often as time and inclination will permit. Mrs. Cryer is in rather a shattered state of bodily health—the mental excitements consequent on our Martha’s affliction & death then lying in so soon after wards—and since, a violent attack of pleuricy—all in close succession have well night worn her down—but I still trust she may be spared to me and her little ones—all whom are well—and little Rachel is both cheerful and smart—and grows finely. Please to accept the United expression of this our best wishes for you happiness in this life—and more especially your Safe & “triumphant entrance into the Everlast in Kingdom
of our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ—who suffered the *just* for the *unjust*, that He might bring us to God.” Your friend & brother

H. M. Cryer

P.S. You ask for some information relative to the report of the ‘Hero Desha & his Nephew’ You see I do not give him a place in the body of my letter—he is *only* entitled to *P.Script* notice It is *true* Sir. Young Mr. Bunton was called to the *door* of his boarding house—after Supper—by the voice of *Genl. Desha’s* little negro boy—Saying “Mass Jonny Mass Jonny, & gentlemen here wants to see you”—& poor Bunton, got up from the side or presence of his *Sweetheart*—to whom he was to have been *married*, in a Week. And as he step’t out of the house—looking he saw no man—*nor boy*—and taking two steps from the door—He received a shower of leaden *slugs*, 15 or 16 of which hit him—& 12 or 14 I am told penetrated the weatherboarding of the house. *Doubtless* the ‘Hero’ of the Branch & Berrien Conspiracy shot him. He has since *sent his Wife adrift*—and I am *creditably* inform’d has filed a *Bill* for ‘a divorce’—charging his fair lady, with the Crime of *A... try*—with John Bunton—his Nephew. So the drama winds up. Some say *she* seduced the young man. Some say—She was so badly treated by the ‘Russian Boor’—her husband—that she has *suffered* him to think her guilty in order to get *loose* from him. I am of the opinion *they are* all three, rather ‘*Currish*’ in nature and *perhaps*—have *acted the dog* in the dark—*more* ways than one. Bunton is well—and it is said—*Desha* is rather ‘*skittish*’—rumor says—he has been “snapp’d at” at his own window. H. M. C.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Revd. Mr Cryer—answered and to be carefully preserved—A. J

ALS, DLC (42). AJ replied on April 7 (below).

3. 1 Timothy 2:1–3.
4. Cryer quoted Hymn 62, “For the Funeral of a young Person,” from Thomas Hartwell Horne, *A Manual of Parochial Psalmody* (London, 1829), p. 147. William McKendree (1757–1835) was the first American-born bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church. His family resided near Cryer in Sumner County. Irish-born Adam Clarke (1762–1832) was a renowned British Methodist minister and scholar. Cryer enclosed a copy of a letter Clarke had written to five prominent American Methodists on February 6, 1832, declining their invitation to visit but praising the purity of the American Church. Observing that the United States was “destined to be the mightiest and happiest nation on the Globe,” he advised Americans to “totally abolish the Slave Trade (if it be not yet done),” foster commerce and the arts and sciences, “live in Peace with all Nations,” and “that you may ever maintain your Liberty, avoid as its Bane & Ruin, a National Debt” (DLC-40). The letter had been excerpted in the American religious press (*Christian Watchman*, May 25, 1832). Clarke died of cholera in August 1832. He and Methodist founder John Wesley (1703–1791) were buried at Wesley’s Chapel in London.
5. Cryer’s daughter Martha Ann Cryer (1818–1832) had died the previous October.
6. 2 Peter 1:11 and 1 Peter 3:18. Cryer’s wife Elizabeth died on August 16.

From Reuben Miles Whitney

(Confidential) Washington March. 18th. 1833.

Dear Sir

The other evening you inquired, the best Bank in Philadelphia. I avail of the occasion to repeat what I then replied. The Girard Bank. This Bank was incorporated by an act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania in 1831–2. with a Capital of one million and a half of Dollars, nearly the whole of which has been paid in, and the remaining installments call’d for and to be paid immediately. James Schott President, Wm. D. Lewis Cashier. this latter Gentleman Mr Mc.Lane is personally acquainted, being a Delaware man. One recommendation this bank has over almost any other in Philadelphia, for any confidential purposes of the Government is, that it is not tinctured with Biddle-ism, which most of the others are.¹

That you may be able to Judge, of the facility with which the financial operations of the Government may be conducted through the medium of the State Banks, in case of a transfer of the deposits from the Bank of the United States, I hand you the enclosed; which will give you the view of their safety, their extended correspondence and connexions throughout the whole of the United States, & their consequent ability to make collections and transfers, upon and to almost any part of the Union. This gives you the condition and capacity of one Bank only. In each of the large cities there are a number, of equal responsibility and ability.

It appears to me that facts enough, have come before the public in relation to the condition of the Bank, to convert what was doubtful a few months since, into certainty; and that it is now clearly established by those facts, that the Bank cannot be longer considered as a safe depository of the monies of the people. If such an opinion be establish’d, no other motive can be required for action on the part of the Government. The effect of the measure, of transferring the public monies from the United States Bank to the State Banks, will be in my opinion, (besides being Justified by the end) be as popular throughout the country, as any one, which the present administration has ever adopted. If a political impulse was desired, that will be obtain’d in an immidient degree by the measure. By it you disenthral millions whose lips are now sealed. By it, you releive the State institutions from the power, which the Bank of the United States exercises over them, (particularly in the large cities) derived intirely from the collection of the revenue. By it, you enable the payers of the public revenue to receive such accommodation as they may wish, during the period the Govermnmt does not call for their money, which the State Banks,
will grant, and which the United States Bank, cannot grant, owing to their own embarrassments, which is in proof in their own statements. The Report of the Bank, to the Committee of Ways & Means, states, “the month of October was regarded as a month of great embarrassment” and that the “Revenue to the Government” payable in New York in October and November was $3,225,277—and it is also in proof from the Bank, that between the 26th. September and 3d. of October the Branch at New York curtailed their discounts $1,008,302. and during the two months, while collecting and accumulating this large sum on a/c of the revenue, they further curtailed their discounts more than $600,000.\footnote{Financier Stephen Girard (1750–1831) had operated an unincorporated private bank in Philadelphia. After his death, the Girard Bank was organized to take its place. The legislature incorporated it in April 1832 and it opened for business in August. James Schott (1783–1870) and William David Lewis (1792–1881) were Philadelphia merchants.} Their own necessities were evidently such, that instead of aiding, they were driven to oppress, the payers of the revenue to the Government.

In 1811, upon the expiration of the charter of the old Bank of the United States, and transfer of the public accounts to the State Banks, the Government was very particular that they should grant facilities to the payers of the Revenue. This, was a very popular measure. This, would be such again. The removal of the public deposits from the Bank of the U. States will expose its true condition and its extreme weakness, and in place of bringing censure upon the Government, excepting from its present implacable enemies, it will command the admiration and applause of the people, for the foresight, and wisdom of a measure which has preserved and secured million of their property. I have the honour Very Respectfully to be your mot. obt. Svt.

R. M. Whitney

ALS, DLC (42). Whitney (1788–1845) had been a director of the BUS from 1822 to 1824, and had testified against it before a House select investigating committee in 1832 (HRRep 460, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 115–18, 148–52, Serial 227).

1. Financier Stephen Girard (1750–1831) had operated an unincorporated private bank in Philadelphia. After his death, the Girard Bank was organized to take its place. The legislature incorporated it in April 1832 and it opened for business in August. James Schott (1783–1870) and William David Lewis (1792–1881) were Philadelphia merchants.

2. Whitney drew from James K. Polk’s March 1 House minority report on the BUS, which in turn quoted from a report submitted to the committee by the Bank. That report explained that the Bank had curtailed its business to “husband its resources” in preparation for the October debt redemption, but had already begun to relax by late September (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 41–42, 169–70, Serial 236).

To Cabinet Members

[On March 19 Jackson circularized his Cabinet about his next course of action toward the Bank of the United States. Two surviving drafts are printed here. The first is by Martin Van Buren. The second, by Andrew J. Donelson with an addition by Jackson, put the text into final form. Three identical sent versions, all signed by Jackson and addressed respectively to]
Cabinet members Livingston, Taney, and Woodbury, are also extant (DS, NjP-Livingston Papers [mAJs]; DS, MdHi [22-0815]; DS in Donelson’s hand, DLC-Woodbury Papers [mAJs]). Taney replied around late March, Woodbury on April 2, William T. Barry in April, and Louis McLane on May 20 (all below). Woodbury returned a copy of the circular with his reply (DLC-42).

The relation in which the Government stands towards the Bank of the U. States renders it desirable, if not indispensably necessary, that a decision should be now made, which will cover the whole ground, and furnish rules for the our government of during the residue of my administration.

With this view I invite the attention of my Cabinet to a full consideration of the following points viz

1. The propriety of acquiescing in the renewal of the charter of the present Bank under any circumstances.
2. The establishment of a new Bank.
3. The disposition of the deposits belonging to the Government now in Bank.
4. The establishment of a system for the future disposition of the public funds, so far as relates to the places of deposit, & the manner of their distribution.

The results of my own reflections are as follows.

1st. That the charter of the present Bank ought under no circumstances and upon no conditions to be renewed.
2d. That the ground which has been gained by the Veto ought to firmly maintained, & my assent withheld from any bill proposing to establish a Bank any where out of the District of Columbia.¹
3d. That if my assent is given to the establishment of a new Bank, it should be to one located in this district, without the right of establishing branches in the States, but with permission to apply to the Legislatures of the Several States for permission to carry on Banking operations in the States under the State laws upon the same terms that are allowed to others, or such as the States may think proper; and that even in such case a right to repeal, or modify the charter ought to be reserved to Congress, as a security agt. the abuses which are now experienced from the uncontrouled authority of the present Bank.²
4th. Such an Institution ought not to be recommended until a fair experiment has been made to carry on the affairs of the Government without a National Bank of any description.
5th. If this view of the subject be adopted it is necessary to devise & settle a system now for the deposit & distribution of the public funds through the agency of the State Banks, to go into operation at such a time as shall upon a careful consideration of the subject be thought most adviseable.
These suggestions are submitted to the full consideration & free discussion of the members of the Cabinet

Draft by Martin Van Buren, DLC (42).

1. Article 1, Section 8, of the constitution grants Congress exclusive legislative power over the district containing the seat of government.

2. Its 1816 charter empowered the BUS to establish branches throughout the states. The Supreme Court debarred states from taxing or regulating the branches in *McCulloch v. Maryland* in 1819.

March 19. 1833.

The relation in which the Government stands towards the Bank of the United States renders it desirable, if not indispensably necessary, that a decision should be now made covering the whole ground, and which will establish rules for our Government during my administration.

With this view I invite the attention of my cabinet to a full consideration of the following points, viz.:1

1. Whether any thing has occurred to lessen the expression at the commencement of the late session of congress, as to the safety of the Bank of the united states, so far as regards the public deposits.

2. Whether the management of the institution is such that the government can rely upon it as an agent in carrying into effect the fiscal arrangements of the Treasury, as well as whether it has been heretofore a faithful agent in that respect.

3. The propriety of acquiescing in the renewal of the charter of the present Bank, under any circumstances or with any modifications? And if with any modifications, what ought they to be?

4. The propriety of assenting to the establishment of a new Bank—and if a new Bank, when and in what manner ought the suggestion to be made of my views on the subject? And upon what principles, and under what limitations and with what privileges ought a new institution to be formed?

5. What system ought to be established for the future disposition of the public moneys; so far as relates to the places for their deposit, and the manner of their distribution? And if the deposits are withdrawn from the Bank of the U S would it be necessary to receive the public dues in the notes of all the Banks, or to limit the payments to the notes of those Banks that may be selected as the places of deposits & the agents of the fiscal concerns of the Government?

The results of my own reflection are

1. That the charter of the present Bank ought under no circumstances and upon no conditions whatever to be renewed

2. That the ground gained by the veto ought to be firmly maintained, and that my assent ought to be withheld from any bill authorising the establishment of a Bank out of the District of Columbia
3. That if my assent is given to the establishment of a new Bank it ought to be to one located in the District of Columbia, having the right to establish Branches in the different states and in such places thereof only with the permission of the different states upon the application of the Bank for that purpose, and under such restrictions as the several states may think proper to impose: And even with these restrictions that the Government shall have the right to appoint the President and as many directors of the Principal Bank & the Branches thereof as will secure fidelity, and a thorough knowledge by the proper officers of the Government of its transactions: And also that Congress should retain the right to repeal or modify the charter from time to time as it may deem proper, as a security against the corruptions and evils which are now experienced from the uncontrollable authority of the present Bank.  

4. That such an institution ought not to be recommended until a full and fair experiment has been made to carry on the fiscal affairs of the Govt. without a national Bank of any description.

5. If this last view of the subject be adopted it will be necessary now to devise and settle a system for the deposit and distribution of the public funds thro the agency of the state Banks to go into operation at such a time as shall upon a careful consideration of the subject be thought most adviseable.

These suggestions are submitted to the consideration and free discussion of the members of the cabinet, giving, each, their opinions in writing.

Andrew Jackson

William Banks Slaughter

to William Berkeley Lewis

Culpeper Ct House Virginia
March 19th. 1833.

Dear Sir,

Upon my leaving Washington for this place to visit my relations, I addressed to you a few lines expressing my obligations for your friendship and kindness whilst in your City, and handed them to General McCarty; I have thought since that I would explain to you a little more fully the cir-
cumstances and the motives which induced me to solicit some employment under the general government. It is well known to every person who knows me in Kentucky and Indiana that I have been the uniform and untiring advocate of the present President since 1826, and that I have made some efforts in behalf of Mr. Van Buren: We all know that the public expect the meritorious friends of a successful party, to be countenanced and occasionally sustained by those in power, and that when they are entirely neglected and overlooked it is prima facie evidence that they are not meritorious. It has appeared to me peculiarly unfortunate that I should not succeed in any application when my whole people are willing to manifest and have frequently an unlimited confidence in and enthusiastic to me, and when my Senators and Representatives select me as the only individual upon whom they can all unite in recommending to the President, that still I should fail.¹

There are some other circumstances which render it almost necessary for the continuance of my political character and influence, that I should be sustained at present by the government: It is known in Indiana that I received letters from our Senators, some of which you saw purporting to detail conversations with the President in regard to me in which they say the President assured them that he designed to “serve me on the first opportunity”; whether their statements be correct I know not, but the effect is bad on me and the President; if their statements are true they make the President hold out false inducements to his friends, which, by the by, I believe he never does and if they are not true, they slander him and the public ought to be disabused.

I have been and am embarrassed in my pecuniary affairs in consequence of paying money as security, and in consequence of having my library, wardrobe and furniture consumed by fire, and it was very inconvenient for me to leave home which must increase my difficulties; five hundred dollars however would relieve me from the whole of them for they all do not exceed that sum, but even that is difficult to be obtained in my state when the sole dependance is upon the practice of the law.

There must be certainly various modes by which in rendering service to the government I could in a few months acquire that amount, by being bearer of despatches, visitor of the land offices in the West, or any other agency at home or abroad. I do not mention any of these things as constituting any claim or qualification on my part, nor do I wish them to be so considered, but I mention them that, in cases where my qualifications are equal to those of others, they may have that influence to which they are entitled and which truth, justice and liberality will accord to them.

Let me hear from you shortly; your friend & svt

William B Slaughter

[Endorsed by AJ:] Refered to the Secretary of the Treasury—this ought to have accompanied my note A. J.
ALS, DLC (42). Born in Virginia, Slaughter (1797–1879) was a lawyer and in 1832–33 an Indiana legislator. In October, AJ appointed him register of the Indianapolis land office to replace the removed Arthur St. Clair.

1. Johnathan McCarty (1795–1852) was an Indiana congressman. On February 26, he and Indiana’s other two congressmen and two senators had recommended Slaughter to AJ for a diplomatic post. Slaughter had previously solicited AJ for an office on May 11, 1829, without success (DNA-RG 59, M639-21).

To Robert Minns Burton

[This letter is extant only in a later printed version.]

WASHINGTON, March 20th, 1833.

My Dear Sir:—

Your letter of the 16th ult. has been lying by me for some days, waiting for a leisure moment to reply to it. The press of business at the closing of Congress, and sitting up the last night of its session to the dawn of Sunday, with privation of sleep the two following nights, by the sudden and severe illness of Sarah, gave me a cold and indisposition, from which I have not quite recovered. Sarah is quite recovered to her health; and the dear little Rachel is growing finely. We are now all well, and getting well; and being now clear of one of the most corrupt Congresses that ever has assembled in the walls of the Capitol, we hope for better times, and more virtue, and less nullifiers in our next.

Could it have been believed by any, that the late Congress, a majority of its members being chosen for their attachment to the present administration, could have been operated upon by any influence whatever, to have elected Gales & Seaton and Duff Green printers to Congress. The marriage between Clay and Calhoun, combined with the influence of the bank, effected this result, and shows the corruption of the times.

Many members of Congress, who have obtained loans from the bank, and who are now protested in bank, formerly opposed violently to it, are now its advocates, and strong nullifiers. I hope the people will look at this and check the corruption, by selecting men of more virtue, and less liable to corruption.

Nullification is expiring. Its last dying groan is just sealed by a repeal of the ordinance and laws passed by the South Carolina Convention, who passed it; and hereafter nullification and secession will never be heard of, except in holding up to scorn and detestation their advocates, and particularly their prime movers. The bloody bill (as the nullies call the late judiciary bill or enforcing bill) has put this to rest. It spoke the united sentiments of the people from Maine to Louisiana, that nullification and secession are revolutionary measures, and not political rights growing out of our constitution or confederacy. The natural right of man is to resist oppression when it comes. It equally belongs to communities.
Where they have the physical power, they succeed; otherwise, they will be coerced into obedience. Our Governments, both State and General, are Governments founded by the people for their own prosperity and happiness. The people are the sovereigns; and having formed a Federal and National Government for the transaction of all their national concerns, and the State Governments to regulate all their local and domestic concerns; and having pointed out by the Constitution how it is to be altered and amended, it can only constitutionally and peacefully be so altered; any other is revolution. The people being the sovereign head, they only have the right to change their Government: This is the beauty and safety of our form of Government. It is unique in itself, and surpasses all other systems ever contemplated; and as long as it is truly administered, by the General Government keeping within the pale of its granted powers, and leaving the people and the States their reserved rights, it will work well and endure forever. It is the strongest Government in the world, because it is made by the people for their own happiness, security and prosperity, and rests upon the support of the people, and their agents must bend to public opinion, and the power of the sovereign people is seen and felt at the ballot-boxes; and I have no fear, but, at the next election, the Nullies everywhere will feel this power.

Some of our members voted against Blair, and against the Judiciary bill. These two are Nullifiers at heart, and the one from East and the other from West Tennessee, can both be well spared from the council of the nation.¹

You will see contrasted in the Globe the bills passed to enable Mr. Jefferson to execute the embargo laws, and non-intercourse laws, much stronger than the late law. That was called by the blue-light Federalists, the bloody law—a violation of the Constitution, &c., &c.,—just the slang that is now used by the nullifiers. But when it was seen that Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky and Pennsylvania gave it, with one exception, a united vote, I think it will place those from those States, who have voted against it, in an awkward predicament; and the people will mark them as traitors to their country and to the republican cause. Principles never change, though politicians do often. You will find General Daniel Smith of Sumner’s vote recorded in favor of the bill in 1809.²

General Desha, although a wretch, I sincerely pity. He is drinking of the cups he mixed up for that worthy man, Major Eaton—all wicked slanderers and persecutors will meet with their just reward. I approve your course. Let him silent pass on. His punishment is great, and I hope it will bring him to repentance, for the injury he has done to others, unjustly and wantonly.

Give my kind respects to your amiable wife and family, and believe me your friend.

Andrew Jackson.
Printed, *Chicago Tribune*, July 17, 1863 (mAJs). The *Tribune* said that it printed the letter from the original manuscript held by the Chicago Historical Society. It was probably consumed with most of the Society’s collections in the Chicago fire of 1871.

1. Tennessee congressmen Cave Johnson (1793–1866) of Clarksville and Thomas Dickens Arnold (1798–1870) of Knoxville had both voted against the Force Bill on March 1. The vote for House printer on February 15 was not officially recorded. The *Globe* reported on March 20 that every Tennessee member except Arnold had voted for Blair.

2. A forthcoming April 1 *Globe* editorial, “The Bloody Bill,” compared nullifiers’ denunciations of the Force Bill to Federalist excoriations of a January 1809 Act to enforce Jefferson’s embargo, which had passed with overwhelming Republican support. Daniel Smith (1748–1818) of Sumner County, Tenn., AJ Donelson’s maternal grandfather, had voted for it in the Senate.

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**To Nicholas Philip Trist**

March 20th. 1833

The agent of Mr Rayner has just returned from you to me—will you just answer me in writing whether, from the withdrawal of my subscription by you, I ought, or ought not, to take the work. I want so to act, that nothing may be done to give cause of just complaint.

A. J

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**From Nicholas Philip Trist**

dear Sir,

The agent called on me before going to you, and I told him that your name & mine ought, from what I wrote to Mr. Niles (postmaster at Hartford) the friend of Mr. Rayner and of the publishers who employed Mr. Rayner on this work as a money-making job, to have been erased from the list.¹

I wrote to Mr. Niles an honest statement of the whole matter,—how Mr. R’s letters of introduction & his conversation had led me to believe he would write a good popular book, that would be useful in disseminating Mr. Jefferson’s opinions among the people &c. and how great had been my astonishment & regret, on perusing the part he wrote here, to find it too bad for publishing.

I therefore told him that unless the publication was abandoned, I should feel it my duty to give public notice of the circumstances under

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¹ ANS, DLC-Trist Papers (22-0842). Trist (1800–1874) was a State Department clerk and AJ’s sometime private secretary. His wife, Virginia Jefferson Randolph Trist, was Thomas Jefferson’s granddaughter. In 1832 Hartford lawyer Benjamin Lester Rayner (1802–1862) published *Sketches of the Life, Writings, and Opinions of Thomas Jefferson*, funded by private subscriptions. The agent was Reuben Hart Towner (1812–1854) of Connecticut. Trist replied below.
which I had subscribed, myself; and led you to subscribe; and that no use
must be made of your name at the head of the list, or of mine (as a known
connexion of Mr. J) to induce others to subscribe. Under these circum-
stances, I consider it a piece of impudent imposture in the publishers to
have circulated the list with your name at the head of it; and that there is
no obligation to take the book, unless it be a good one. Of this I have had
no opportunity to judge. Perhaps, rather than have a fuss about it, it will
be well to take the books. I shall do so, if you do. You will recollect that
the price was not more than $2. yrs

N. P. Trist

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. Trist, on the subject of Mr. Jefferson life By
Reynard—to be kept on file—I was charged & paid $2.50, pr volume—
instead of $2.—A. J.

ALS, DLC (60; 22-0843). On this same day, March 20, AJ purchased five copies of Rayner’s
book for $12.50 and gave one to AJ Donelson.

1. John Milton Niles (1787–1856), later a U.S. senator and Van Buren’s postmaster
general, was the Hartford postmaster. Alfred Francis (1799–1875) and William Boardman
(1805–1887) were Rayner’s publishers. Trist had written Niles on September 5, 1831, after
seeing part of Rayner’s work, that he was “astounded” at its poor quality, that the book was
“utterly hopeless,” and that he wished the publishers “not to make any use whatever” of
AJ’s name or his in promoting it (Trist Papers, DLC).

From Amos Kendall

Washington 20th March 1833

Dear Sir,

I duly received your note of the 18th inst. in which you do me the
honor to request my opinion upon certain points connected with the pub-
lic revenue and the Bank of the United States.

“1. The propriety of agreeing to the rechartering of the present Bank of
the United States under any circumstances.”

I entirely concur with you in the opinion, that it ought not under any
circumstances to be rechartered. Its abuses and corruptions are too noto-
rious and too flagrant to entitle it to the least favor, and much less to a
renewal of its privileges and immunities. But if its management had been
unexceptionable, the power it concentrates, the encroachments it covers
on the rights of the states and its incompatibility with the constitution,
constitute insurmountable objections.

“2. The establishment of a new Bank.”

“3. The disposition of the public deposits now in Bank.”

“4. The establishment of a system for the deposit of the public funds
and the disposition of them and manner of distribution.”

These three points I propose to consider together.
The conduct of the managers of the present Bank; their interference with
the payment of the public debt; the subterfuges and falsehoods resorted to
by them to palliate their own illegal conduct; their base attempts to make
the government responsible for their acts; their notorious corruption of the
press and of public men; the part taken by them in the political conflicts
of the country; the extravagant and mischievous extension of their loans,
particularly in the West, prior to the late presidential election, and the
character of the debts there contracted; the exclusion of the government
directors from all committees and consequently from all participation in
the principal business of the Bank;—constitute an irresistible mass of evi-
dence proving those who control the institution to be destitute of just
principle, of prudence and truth, and consequently unworthy to be trusted
with the money of the people. At the commencement of the late session
of Congress, you expressed doubts of the safety of the public deposits in
their hands; and so far from being removed, those doubts must have been
strengthened and confirmed by developments since made.

A few days ago I took the liberty of submitting to the Secretary of the
Treasury somewhat at large, my views on this and other points, a copy of
which I send herewith for your perusal. I will only add on this point, that
if the people of the United States are so corrupt or deluded, that they will
not sustain their government in taking the public money out of the hands
of an institution proved by indubitable evidence to be guilty of almost
every crime which a Bank can commit, they are prepared for the yoke of a
master. But we have no right, notwithstanding the resolution of the House
of Representatives, to distrust the purity and intelligence of the people.
If, however, I knew that the measure would lead to a doubtful conflict, I
would take the public deposits out of that Bank. It is better to fail in an
attempt to put down corruption and preserve the purity of our institu-
tions, than enjoy ease and office under a heartless Bank government.

The more I see of the present Bank, the less I like a national Bank of
any sort. It impairs the morals of our people, corrupts our statesmen
and is dangerous to liberty. If it can be effected, therefore, I would prefer
the employment of the state institutions in the service of the Treasury to
the reestablishment of any national bank. I have great confidence, that,
through the agency of a few state banks, the revenue may be collected,
the moneys transferred and every necessary aid afforded to the Treasury
as cheaply and as safely as by the present bank of the United States.

Entertaining this belief, I suggest the following outline of the policy which
I think would at this moment most redound to the interest of the country
and the honor and strength of the administration:

1. That steps be immediately taken to ascertain what state banks
are best managed, most safe and most willing to aid the government in
effecting its views and policy; and that such an understanding be formed
between them as will produce in the collection and distribution of the
public revenue the same beneficial results as are now produced by the Bank of the United States and Branches.

2. That as soon as an arrangement can be matured with a few Banks at the most important points the Collectors and others receiving public moneys be directed to deposit them in the selected Banks.

3. That the Commissioners of Loans be forthwith directed to deposit to the credit of the Treasurer all moneys set apart for the payment of the public debt and not now applied, forward their accounts and Books to the Treasury Department, and that notice be given that the public debt will hereafter be paid only at the Treasury.

4. That the public money now in the Bank of the United States be drawn upon by the usual warrants of the Treasury for the ordinary expenditures of the government and the payment of the public debt until it be exhausted, before any warrant shall be drawn on the new deposit in the state Banks.

5. That all public officers be instructed to transfer their accounts to the state banks only when they shall receive the first warrants on those institutions.

6. That there be an understanding with the state banks employed by the government, that they shall extend all reasonable and safe indulgence to the other state banks and such accommodations to the debtors of the government as necessity and sound policy may, seem from time to time, to require.

Perhaps it would be impossible altogether to prevent some degree of jealousy among those state banks which may not be employed by the government; but by a liberal policy it can be allayed. In places where large masses of public revenue are collected, it might be politic to employ more than one Bank; and if these pursue a policy towards the rest which would make the public favor in some degree a common benefit, little or no complaint will be heard.

If, as I verily believe is practicable, such a system were organized and put in successful operation, it would prove to demonstration, that the Bank of the United States is not a necessary means of executing the delegated powers of this government and entirely overthrow the only argument upon which the constitutionality of the institution is maintained.

I look upon this as a critical moment. Upon the determination at which you and your cabinet shall now arrive, depend, in my opinion, the character of this government for years to come. A new scheme to govern the American people by fraud and corruption, has been matured. The means of execution are the Bank, the Public lands, an overflowing Treasury and Internal Improvements. Its projectors can do nothing but arrange their plans and marshal their forces while you hold the veto power. But they look beyond your term of service and expect to elect as your successor some one and any one who will agree to be their creature and instrument.
To you, sir, the friends of a good and pure government look to settle the remaining great questions of national policy and strike from the hands of corruption its means to do mischief. The most effectual blow which can now be struck is, by a removal of the public depositories, to cripple the Bank of the United States and deprive the conspirators of the aid which they expect from its money and power. By one act you would weaken if not destroy a powerful enemy and raise up powerful friends; the Bank managers would have full employment in maintaining their own defences instead of affording the administration any annoyance; and I doubt whether their utmost exertions could save the institution from a sudden ruin. Deprived of this powerful auxiliary, I think the other weapons of the corrupt league might easily be parried or turned against them.

The public mind is now completely at a stand. The events of the last session of Congress have thrown it into a state of hesitation and doubt in relation to the future course of the administration and arrangement of parties. Men do not know where to find their political principles and friends, and the pure men of the country are watching the course of the administration with intense anxiety. If the Bank, that great enemy of republicanism, now so completely within your power, shall not only be spared but continue to be armed from the Treasury with means to destroy those to whom we look for support, they will abandon the contest in despair, satisfied that the administration is wanting either in the courage or in the good faith to support it supporters. They will justly conclude, that to contend further with an institution, which, though proved corrupt to the core and its mortal enemy, the administration is determined to foster, would not only be unavailing but an act of folly; and they will settle down in the painful conviction, that after thwarting all your efforts for the public good during the current four years, it will elect your successor, receive a new charter and be forever thereafter the controlling power in this nation. But if the future course of the administration be distinctly marked out; if the first blow shall be to cripple the Bank; and if it be followed up by an exposure of the corruptions of Mr. Clay’s land bill and the abandonment of all principle in the recent coalition of two desperate leaders and its first acts, the true men of the country will rally around the administration with new enthusiasm, and it will find in Congress and among the people a strength and a power which the combined factions will find it impossible to withstand. All the vital questions of national policy may then be settled during your continuance in office; and, by depriving ambitious men of the means of corruption, you will relieve the country from its greatest dangers and bequeath to your grateful fellow citizens a long period of happiness and prosperity.

I pray you to excuse the freedom with which I write. I should not have felt satisfied with myself if I were to do less than give you my convictions of the importance of the present crisis. Having done so, I resign myself to
any course which may be deemed best, careless of its consequences to my own interests or hopes. With the highest respect Your Obt Servt

Amos Kendall

ALS and Copy, DLC (42). Kendall (1789–1869) was fourth auditor of the Treasury and also a confidential advisor and wordsmith for AJ.

1. In March 1832 the Bank’s board had delegated authority to handle redemption of the three per cents to its exchange committee, whose operations were conducted in confidence and reported to the full board only upon completion. In testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee, government BUS director John T. Sullivan seconded James K. Polk’s charge that government directors were presently “excluded” from the Bank’s executive committees and thereby from knowledge of its dealings. Former government and present stockholder-elected director Joshua Lippincott denied the exclusion, saying that regular Bank business was conducted by the full board and that there were not enough seats on committees to accommodate every director (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 65, 56–57, Serial 236).

2. On January 25, 1833, the Senate had passed, by 24 to 21, a bill sponsored by Henry Clay to distribute the net proceeds from the government’s western public land sales among the various states in proportion to their total congressional representation. Western states where the lands were located were to receive an additional percentage and also direct grants of land to fund internal improvement projects. On March 1 the House took up the bill, struck out a clause directing states to spend their allocations on internal improvement, education, or colonization of free people of color, and passed it by 96 to 40 (House Journal, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 459–61, Serial 232). The Senate accepted the House amendment by 23 to 5 the same day (Senate Journal, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 26, 138, 229, Serial 229). AJ pocket-vetoed the bill. On December 4 he delivered a veto message to the Senate of the new Twenty-third Congress (below).

[Enclosure: Kendall to Louis McLane]

Washington 16th. March 1833

Dear Sir

The course now to be adopted in relation to the Bank of the United States appears to me of so much importance that I am constrained to ask your indulgence while I submit to you the views I take of the subject and the conclusions to which my mind has arrived in relation to the removal of the public deposits.

The first point to be considered is, whether it be right in itself; the second whether it be prudent; and the third what will be its political effects

If the Bank has been a faithful Agent of the Treasury—has been always able and always willing to pay over the public deposits when required for the purposes of the Treasury—always ready to aid the government in its fiscal operations; if it has been managed with such integrity and prudence that it may be safely trusted with the public moneys—then a removal of them to other Banks is unjust. But in my opinion, facts have been disclosed which prove or tend to prove the very reverse of these positions.

By its own accounts and its own conduct in secretly negotiating with the government creditors, it has furnished strong evidence that it was not able to make the payments required from it during the year 1832.
Having in March a public deposit of about $9,000,000, it commenced a negotiation to postpone a payment of a large amount of the public debt which might be advertised for payment, before any advertisement was issued. This was a confession of its weakness.

As soon as notified of the purpose of the government to advertise a payment of about $6,500,000 for the 1st. July, the President of the Bank solicited and procured a postponement by the government until the 1st. October, agreeing to pay the interest.\(^1\)

Conscious of not being able to meet the payment at that time, although as yet ignorant how great it might be, an agent was despatched to Europe secretly to negotiate with the government creditors for a postponement of the payment of five millions for at least one year.

Having succeeded by means which not only thwarted the purposes of the Treasury by keeping back the certificates and holding the government still responsible, but directly violated the charter in the purchase of stock, and being by the accidental publication of the Circular of the Barings detected in its secret operations, it then disavowed the original arrangement and formed a new one on such terms as to procure the control of the certificates without paying the money.\(^2\)

These operations have been accompanied by a series of disgusting subterfuges and falsehoods sufficient to shake the confidence of any one in the integrity of those who manage the Bank.

As a subterfuge for the course pursued in March and the negotiation which immediately grew out of it the Bank alledged that it was simply to enable the Bank to accommodate the merchants and prevent the displacement of a large amount of capital.

It alledged that the postponement solicited of the government in that month for which the Bank paid $48,000 in interest was derived desired by the government itself to save the merchants paying duties from pressure and neither needed nor wanted on the part of the Bank. When it was granted, the Bank went on curtailing from the merchants which whom it professed a desire further to accommodate.

It was alledged that the mission to Europe was originated to oblige the Treasury Department and enable the Bank to make an advance to it for the purpose of supplying a deficiency which was expected in the means to pay the public debt advertised for payment in and at the close of 1832, when it was projected, the instructions given and the agent on his voyage before the Bank knew what amount the Treasury would desire to pay.

It was again pretended, that this Mission was instituted to raise a fund to guard against the effects of the Cholera then stated to be raging in New York and Philadelphia, when it was projected before that disease appeared in either City.\(^3\)

In addition to these groundless reasons for resorting to those measures, they have been attended by concealments and other circumstances which show the Board of Directors to be, not the watchful and intelligent senti-
nels of public and private interests in the bank to be but a mere machine moved they know not why, by the representations of a single man.

This whole negotiation in all its stages was concealed from the government and from the Board of Directors.

On the 21st. September 1832, the President of the Bank called the Board of Directors around him, and by representations of the strong position of the Bank, procured their sanction to instructions afterwards issued authorizing certain of their western branches, to check on the principal bank, when the real reason, which was the alarming run upon the Lexington Branch, was entirely concealed from them.

Having, on the 1st. October, received information of Gen. Cadwalader’s illegal arrangement in Europe, he again calls his Board around him and by a set of reasons altogether different from that which influenced him, induced them to change the whole policy of the institution, concealing in his own bosom the fact that a fund of five millions had been provided in Europe, which, as he has since admitted, constituted the real cause of that change.

Again on the 20th. November, he even calls in the nonresident directors to take a view of the whole management of the institution for the past year, makes his explanations to them at large, but wholly conceals this important operation in Europe.4

What confidence can be placed in a directory who are thus moved to change the policy of the Bank by false reasons while the only reason which makes it proper or safe is entirely withheld from them?

Is not a directory which is not permitted to know the reasons of its own acts a mockery and a sham? Can the government have any confidence in an institution the policy of which is thus changed, its chosen managers know not why?

To the last, the delusion is maintained. It was the President of the Bank, undoubtedly, who drew up the recent Report of the Exchange Committee and palmed it upon his colleagues as true. It repeats all the subterfuges for the acts of the last year, conceals the new debt secretly contracted in Europe, and makes representations in relation to the western branches, particularly that at Nashville, which the President and Cashier of the Bank had in their possession the evidence to prove wholly deceptive and false. The President of the Bank permits his deluded colleagues to come to Washington and swear to this tissue of misrepresentations as true to the best of their knowledge and belief!5

Is it possible, that the government, if satisfied of all these facts, can think the public deposits secure in that institution, or that it is any longer worthy to be trusted?

Is there not ground to apprehend, that many men who are guilty of such misrepresentations to cover their own unauthorized acts, are capable of doing any of those things, which are recorded in the history of broken banks?
And is not the fact, that the managers of this institution are driven to such means to evade the payment of the public dues and to such subterfuges to conceal the true reason of their conduct, very strong evidence tending to prove the weakness of the Bank and its inability to pay its debts, or at least to pay them on demand?

If all are satisfied, as I think they must be, that there is neither integrity nor prudence in the management of the Bank, that it has not been and is not now able to pay the sums required of it by the government months ago; it remains to enquire what obstacles there are to a removal of the public deposits?

The first that presents itself is Mr. Toland’s Report. It is evident, that he had only such information as the Bank chose to give him. He was not informed of the new debt contracted in Europe, nor was he told that probably more than half of the domestic Bills of Exchange in the West would have been protested last fall had not new bills been taken in payment, which must yet be protested unless they are again renewed. These facts decisive of the weakness of the Bank and of the precarious situation of its western debt, have come to the knowledge of the government since his Report was made; If the Treasury had been satisfied then, which I apprehend was not the case, it does not follow that it should be satisfied three months afterwards upon the development of new and startling facts. If that Report had been conclusive upon the Treasury then, it cannot be at any time thereafter upon a change of circumstances. It does not appear to me, therefore, that this Report constitutes any obstacle to action.

The resolution of the House of Representatives is perhaps more imposing, if not intrinsically more worthy of exercising a controlling influence. There are considerations, however, growing out of that proceeding, which, in my mind, rather urge to action than counsel delay.

The President at the commencement of the session expressed his doubts of the safety of the public deposits and to confirm or remove them recommended a thorough examination of the principal bank and branches.

The Majority Report itself tells us they have made no such investigation; and they have therefore not taken the necessary steps to remove those doubts.

The Report of the Exchange Committee of the Bank was pointed printed by its order and put, I presume, into the hands of every member of Congress to forestal his opinion before the Committee of Ways & Means made their Report.

The Majority of the Committee of Ways and Means in framing their Report, took only such parts of the evidence as was favorable to the Bank, and not only passed over all that was unfavorable but positively declared there was none of that description.

Notwithstanding this assertion, they had the proof in their possession, that the most favorable evidence contained in the Exchange Committee’s
Report and in the testimony of the Directors, was totally unfounded and the reverse of the truth.

None of that evidence was printed or had been read to the House.

The Minority Report was neither printed nor read to the House.

All the House had to form its judgement upon, was the Report of the Exchange Committee and the Report of the Majority of the Committee of Ways and Means.

Is it surprising then that they gave such a vote? Could it be expected, that not only in the absence of the truth but with a denial of it by a majority of one of their standing committees, they should come to a just conclusion?

Ought a resolution thus sustained and adopted to be conclusive on the Executive? Ought not the fact that the Bank *daringly published its own false exposition* before the Committee which was investigating its conduct made their Report, and placed it in the hands of the members of the House to forestal their judgement, rather to urge the Executive to crush, if possible, an institution which accomplishes such ends by such means, than to give it time to collect its means and concentrate its power?8

With the public and with the next Congress, I verily believe an exposure of the means by which this resolution was obtained backed by decisive executive action, can be made to have twice the weight against the Bank that its adoption can have in its favor.

Can one of us say, that there is not more reason to doubt the soundness of the Bank and the safety of the public deposits now, than there was at the commencement of the late session of Congress? My doubts are converted into certainty. And if the resolution binds the Treasury now, when will its obligation cease? It has in fact no obligation. The discretion and power of the Treasury Department belong to each moment, and cannot be bound for an hour by any resolution of Congress. They must be exercised and used in accordance with the views and exigencies of the moment; and if it can be proved that the Secretary is influenced by any sinister or corrupt design, he is undoubtedly amenable to Congress as well as for any other abuse of his public station. The resolution can only be regarded by him as evidence; and in this instance it is entirely discredited by established facts.

An apprehension seems to be entertained, that in case the deposits are removed, the Bank of the United States would concentrate its power upon the state banks employed by the government and crush them. Nothing is clearer to my mind, than that the Bank of the United States, in the event of a removal of the deposits would be placed entirely at the mercy of the state banks which should receive them.

The extent of that institution which gives it strength, would then be its weakness. As the paper of all the banks Branches as well as the principal bank, is taken in payment of the revenue, and as the Exchange is everywhere in favor of the great cities where the revenue is collected, the notes of the most distant branches naturally flow into New York and Philadelphia, where they fall into the hands of the Collectors and are
deposited in the Bank. This creates constant and heavy balances due from the interior to the Atlantic Offices.

By the monthly statement of 1st. January last
it appears that there was due from the various
branches to the principal Bank no less than $17,901,588
Deduct amount due from the bank to its branches 1,156,621
Net amount due principal bank $16,744,967

By looking at the accounts of the interior branches we shall see whence this balance arises.

The Natchez Branch owes the other branches
and the principal bank $3,141,571
While there is due to it from them only 2,869
Showing a balance against it of $3,138,702
The specie in that Branch is only 75,095

The Nashville Branch owes other Offices 1,653,326
There is due to it from them 294,139
Balance against it $1,369,187
The specie in that Branch is 205,988

So the Louisville Branch owes other Offices 2,773,426
There is due from to it from them 244,893
Balance against it $2,528,533
The specie in that Branch is 335,142

Now it is apparent that if either of these Branches were suddenly called upon for but a small portion of these balances, it must stop payment. It is not pretended, that the whole amount of these balances is due to the principal bank or the Atlantic Branches but it is not doubted that two thirds of it is.

If the government deposits were placed in state banks, at New York, Philadelphia and other commercial points, the notes of all the Branches of the United States Bank would be receivable for revenue as they are now. They would, therefore, continue to flow to those points as they have done heretofore; but, instead of being deposited in the Offices of the United States Bank, they would accumulate in the state banks where the revenue shall be deposited. In a short time, the interior branches would be as completely within the power of these state Banks as they are now within that of the principal bank. If the state banks used as depositories chose to do so, they could in less than six months stop half of the interior branches. By a sudden run upon them, one after another, with their paper, they would be as certainly ruined as that an adequate cause produces its natural effect. Nor could any precaution of the principal bank, in the present extended situa-
tion of its concerns, prevent it. Not knowing on what point the attack might be made and being unable to curtail it’s business soon enough to guard all points, it would find itself, with all it’s boasted power, at the mercy of one or two state banks. Instead of attacking the state institutions, it would be everywhere thrown on the defensive and obliged to beg for mercy.

Indeed, sir, if it be desirable to break up the Bank of the United States at once, I have no more doubt of the power of the Treasury to do it with the aid of a few state Banks, than I have of my existence; and in my opinion, if the deposits are changed, it will require great forbearance in the state banks to prevent that catastrophe.

That this result may follow the withdrawal of the deposits and that the responsibility in public opinion may rest upon the administration, appears to be one ground of apprehension. That the Bank may stop payment is very possible; and in its bearings upon the future interests of the country, I should not regret the event. But whether any portion of the responsibility would in public opinion, fall upon the government or not, would depend, I think, on the manner in which the deposits should be removed. If the government were at once to order all the deposits of the Treasurer, of public officers, and that for the payment of the public debt, to be transferred to the state Banks, it would be an unreasonable demand, and the Bank of the United States would have plausible ground for complaint. If it were then instantly to stop payment and set forth this heavy, sudden and it might say unexpected call of the government as the cause, it would undoubtedly make some impression upon public opinion. But if the government were to make no actual transfer of funds from the U.S. Bank to the State Banks—were simply to direct its future receipts to be placed in those Banks, and draw out the sum remaining in the United States Bank as it might be wanted for the service of the government upon the usual warrants of the Treasurer, it would leave no ground to complain of an unreasonable demand; and if the U.S. Bank then stopped payment, the whole country would exclaim that it was produced, not by any act of the government but by it’s own mismanagement. Such an event under such circumstances, so far from weakening the administration, would prove to the whole people, that the doubts heretofore expressed were well founded and that the withdrawal of the deposit’s was an act of prudence as well as of justice. If the Commissioners of loans were directed to deposit to the credit of the Treasurer all moneys on hand for payment of the public debt not now applied, and notice given that the debt would hereafter be paid only at the Treasury, and if the Public Officers were instructed to transfer their accounts to the State Banks only when they received the first warrant on those institutions, it would probably require four months to take from the Bank of the United States the whole of the public deposits.

If it be right to consider it as a political question, there is, in my opinion, every reason for prompt and decisive action. It may be assumed as an axiom, that the Bank is the uncompromising enemy of the party which has
reelected Gen. Jackson and will exert all its mighty powers to distract and destroy it. The only way to impair its influence is to lessen its power. That power at the present moment, consists almost exclusively in its control over the revenues of the government. The Exchange Committee boast, that on the first October last, “the State Banks of Philadelphia, New York and Boston owed the Bank $2,280,000.” On that day, the public deposits of all sorts at those three points, were $10,768,000. Had these been in the State Banks instead of the Bank of the United States, would the latter have had any cause to boast of its strength? I think it was in September or October last, that the New York Branch offered to lend the State Banks in that City a million of Dollars on interest. On the first of October, that Branch had in deposite $5,768,000 of public money. Had this been in the City Banks, could the Branch have shown its superiority by offering this loan? It was your money—the money of the Treasury—which it offered to loan—it is that only which gives it superiority, and a controlling power. Take it away, and its power is instantly crippled—its influence vanishes.

The heavy collections of revenue, particularly in New York, throw into the U.S. Bank occasionally heavy masses of the paper of the State Banks, which, if instantly presented, they might not be able to redeem. They are in grain its enemies; but they dare not speak and act, because they are often in its power. The same power extends, more or less, to all the state banks in the country, and to thousands of individuals. No complaints are heard of a tyrant while in the height of its power. His oppressions are borne in silence, lest complaint should cause them to be redoubled. But when the dread of his power is removed, men speak out. So will it be with the State Banks, and the other dependents of the United States Bank. Thousands of tongues, which are now tied, will be unloosed, and the administration will find defenders, where it now looks for enemies.

The means of the Bank to corrupt men and presses by unusual loans would be diminished.

Those who have suffered by its overtrading in every direction, having nothing more to hope, and feeling its hand press heavily upon them, would abuse it for mismanagement.

Rival powers in new state Banks would spring up in every quarter, all interested in putting down this Bank as a common enemy and prepared to support those, who are engaged in the enterprize.

The measure would be supported by almost the entire South; in the West, it would strengthen the hands of our friends; in the North, they would hail it with delight; in New York, they would be united in its support; and if it produced any injurious effects in any quarter, it would be in Pennsylvania.

But a pervading benefit would arise from it in the energy it would every where inspire among the true supporters of the administration. In every direction, they are now in a state of doubt, hesitation and discourag-
ment. They do not understand the administration in reference to the Bank. They ask whether the government intends to succumb to its power; and continue to supply it with arms to destroy its friends? They need some decisive act to reunite and inspirit them.

If nothing be done, the next Congress will come here also full of doubt and hesitation, open to all the insidious influences of this corrupting institution, and the administration will find itself embarrased and finally thwarted in all its important measures. But if the leading question of the session shall be made beforehand; if the administration makes a bold stroke; if it throws itself upon the people, and those whom they have elected as its friends in the next Congress, with such an exposition as you can make out of the facts already known, many a man, who would equivocate and trim if a timid policy be pursued, will at once rally to your support. It is the nature of our race to support him who fearlessly defies danger, and meets responsibility with a face of conscious rectitude. But when leaders quail, what is to be expected from followers?

Are further reasons for action wanted? They can be had. You already know, that the business of the Bank is chiefly done by Committees without the agency or knowledge of the Board of Directors. You also know, that all government directors are now excluded from those Committees.

It can be shown, that after discounts have been refused by the Board of Directors, they have been granted by the Exchange Committee.

It can be shown, that one of the government Directors has made an effort to restore the business to the Board and was defeated by the casting vote of the President of the Bank.

It can be shown, that the extraordinary loans granted to Messrs Webb and Noah, which the Bank took so much pains last year to prove to be secure, has for some time been under protest. 11

It can be shown, that loans to certain members of Congress who suddenly changed their opinions in favor of the Bank last year, are also under protest.

It can be shown, that favored printers have been permitted to replace good endorsers with bad ones and afterwards been protested.

It can be shown, that favored printers have been permitted to overdraw largely, and that their notes have been renewed, contrary to all rule, without payment of the overdraft.

There is scarcely an end to the reasons which may be adduced for speedy and decisive action.

The greatest difficulty, perhaps, is to find a substitute for the Bank of the United States which shall render equal facilities to the Treasury Department. I do not doubt the practicability of it; but it can only be secured and maintained by the utmost caution and prudence. In the Atlantic cities there are many Banks more prudently managed and more to be trusted than the Bank of the United States. In finding safe deposi-
tories at those points, there is no difficulty. It is otherwise in the interior. But it will not be necessary to trust the interior Banks to any great extent. The money received from sales of public lands may be drawn out in the West for Indian, army and land office expenditures almost as fast as it is received; and if there be any deficiency, it can be supplied by drafts on the Atlantic depositories.

But it is practicable, I think, to combine some of the safest state Banks in every quarter of the Union under such an organization as will render them as efficient and safe for government purposes as the Bank of the United States could be under the best management. Incidentally also, by an understanding among themselves, they might manage the bona fide domestic exchange of the country in a manner as beneficial to the community, as the U.S Bank now does.

There are many reasons in favor of attempting such an arrangement and at an early day. If a machine composed entirely of state Banks can be organized and put into successful operation, it will cut up root and branch, the whole argument in favor of rechartering the present Bank of the United States by showing practically that it is not necessary. It is but three years to the expiration of the Bank charter. To me it is quite evident, that no institution upon a different plan will be established. The present Bank will prevent it with the hope of getting a new charter from the President and Congress which may come after Gen. Jackson. A new machine cannot be organized and put into operation in a day. Nor could the Deposits be removed in a day from one Bank to another. It, therefore, would seem necessary, without regard to the present question, to put on foot at no distant day, measures with a view to this result.

Pardon me for a few words in relation to my own views and feelings. I have, with all my might, labored to put down this institution, with no other motive than because I believed its prolonged existence fatal to the purity of our republican institutions. The deep-rooted popularity of Gen. Jackson has enabled him to set it at defiance, while he has fearlessly encountered other corrupting systems, which ambition had built up. A new combination is now formed of which the Bank is the nucleus and the citadel. It looks to a period beyond Gen. Jackson’s service and anticipates an easy victory over those who, without his popularity, may attempt to perpetuate his principles. The Tariff question could not be used, and it has been postponed. The Land project is expected to buy up whole states, and sections of the Union. Internal Improvements are to be revived. The Bank is to support its supporters, and send its life blood through the arteries of the whole combination. From an overflowing Treasury, as well as a corrupt Bank, the presses and instruments of this new scheme are to be fed and rewarded.

If the government will use its power, the head of this new born and illformed dragon may be at once crushed, and all his efforts entirely paralyzed. But if the administration feed him until he acquire consistency and strength, whom can they expect to fight him for their benefit? I confess
I shall despair of any good in continuing the war. If, with the proof displayed of all the abuses and corruptions of this institution, the people do not sustain their government in an honest act of retribution, there is more corruption abroad than I suppose, and we may give up all hope of the republic. I know that many of our best friends feel as I do. They are willing to contend as long as there is hope; but they say it is useless to buffet the Bank with our left hand, so long as we feed it with our right. Nothing can induce them to continue the war, but some decisive demonstration of its policy on the part of the administration of its policy—something which shall promise a beneficial result—something that holds out to them a more cheering prospect than that of being the last to be devoured.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Bank &c &c—To be duly considered A. J.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr Kendall to Mr McLane, & to A. J. to be preserved—they confirm all my opinions, and information on this great question in which is involved the liberty of our country, & perpetuation of our republican institutions. The bank must be put down, or it puts down our liberty, & rules by its corruption. A. J.

Copy, DLC (42), and endorsement, DLC (59; 22-0838). Copy, DLC (42).

1. The Treasury had originally notified Bank president Biddle on March 24, 1832, of its intent to redeem half the remaining three per cent stock, worth about $6.5 million, on July 1. In anticipation, Biddle had already, on March 13, obtained the Bank board's authorization for its exchange committee to arrange to stretch out the payment, on grounds that a sudden large redemption of foreign-held certificates “might possibly expose the community to great inconvenience.” On March 29, Biddle wrote McLane that while the Bank had “no objection” on its own account to a July 1 redemption (presuming the government then had sufficient funds on deposit), preparing for a large remittance abroad would require it to curtail facilities to merchants owing customs duties to the government, which would both jeopardize the federal revenue and increase the severe pressure already felt in the commercial community. He proposed postponing the redemption to the next quarter. McLane acceded, directing Biddle on July 19 to prepare to redeem two-thirds of the certificates on October 1 and the rest on January 1, 1833 (HRDoc 9, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 2–3, Serial 233; HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 54, Serial 236).

2. Pursuant to its August 22 contract with Cadwalader, Barings had circularized European holders of the three per cents, offering on the BUS’s behalf to postpone their redemption one year, with interest. Excerpts from this circular were published in the New York Evening Post and other papers on October 11. Polk’s Ways and Means Committee minority report charged that it was only this accidental exposure of Cadwalader’s illegal contract that caused Biddle to disavow it and propose an alternative arrangement to Barings on October 15 (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 40–41, 87, 101–2, 180–84, Serial 236).

3. Polk’s minority report charged that Biddle had contrived these false and shifting explanations for the postponement and Cadwalader’s mission in order to conceal the real motive of rescuing the Bank from its own weakness (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 11–29, Serial 236).

4. In 1831 the Bank had directed its western branches to curtail their loans and prepare to furnish specie to New York and Philadelphia. At a board meeting on September 21, 1832, Biddle had announced that the Bank’s present sound position permitted a reversal of this policy. New instructions allowing the western branches to resume purchasing domestic exchange and to write checks on the main Bank were issued and reported to the board on
October 4. Members of the board residing outside Philadelphia did not routinely attend its meetings. Biddle specifically invited them to one on November 20, where the Bank’s general course was reviewed. Cadwalader’s mission and the debt operations were not discussed at any of these meetings or fully explained to the board until January 1833. Polk’s minority report charged that the Bank since 1829 had expended the federal deposits in a reckless expansion of illiquid western loans, leaving it unable to redeem the federal debt without resort to postponement or borrowing, and that Biddle had concealed its perilous condition from his own board. The real reason behind allowing western branches to draw on the main Bank in September 1832, the report alleged, was not an improvement in its condition but the need to fight off a specie run on the Lexington branch (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 6, 25, 29–31, 37–41, 43–44, 62, 69–70, 128–30, 169–70, Serial 236).

5. On January 29, 1833, Biddle had conveyed to the House Ways and Means Committee a January 28 report of the Bank’s exchange committee signed by its chairman, Matthew L. Bevan. It claimed that the Bank’s handling of the three per cents “has been highly beneficial to the community as well as to the Government” and had rather hastened than retarded the discharge of the debt. It defended the soundness of the Bank’s western loans and the safety of government deposits in its hands. Bevan and exchange committee member Manuel Eyre both testified before the House committee in February that the facts of the report were correctly stated to the best of their “knowledge and belief.” In testimony, Bevan and other directors also flatly denied that the Bank had ever lacked means to redeem the three per cents, that it now owed any money in Europe, or that its condition was in the least unsound. Polk’s minority report from the Ways and Means Committee charged that the exchange committee report falsely represented debts to the Bank’s western branches as diminishing rather than increasing, and that overall the Bank appeared to be “very strong in figures and very weak in fact”—indeed, closer to insolvency than it was in 1819, when its condition had been confessedly critical (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 34–37, 73, 84, 160–77, Serial 236).

6. This was the resolution affirming the safety of government deposits in the BUS, offered by the committee majority and adopted by the House by 109 to 46 on March 2.

7. Verplanck’s Ways and Means Committee majority report regretted that other pressing business of the session “did not permit a more full examination of the concerns” of the Bank, but noted “the entire absence of any evidence, calculated to refute, or in any other way impeach,” the proofs before it of the Bank’s soundness (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 2, Serial 236). Previous to its inclusion within the House committee report, the Bank itself had printed 1,000 copies of its January 28 exchange committee report with some added documents (Report of the Bank of the United States to the Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, January 28, 1833).

8. AJ wrote here in the margin: “This is the most presumptuous act of impudence & intended imposition & fraud upon the govt.”

9. Kendall drew his figures from the BUS’s monthly statement for December 1832 (SDoc 38, 22d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 230). He miscopied the $3,141,517 debt of the Natchez branch and made a $10,000 subtraction error at the Nashville branch.

10. The exchange committee report cited this figure in showing that in October 1832 the Bank had held “means fully adequate to pay the whole amount of funded debt payable at that period, without the slightest inconvenience to itself” (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 165, Serial 236).

11. The majority report of an 1832 House investigating committee on the Bank had accused it of bribing Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer owners James Watson Webb (1802–1884) and Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785–1851) with unsecured loans to procure favorable editorial coverage for the Bank. The minority had defended the loans as sound business transactions (HRRep 460, 22d Cong., 1st. sess., Serial 227).
From Henry Toland

Philada. March 20th. 1833

Dear Sir,

I have recd. your truly esteemed letters of 5th and 17th inst. and sincerely thank you for the many kind expressions contained in them. Since my return to this place I have settled all my affairs with the Dist attorney, in accordance with the stipulations of the Treasury Department, and I am again free to pursue any business, and exercise to the uttermost a stock of industry, which seems to be a natural inheritance.¹ I owe this happiness to you and I am deeply sensible of it. I have ordered the 2 don table, and two dozen tea spoons as you direct, viz. plain, and cyphered A. J. If at any time you desire farther additions, please write me. The whole will be done in about six weeks, and knowing the family would be absent for some time, I did not think it necessary to hurry them. If they should be required at an earlier day, the time may be abridged.

When they are finished, I will take care to send them very promptly, to Mr. Nicholl. I am obliged by your notice of the Cup and Saucer I sent you by Mr South. I found it among some beautiful specimens of French manufacture, and thought I would send it to you. I have been since the 5th inst., in the fulfilment of the duties of the Navy agency, which I find very agreeable, and with which I am now quite conversant. It is indeed true that my appointment is very satisfactory, if I may judge so from the universal congratulations I receive on it. Even the oldest federalists stop to shake hands with me about it, and express their joy.

My mother & Sister beg their most affectionate respects to you, and I remain, Dear Sir, most truly Your friend²

Henry Toland

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. Toland—the plate will be sent to Nashville—recd. 23rd. March 1833—to be filed with my private papers. A. J.

ALS, NjMoHP (22-0839).
¹. Henry D. Gilpin was the U.S. district attorney for eastern Pennsylvania.
². Toland's mother was Sarah Barnhill Toland (1761–1837).

To James Buchanan

(Private) Washington March 21rst. 1833—

Dear Sir,

Your letter by Mr. Clay was handed me on his arrival. The fact of there being no means of conveyance, my not having ascertained Mr. Clays
determination in regard to his return to you, and the immense and heavy pressure of public business have caused me to delay my reply. Nullification, the corrupting influence of the Bank; the union of Calhoun and Clay, supported by the corrupt and wicked of all parties, engaged all my attention. The liberty of the people requires that wicked projects, and evil combinations against the government should be exposed and counteracted.

I met nullification at its threshold—my proclamation was well timed as it at once opened the eyes of the people to the wicked designs of the nullifiers, whose real motives had too long remained concealed. The people ceased to be deluded by the promise of securing by nullification “a peaceable and constitutional modification of the Tariff.” They investigated the subject, and saw that, although the Tariff was made the ostensible object, a separation of the confederacy was the real purpose of its originators, and supporters. The expression of public opinion elicited by the proclamation, from Main to Louisiana has so firmly repudiated the absurd doctrine of nullification; and secession, that it is not probable that we shall be troubled with them again shortly.

The advices of to day inform us, that South Carolina has repealed her ordinance, and all the laws based upon it. Thus die nullification, and secession, but leave behind the remembrance of their authors and abettors, which holds them up to scorn and indignation, and will transmit them to posterity as traitors to the best of governments.

The treaty is as good a one as we could expect or desire, and if you can close the other as satisfactory, it will be a happy result, and place you in the highest rank of our able and fortunate Diplomatists.

Mr. Clay has conversed with me freely, and has determined under all the circumstances to return to you. If Mr Clay had not taken this determination, be well assured, that your request in respect to his successor would have received my most anxious attention. You should have had one in whom you could with safety confide. I had thought of Mr Vail now at London, who has signified his inclination to remain abroad, as secretary of Legation, when relieved by a minister.

Mr Clay can be left as charge de affairs, when your duty to your aged Mother may make it necessary for you to return to her and your country.

Knowing as I do, that you will not leave your post, untill you bring to a close the negotiation now under discussion, I have said to the Secretary of State to grant you permission to return whenever you may ask it. But should an emergency arise which will render it inconvenient, if not impossible, for you to write and receive an answer from the State Department before, from the feeble health of your Mother, it may be necessary for you to return, you will consider yourself as being hereby authorised to leave the court of Russia & return, leaving Mr Clay in charge of our affairs there.

I must refer you to Mr Clay, and the news papers, which I have requested the secretary of State to send you, for the news and politic’s of
the day. I must however add that, in the late election, good old Democratic Pennsylvania has greatly increased my debt of gratitude to her, which I can only attempt to discharge by renewed and unceasing vigilence and exertions in so administering the government as to perpetuate the prosperity and happiness of the whole people.6

accept of my best wishes for your health and happiness, and for your safe return to your country and friends—give my kind respects to Mr. Barry and believe me to be sincerely your friend7

Andrew Jackson

ALS, PHi (22-0847). Works of James Buchanan, 2:328–29. AL draft and Draft by George Breathitt with AJ insertions, DLC (42). Buchanan (1791–1868), a former Pennsylvania congressman and later U.S. president, was the American minister to Russia. AJ enclosed this letter to Livingston for delivery (immediately below). Buchanan replied on May 29 (below).

1. John Randolph Clay (1808–1885) was the U.S. secretary of legation at St. Petersburg. He had arrived in Washington on February 20 bearing a commercial treaty concluded by Buchanan on December 18, 1832, and a December 20 private letter from Buchanan advising AJ that Clay might seek a change of post (Jackson Papers, 10:736–39).

2. AJ had submitted Buchanan’s commercial treaty to the Senate on February 22. The Senate had unanimously voted its advice and consent on February 27, and the treaty was formally ratified on April 8 (Treaties, 3:723–40). Buchanan had also been charged with negotiating a treaty on maritime rights in wartime.

3. Buchanan’s December 20 letter had stressed his need for a trustworthy replacement if Clay did not return.

4. Buchanan had written on December 20 that the illness of his mother, Elizabeth Speer Buchanan (1767–1833), might compel him to request permission for an early return.

5. AJ’s covering letter to Livingston instructed him to this effect (below).

6. Jackson had handily carried Pennsylvania in 1832, and Jacksonians had won a majority of seats in the preceding October 1832 congressional election.

7. John Waller Barry (1810–1837), an Army lieutenant and son of Postmaster General William T. Barry, was Buchanan’s private secretary.

To Edward Livingston

March 21rst. 1833—

The President with his respects to the Secretary of State will thank him to have the enclosed conveyed with his first dispatch to its address

Send with it all the documents relating to the So Carolina nullification, and such news papers, as will enable Mr B. to explain to Russia, that nullification is dead, and that ours is the strongest Govt. in the world—it is the peoples, and based upon their virtue, and defended by their power & prowess.

Would it not be well to give a hint to Mr Clay, that it will be expected of him to return soon to Russia. Mr. B. has said that the feeble health of his mother will induce him to ask leave to return. I have said to him you are instructed to give it when asked for. When he concludes the treaty

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under discussion, I expect he will bring it home & Mr Clay ought to be there to take charge of our affairs.

AD, DNA-RG 59 (M179-75). AJ encloesd his March 21 letter to James Buchanan (above). Livingston wrote John R. Clay on March 25 that AJ wished him to depart for St. Petersburg as early in April as possible. Clay sailed for London on April 10. He carried an April 5 letter of recall for Buchanan and instructions from Livingston giving him leave to return once he had either concluded a maritime treaty or determined that it could not be done (DNA-RG 59, M77-136). Clay reached St. Petersburg on May 18.

From Michael C. McNamara

Fort Wood Lua. March 21st. 1832

Excellent Sir,

I beg leave to humbley pray your paternal goodness To pardon me the liberty of adressing your Excellency From a knowledge of your private Virtues, & public Desire to make all members of this great nation happy— I take the presumtious liberty praying to be transfered from This post to Head quarters, of this reget. U.S 2nd. Aty My motive for troubling your excellansey is as follows I have entered the service with the ardent desire of doing my Duty as a Exemplery & orderly soldier &c.

I have not been in the service three months yet and Am sorry to state that I have been knocked down And wantonly maltreated by Lt. Wells, 1st. Lt. of This company, without the least provacation. Which can be testifyed by Lt. Wilkinson & several of the company that seen it, this unwaranted Agression together with confining in a dungin for the most trevial mistake in the delivery of a report to Lt. Wells whose orderly was, took place in the Absence of Captn. & Brevt. Major Zantzinger my commanding officer who is An excellent commanding officer that makes it his peculur Studey to render the men happy & comfortable—and all they other officers Lieuts. Wilkinson & Chase & Doctr. Dalton are Amable & Gentlemaney officers.¹

Lieut. Wilkinson is a young Gentleman calculated to do Honr. to his Countery & the service. I am Informed by they few Men that have not deserted within those three years, that There has upards of 200 men deserted this post within this Three years, principaly through Lt. Wells ill treatment to The company, within those two months there has a dozen left Here. I woulod also beg leave to Inform your Excellency that no forighner gets any promotion here let Their capacity be the best & deportment the most orderly saving the Dutch—& the brave Generous Irish nothing but the most uncivilized treatment, Ignorance Does much & prejudice more— &c. It is well known To your Excellancy’s heart, that agressive oppression destroys all the Emelous ardor of an Honourable Soldier. I have many friends In Nashville Franklin & Columbia that Would Interest them selves in my favour with your Excellency. I know your noble & Generous
Devotion to Justice fills me with Assurance, I beg leave to subscribe myself your Excellencye Truly Devoted Soldier & Servant &c

Michl. C. Mc.Namara

[Endorsed by AJ:] This, may induce enquiry as to the situation of the Post—but coming from a soldier, cannot be the ground for accusation against the officer complained off. Still the inspecting officer might be chargd with enquiry as to the desertions, & the cause thereof. Therefore it is refered to the Secretary of War A. J.

ALS, DNA-RG 108 (19-1521; M1635-3). McNamara (b. c1798), born in England, had enlisted at New Orleans on December 28, 1832. He misdated the letter 1832.

1. Capt. and Brevet Maj. Richard Augustus Zantzinger (1792–1842), Lieut. William Wells (c1795–1851), and Brevet 2d Lieut. Theophilus F. J. Wilkinson (c1811–1840) were officers of the 2d Artillery stationed at Fort Wood in Louisiana. George Edmund Chase (c1804–1844) was a 2d lieut. in the 3d Artillery and Samuel Washington Dalton (1799–1868) was an assistant surgeon.

From Joel Roberts Poinsett

(private)

Charleston
21 March 1833

My dear Sir

I had the pleasure yesterday to receive your letter of the 6th. March by the hands of Col. Drayton, who arrived here in tolerable health.

I congratulate you and the nation on returning tranquillity, and I may be allowed to express to you the gratitude I feel for the wisdom and decision of your counsels on this trying occasion. The tariff bill is certainly not exactly what we could have wished, nor such as we might have obtained at the next session of Congress; but it has served as a pretext to the nullifiers to assume a pacific attitude and we are satisfied. I did not write to you during the sitting of the Convention at Columbia because Mr. McCrady was instructed to write daily to Mr. McLane and give you an exact and detailed account of the proceedings of that body. He may not have informed you of what I have since learnt. The movement party are not satisfied with the decision of the Convention. J. L. Wilson once Governor of the state, Turnbull and others of the same character were anxious to go on, and continue the agitation in the state. The Leaders were compelled to yield in some measure to this disposition, or they would have lost all influence over their party. The silly ordinance with which they closed their labours is the fruit of that compromise. The proposal to pass a test oath was abandoned, and the Union party is not called upon to resist any new act of tyranny. I told them, that they might make any declarations of their political faith
they thought proper, assert any abstract rights they pleased, and so long as they did no more and did not attempt to carry them out into practice, we should remain quiet. I think it now important to remain quite tranquil, for there are so many causes of discord among them, that they will break into pieces as soon as opposition is removed. Our action now must be directed to the States around us. There is a party in all these states in favour of Mr. Calhoun and his heretical doctrines, and this faction will every where be increased by Mr. Clay's personal adherents, for the nullifiers, who will soon assume some more popular title, have broke ground already in this state in favor of Mr. Clay. Mischief is ever a most active principle and must be counteracted with activity. I am disposed to form a party in all the states for the preservation of the Union against all such combinations—a party which may be called in to the aid of the friends of the Union in any state where the Monster Disunion may show his head, whether in the form of nullification or in any other hideous shape. If we had been so succoured in the first instance all this trouble would have been spared and the disgrace of the state avoided. The objection which is made to this proposal by some of my friends here, that there will not be enough of opposition to it to make such a party efficient, has no weight with me. If the object were to exalt any individual the objection would be valid; but as the only object would be to aid the union party in maintaining the union in any state, where it may be endangered and to sustain the measures of the administration to promote the same object without any regard to party politics I cannot think opposition necessary to its existence.

I read with great interest the advice you give as to course we ought to have adopted. It should have been followed implicitly, except the general attendance of our members in the nullifying convention, had the conduct of the Nullifiers justified resistance to their enactments. We will now exert ourselves to heal the wounds, which their rashness has inflicted upon this community, and spare no pains to wrest the power from the hands of men, who have so wantonly abused the trust confided to them by the people.

As I have kept in safe deposit the few arms I drew from the forts I shall be able to restore them all in the condition in which I received them. I watched the course of events vigilantly and altho’ every measure was taken to forward them to their destination if circumstances should render it necessary they were not sent from the city.  

I shall write to you tomorrow on a subject of great interest to the success of our party in this state. I am, dear Sir, respectfully & faithfully your friend & humble servt.

J. R. Poinsett

ALS, DLC (42).

1. Edward McCrady (1802–1892) was a Charleston lawyer. John Lyde Wilson (1784–1849), governor of South Carolina from 1822 to 1824, and Robert J. Turnbull had been delegates to the nullification convention.
To Joseph Inslee Anderson

March 22nd. 1833—

The President with his respects to judge Anderson (1rst. comptroller) encloses him a note of complaint from Mrs. Stras, against one of your clerks, Mr Vansant, that you may have a private interview with him, and induce him to pay the small debt, as proposed—better to give it than have the mortification, of a contention about it—other papers, letters from gentlement of good standing & connected, have been shewn me—therefore it is that knowing your friendship for Mr Vansant, have I taken this delicate & confidntial method of bringing it to his view thro you. Let me see you tomorrow, when you will please return the enclosed papers, with any answer Mr V. may think proper to make

AN, DNA-RG 217 (22-0851). Anderson (1757–1837), a former territorial judge and U.S. senator from Tennessee, had been first comptroller of the Treasury since 1815. Nicholas Biddle Van Zandt (1780–1863), whom AJ had appointed a District of Columbia justice of the peace in 1830, was a clerk in Anderson's office.

From John Henry Eaton

Private

Washington. 23. March 33

Dear Genl

Major Barry & myself called to see Mr McLane, in the hope of procuring for Col. Biddle the examination of Western land offices, until it should be in your power to do something for him. McLane observed he could not now act upon the subject. I have said so, to Col Biddle to day. He seems greatly hurt; & indeed mortified & disappointed. The cause is, & I mention (it to you in confidence) that his pecuniary condition is to him quite an unpleasant one. He seems to be greatly hurt with you, & complains exceedingly of hopes deferred; & of expectations entertained, not to be realised. His feelings are quite acute; & indeed severe; and it is thence, that I take the liberty of thus privately naming it to you, that you may be ready for the subject, when he shall bring the matter to your consideration, as he no doubt will do. If it be at all possible, do I pray you do something for him. Biddle is a worthy man, & is suffering exceedingly at his disappointment[.] yrs

J H Eaton
Genl. Alex Hunter of Alexa. desired me to mention to you that if Mr Elgar (as rumor says) is to be removed, he would be greatly obliged to you for the place. I need not say, because you know, that Genl Hunter is an old & long tried friend of yours,—an honest—honorable, & capable man. No man is more esteemed by those who know him.¹ Very truly yrs

J. H Eaton

[Endorsed by AJ:] Major Eaton—on the subject of Mr Biddle private

ALS, DLC (42). On May 15, Louis McLane appointed Charles Biddle to examine the books at the land offices in Alabama and Florida for $6 per day plus travel expenses (DNA-RG 49, M25-28).

¹ Alexander Hunter (1791–1849) had fought as a District of Columbia militia officer in the War of 1812 and was later a justice of the peace in Alexandria. AJ appointed him marshal for the District in March 1834. Joseph Elgar (c1773–1854) was commissioner of public buildings in Washington. AJ removed him in January 1834.

To Hugh Lawson White

[Printed here are two drafts in order of composition. White (1773–1840) was a U.S. senator from Tennessee. He replied on April 11 (below).]

Washington March 24th 1833—

My Dr. Sir.

There can exist no doubt now in the mind of any one who takes an impartial view of the passing scenes, of the combination bargain between Calhoun & Clay, in combination with their object, by the influence of the U.S. Bank, and by its corrupting influence to which they have bargained to have it rechartered, and which by its corrupting influence to carry into effect their splendid scheme of internal improvements which was once, & still are their secrete hobby, and by the large surpluss of the revenue which must ariseng from Mr Clays, late tariff, and by these large deposits to will enabled it the Bank to survive its present depressed state, and wield by this large surplus its corruption influence over the legislation & destinies of this union.

The late proceedings in congress on the subject of the Bank, declaring, without hearing the report of the minority read, which exposes it mismanagement—its violation of its charter, by buying in the 3 prcents, and the misrule of its direction, by prohibiting the Government directors from having any share in the direction, or knowlege of its situation give us full evidence of its superiority over the government by its influence over Congress. we have been trying to obtain some information of its real situation and solvancy, but in vain—an exposure of its real situation would
shew, that many members of congress who voted in favour of its stability & solvency were at the time lying protested at Bank, that the Press of gales & Seaton is the property of the U. States, & altho insolvant, and largely indebted to the Bank, he had been permitted to overcheck to the amount of 10,000# that Greens establishment is morgaged to the Bank, & the situation of many of the debtors, insolvant, as are all the members whose notes have been protested. The influence of the B. united to the influence of Calhoun & Clay elected those men printers to Congress to continue their abuse of the executive & weaken his influence & with a positive pledge that they will use all influence to recharter this hydra of corruption.¹ Clays land bill enters into this bargain, & is intended to buy up the States, & aid by this influence in rechartering the Bank, by a vote of ²⁄₃. Here is the picture then as to the remedy. I see and will meet the crisis fearlessly, but in meeting it, care must be taken, that we weaken, not strengthen its power or its friends.

The question then is, ?can the fiscal concerns of the government be carried on, thro the agency of the State banks, if it can, which I religiously believe, what would be the best System for our deposits with the State banks, and whether, as to the time, would it not be best to commence before the next meeting of congress, communicating the reasons for the change. These, from the facts made known from the testimony reported by the committee, can be set forth in an imposing & stricking point of view.

If the distribution & deposits cannot be safely transacted thro the State Banks, the question arises, what kind of national Bank ought to be chartered—some place of deposit, and system of distribution being necessary.

The present Bank under no circumstances can meet my approval—and your candid answer is requested to this letter and at as early a day as possible—as I must take some stand & make some communication to our next Congress. By taking the deposits from it the present Bank becomes harmless to the Government—and the feeders of this corrupting monster will cease to legislate, to create a surplus, to strengthen the State banks, who they cannot wield to corrupt congress.


AL draft, DLC (42).

¹ Both National Intelligencer editors Gales and Seaton and United States' Telegraph editor Duff Green were indebted to the BUS. Biddle had defended the loans as business transactions, made on good security and without political motive (HRRep 460, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 109–10, Serial 227). In 1826 Gales and Seaton had executed a deed of trust for their printing establishment as security for their debts to the BUS. In 1829, when they lost the congressional printing and fell behind on loan payments, the trustee sold the property to the BUS. On March 5, 1833, the BUS loaned Gales and Seaton $10,500 on the security of their pending House printing revenues (SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 314–19, Serial 267). The charge that the 1829 transaction had made the BUS the outright owner of their entire
establishment, including land and buildings, was detailed to AJ by Reuben M. Whitney on April 3 (DLC-42) and published in the Globe on July 26.

(Private) (Copy)

Washington, March 24, 1833.—

My Dear Sir,

The time in which we live and have to act is fraught with consequences—good or evil—of the most serious import to the future destiny of our country. It, therefore, becomes the duty of every patriot to look well and constantly to passing events, and to acquire all the additional lights he can on the important affairs connected with the government.

Strong and confident hopes by the friends of the Country were entertained that it would be permitted to enjoy at least some repose upon the overthrow of the principle of Nullification. But before nullification had received its death blow, a new combination, between Clay and Calhoun, is discovered by those who view with impartiality the passing events, and their whole conduct since has only served to give confirmation of its existence. Their object plainly is self aggrandizement, which they expect to attain by the corrupting influence of the Bank of the U.S., the anticipated effect of Mr. Clay's land project on the old states, and various other schemes which I will not now detain you by mentioning. I am very strongly impressed with the opinion, if not confident in it, that one object, in so arranging the Tariff Bill as that it should produce a large surplus, was to enable, thereby, the Bank to survive its present depressed condition. These men are bound, I have no doubt, to have it rechartered and all their efforts will be directed to that end—having however other purposes.

When we look into the late proceedings of Congress on this subject, and see that they have declared the government deposits safe (—without even hearing read the report of the minority, which exposes its mismanagement by buying up the 3 pr. Cents, by prohibiting the Government directors from having any share in the direction of many of its most important transactions, and other things which you will find in it—) we have evidence of the power of this institution over the government so strong as naturally to excite some important and deep reflections on the Subject.

We have been endeavouring, as you know, to obtain information of its real situation and solvency, but in vain. I have no doubt an exposure of its true condition would discover that it was not competent to meet its engagements if required thereto, that many members of Congress who voted it to be solvent were, at the time, time lying under protest, that the press of Gales and Seaton is the property of the Bank and, although insolvent and then largely indebted to the Bank, he (G) was permitted to overdraw $10,000, that Green also is bound, as fast as he can be, to the Bank. In the election of these men a discerning man may perceive much. They are to continue their abuse of the administration and use all their
influence in favour of the Bank, &c. Their abuse &c. you know I scorn. but it will have some effect upon the people, being printers to congress.\textsuperscript{1}

It is important to meet the crisis fearlessly, but, in doing so, care must be observed that we do not strengthen, instead of weaken, the corrupting influence against which we contend.

Having confidence in the general correctness of your opinions, and the subject of the Bank now under consideration and desireing all the light possible, I have determined to address you a few enquiries which I hope you will answer as soon as practicable.

Can the fiscal concerns of the government be carried on through the Agency of State Banks? If they can, as I believe, what then would be the best system to adopt in respect to our deposits with state Banks, and would it not be best to commence the plan before the meeting of next Congress and communicate the reasons of the change?

If the fiscal operations of government would suffer by a connection with state Banks then what character of National Bank ought to be established?

The present Bank, under no circumstances, can meet my approbation. nor any that will connect the Govt. with it, by being interested in its stock\textsuperscript{2}

Nothing of interest has occurred since you left here. Please do me the favour to present my kind respects to Mrs White and the family.\textsuperscript{3} As heretofore yr. friend

Signed—Andrew Jackson

LS draft with AJ insertions, DLC (42).

\textsuperscript{1} This sentence is an insertion in AJ's hand.
\textsuperscript{2} This sentence is an insertion in AJ's hand.
\textsuperscript{3} White had married his second wife, Ann E. Peyton White (c1777–1847), in November 1832.

\textbf{From John Coffee}

\textit{Coxes Creek near Florence}

\textit{Monday 25th. March 1833—}

\textbf{Dear Genl.}

\textbf{I reached home on friday the 22nd. Inst. with my daughter Mary— we parted with Col. & Mrs. Polk & Mary Mc.Lemore at the mouth of Cumberland, they ascended that river to Nashville, and we went to the mouth of Ten, and ascended that to Florence\textsuperscript{1} all well accept myself I wrote you from Pittsburgh which I suppose you recd. informing you of my bad health there—by copious bleeding there, and again at Wheeling, and some medicine I was relieved from pain and all other difficulty except extreme debility and reach home without any difficulty. I have consulted with our Physians here, and they are of opinion that the disease is not yet

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fixed to any precise point, that the Chest is in the general diseased, and if permitted to run, would finally rest on some particular part, such as dropsey of the Chest, Asthma, or perhaps settle on the lungs—but they are also of opinion, that there will be no difficulty in relieving me in a few weeks, and have commenced with a course of treatment, which I hope will result in producing a cure—the only difficulty I labour under is extreme debility and shortness or difficulty of breathing, when I take the least exercise. I now sit, and lye down with ease, but if I walk 50 yards I am all in a palpation—excitement of pulse &c. I hope in a few days to be able to write you that I am getting well.

I hope very shortly to hear from you and learn that Mrs. Sarah Jackson has recovered her health, we all left her with regret, and the girls are very anxious to hear from her.

I found my family well, although Mrs. Coffee had been much afflicted during the winter with a bad cold and cough, but had entirely recovered her health before I reached home.

I am delighted to find our people here united in their approval of your course towards the nullifiers—many of [your] former opposers have turned to you [&] say they will in future support you. Mc.Kinley is a candidate for Congress, and goes the whole in your support. I expect he will be elected, our district does not include Madison County & Clays district. I have not seen Mc.Kinley as he is from home.

Polley and our little ones all unite and love to you & the family—dear Genl. yours

Jno. Coffee

[Endorsed by AJ:] answered 9th of april 1833. recd on 6th.—A. J.

ALS, DLC (42). AJ replied on April 9 (below).

1. James Knox Polk (1795–1849), later U.S. president, was a Tennessee congressman. His wife was Sarah Childress Polk (1803–1891).

2. Reapportionment after the 1830 census gave Alabama two new congressional seats. In August 1833, John McKinley (1780–1852), a Jackson ally and former U.S. senator, won election to the upcoming Twenty-third Congress from a new district that included Florence. Incumbent Clement Comer Clay (1789–1866) of Huntsville was reelected in Coffee’s redrawn former district.

March 26th 1833

From William Donelson

March 26th 1833

Dear Uncle

I received yours of March 6th and the letters to John as I was leaving home to survey a piece of land, that I had sold on Stoners River. I was absent two days, when I returned, John was at my house as good luck would have it, he will inform you by this male his intention’s—owing to
the indisposition of Uncle Leven who has been living with me a few days, I
have been hindered from writing you earlier, as well as sending a letter to
A. J D previously written, the old man is dangerously unwell, the disease,
supposed to be Dropsey of the chest, he seems to be firmly impressed with
the belief that he will not get over the attack, so much so, that he has con-
sent ed to live with his relations till he gets better or dies, you may know
that he deems himself in danger, when I inform you that he has made his
will, a thing that I never expected he would do, he has divided it equally
between John and Samuel, without any reservations.

Holtzlaw has your farm in considerable forwardness for the reception
of the crop notwithstanding the unfavorable season, for plowing and cleaning up
but this is a small matter when compared to your losses, whether they are
owing to negligence or inhumanity I am not able to say, but fear it can
Justly be imputed to both, at least the death of Anica and Titus seems to
Justify this opinion. the first was taken at A J D’s farm where they were
sent to pick cotton on the shares, and was caught in a shower of rain in
the field, and was immediately taken sick and remained at Andrew’s farm
the ballance of the day and that night, till some time next day very sick,
when she was taken home, by whose direction I have not ascertained, and in
three or four days after died. Titus died in three or four days after he was
taken, I have understood that on the day that he died, (which was Sunday)
that Holtzclaw rode by McCorkles in Wilson Co called at the Doctor’s and
requested him to go and see Titus, adding at the same time that he did not
believe much was the matter with him, McCorkle got there and found him
dying—for correct information I refer you to McCorkle.

The final settlement of the great questions that agitated and disturbed
the tranquility of the nation I would suppose will give you more leisure
than you have yet enjoyed if so I advise you seriously to spend the sum-
mer at home, you can then see and judge for yourself. The balance of the
family are well. Elizabeth desires to be affectionately remembered to you
and family. I Remain Sincerely Your Friend

William Donelson

[Endorsed by AJ:] answered 8th. of April 1833. Recd same day A. J.

ALS, DLC (42). AJ wrote AJ Jr. on receipt of this letter on April 8 (below).

1. Leven Donelson (1776–1833) was an unmarried brother of Rachel Jackson. John
Donelson (1807–1879) and Samuel Rucker Donelson (1810–1851) were his nephews, sons
of Severn Donelson and AJ Jr.’s brothers by birth.

2. The slave Titus (c1789–1833) had been purchased for AJ in Portsmouth, Va., in 1820
for $460. Miles Blythe McCorkle (c1796–1869) was a physician at Lebanon in Wilson
County.
To Cabinet Members

March 31, 1833.

In consequence of the public loss sustained by the burning of the Treasury building and the destruction of some valuable papers, the President has deemed it proper at the request of the Secretary of the Treasury to direct an enquiry to be made into the cause of the disaster. He therefore directs a thorough and careful investigation to be made on the following points.

1. In what manner was the fire occasioned?

2. If accidental how did it happen? Was it from any defect in the original construction of the building? or was it occasioned by carelessness or negligence? and if by carelessness or negligence to whom can either be attributed?

3. Were proper exertions used to preserve the books papers and public property in the building, as well as to save the building itself?

The Attorney General is directed to conduct the enquiry, and the other members of the cabinet to aid in it. The witnesses to be examined on oath and their depositions reduced to writing—and when the investigation is closed, the testimony to be reported to the President together with the opinions of the members of the Cabinet on the points above stated.

The President directs that the Chief Justice of the Circuit Court for the District of Columbia be requested to preside at the investigation and to assist in it.1

Andrew Jackson

DS, DNA-RG 233 (22-0919). Globe, April 15, 1833. HRDoc 22, 23d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 1–2 (Serial 272). The Treasury building, southeast of the White House, caught fire in the early morning of March 31 and was almost completely destroyed. Secretaries Livingston, McLane, Cass, and Taney (Woodbury being out of town) reported the results of their investigation to AJ on April 12. They stated that the fire was discovered around 2:30 a.m. in a second-story room. Its cause was undetermined. Workmen uncovered no defects in construction and the grate fires had been checked and found safe earlier that evening, making negligence unlikely. Fire companies had arrived promptly, but lack of water made saving the building impossible. Government officers and citizens had labored valiantly to save the Treasury books and papers, so that few of importance were lost. McLane submitted an additional report detailing the losses and their effect on Department business (HRDoc 22, 23d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 272).

In 1836 brothers Richard H. White and Henry H. White were indicted for setting the fire, purportedly in order to destroy fraudulent Revolutionary pension documents. They were tried separately in the U.S. Circuit Court for the District of Columbia. Henry was convicted in 1837. Richard was acquitted in 1838 on grounds that the statute of limitations had been outrun.

1. William Cranch (1769–1855) was chief judge of the U.S. Circuit Court for the District of Columbia.
From Roger Brooke Taney
Attorney General’s Office 1833.

Sir,

In obedience to your directions I have the honor to state my opinion upon the different points to which you have called my attention in relation to the Deposite of the public money in the Bank of the United States.

1. The facts before you at the commencement of the late session of Congress were in my judgment sufficient to create strong doubts whether the Bank continued to be a safe depository for the public money, and nothing has since happened to remove that impression. On the contrary it has been strengthened and confirmed by the evidence furnished by the report of the committee of the House of Representatives.

The majority of the committee have indeed drawn a different conclusion from this testimony & their opinion has been sanctioned by the House. But there is nothing in these proceedings sufficiently decisive to govern the conduct of the Executive Branch of the Government in relation to the Deposites. The question whether they ought to be continued or withdrawn appears to me to be still open & yet to be determined. And the Executive having all the facts before it which were elicited by the late and former investigations must now regulate its action on this subject by the dictates of its own judgment.

It is evident upon the face of the report made by the majority of the committee, that their attention was mainly if not exclusively occupied by the enquiry whether the affairs of the Bank were in such a condition as would enable them to meet their pecuniary engagements. The facts stated by them in their report—the evidence they refer to—the arguments they offer & the opinions they express are all directed to this point. And the resolution proposed by them and adopted by the House of Representatives looks entirely to the same object.

It can be demonstrated I think that the inferences drawn from the testimony by the majority of the committee are erroneous & that the report of the minority exhibits a true and faithful picture of the present situation of the Bank. And if more time had been allowed in the House for the examination and comparison of the evidence the resolution proposed by the majority of the committee would probably have been otherwise disposed of. Yet a decision made under any circumstances by the House of Representatives is entitled to respect and cannot be altogether disregarded by the Executive. The investigation in this case was invited by the President in his message. And when the examination has been made accordingly, and an opinion afterwards expressed by the House I admit that their judgment upon the point to which their attention was directed ought to have a strong influence on the conduct of the Executive when acting on the same evidence unless it were manifest that some imposition
or deceit has been practised upon them. If therefore the deposites are to be continued or withdrawn merely on the ground that the Bank is solvent or insolvent in its circumstances & without reference to any other consideration, the vote of the House of Representatives would perhaps of itself be sufficient to induce the Executive to delay its action for the present & await the results of a future enquiry.

But is the Executive required to act in this business without reference to any other consideration? Is the ability of the Bank to meet its engagements the only point of Enquiry? And are the public deposites to be continued or withdrawn solely upon the ground that they are safe or unsafe in that particular? I apprehend the question is by no means such a narrow one. Various other considerations must be regarded & must influence the decision and some of them will be found not less important to the public than that of the solvency or insolvency of the institution.

The corporation was created for the purpose of obtaining a safe and useful agent for the Treasury Department through which the government might more conveniently collect and distribute the revenue according to the exigencies of the public service. The existence of the Bank is justified & defended solely upon the ground that the agency of such an institution is necessary to enable the government to carry on its fiscal operations. It is obvious therefore that to keep the money safely and to secure the public from ultimate loss is but one portion of its duty. It is equally bound to apply the funds entrusted to its care according to the directions of the government and in all other respects to fulfill the obligations contemplated by its charter. The money of the U. States is not directed to be deposited in the Bank for the benefit of the stock holders, but for the safety and convenience of the Government. And when the Executive Department is called upon to decide whether the deposites shall be continued or not the solvency of the institution is but one of the circumstances by which it is required to regulate its judgment. The Bank may be perfectly able to meet its engagements and yet be a very unsuitable agent to be entrusted with the public money. It must not only have the capacity to do its duty. Its fidelity is equally essential.

Suppose for example that important money transactions had been studiously concealed from the public directors, for the purpose of hiding from the government the real condition of the Bank? or

Suppose it to have attempted secretly to thwart the measures of the Government in a matter of public concern where the interests of the corporation came into collision with those of the U. States? In these and in various other cases that might readily be suggested, it would be manifest that the public deposites might be rightfully and lawfully withdrawn & that the government could not be bound to place the money of the U. States in the hands of an agent which had justly forfeited its confidence and shewn itself unworthy of further trust. The 16th. section of the char-
ter gives the power over the deposits to the Secretary of the Treasury in
general terms and the language used proves that it was the intention of
the law to vest the Executive Department with unlimited discretion in this
respect—to be regulated only by the public interest & the conduct of the
institution—and subject only to the revision and control of the Legislature
upon the report to be afterwards made to them.

I come therefore to the conclusion that the capacity of the Bank to
comply with its duties is but one of the considerations which should influ-
ence your decision in relation to the deposits. And if the Corporation
has shown itself in any respect unfaithful to the duties of its agency and
no longer worthy of public confidence, the deposits may be withdrawn
by the Secretary of the Treasury and other agents employed upon whom
more reliance can be placed. And the proceedings in Congress before
referred to, do not by any means render it obligatory to suspend the action
of the Executive until further investigations shall be made or Congress
shall again act on the subject.

2. To the second question I answer that in my opinion the conduct of
the Bank has been such that the Government can no longer rely on it as
the agent for carrying into effect its fiscal arrangements and that the pub-
lic interest requires that other agents should be forthwith provided, and
the public money committed to their care.

I do not deem it necessary to enumerate here all of the charges against
the Bank which appear to me to be sufficiently sustained by the testimony
now before the public. Nor do I propose to enter on a train of argument
to establish the facts which I am about to state and on which I rely to
justify the withdrawal of the deposits. The evidence collected by the dif-
ferent examinations into the affairs of the Bank is already before you and
you will judge whether it warrants the conclusions I draw from it. The
corporation appears to me to have been guilty of gross and palpable viola-
tions of duty to the public in matters sufficiently important to justify the
Executive in withdrawing from them its confidence & placing the money
of the U. States in the hands of agents more worthy of the trust.

1. When the Government proposed to pay off about six millions of
the national debt on the first of July 1832, it was found that although
the Bank had then nine millions of the public money in its hands, it had
traded so extensively and profusely upon it for its own benefit and to
answer its own objects that the government was compelled to postpone
the payment for three months longer than it originally contemplated.

I am aware that in this instance the Bank professed to be ready to meet
the call and asked for the delay on the ground of the embarrassment &
ruin it might produce to the mercantile community. But I do not perceive
that the reason suggested by the Bank alters the case—or lessens the force
of the charge against it. Why would the payment of this sum of money by
the Bank in discharge of the national debt bring distress on the mercantile
community? It was because the Bank had been trading for its own benefit on the public money to the full amount of the deposits as if they had been a part of its own capital—and it would have been obliged to curtail its business. “abridge the facilities” it had been in the habit of affording in order to meet the call of the public or in other words to curtail its business. Is it within the legitimate scope of its agency thus to use the public money for its own benefit? I admit that the Bank may to a certain extent rely on the government deposits as well as others to meet its engagements in the ordinary transactions of business—and may trade more largely for its own advantage on the faith of these deposits. But this right has its limits—and must be regulated by the principles of justice and a due regard to the interest of the public. The money they receive from the government is the money of the people. It is in the hands of the corporation as one of the agents of the people to be used for the public benefit. It is held by the corporation as a trustee for the real owners. And its duty requires it to be always ready to pay when payment shall be required at its hands. It is a gross abuse of its agency and trust, so to employ the money of its principal that it cannot be repaid when called for, without inflicting distress on a large proportion of the very people to whom the property belongs & for whose general benefit it was committed to the hands of the Bank. No agent of the Government whether a corporation or an individual can thus be permitted to deal with the public money for their own benefit. If they can be allowed to use it at all without a violation of duty, it must be so sparingly that it can be repaid at any time without producing public inconvenience. There is in truth no warrant in the charter authorizing the Bank to trade for its own benefit on the public money. The deposite is not a loan to the Bank. They pay no interest and give no consideration for it. It is placed there for safe keeping and to await the wants of the Government. And nothing can justify any use of it by the selected agent and trustee of the public which will subject the government or the community to injury or inconvenience.

2. The sudden and enormous increase of the loans of the Bank in 1831, is immediately connected with the subject just mentioned, and shews that the unjustifiable overtrading which occasioned the difficulty in meeting the calls of the Government in July was occasioned by motives still more reprehensible than even the love of private gain.

At the session of Congress which commenced in 1831 the corporation petitioned for a renewal of its charter. And the reason assigned for the application was that unless the renewal was probable, it would be necessary for the corporation to proceed at once to wind up its concerns in order to avoid the general distress and ruin which a sudden attempt to call in its immense loans would unavoidably produce.

The reason given by the Bank was true or it was not true. If the reason assigned by the corporation for its application at that time was not the true one and if it sought to obtain from Congress at that time a further
extension of the period of its agency by false representations & state-
ments, then the attempt of a public agent to mislead & deceive its prin-
cipal, is of itself sufficient to forfeit all title to confidence, and would make
it proper for the government to dismiss it at once from its employment.

But if the reason given was the true one how can the immense increase
of its loans in the year 1831 and immediately preceding its application be
accounted for? In that one year its loans were increased more than twenty
millions of dollars, being a sudden and unprecedented increase of fifty pr.
cent. on its previous accommodations. The corporation was perfectly
aware it seems that the renewal of their charter was at least doubtful &
therefore made this early application. It was equally aware as it stated of
the necessity of beginning at once to wind up its concerns in order to save
the community from the distress and injury which a sudden pressure at the
close of its charter for the whole amount of its vast loans would unavoid-
ably produce. And they could not fail to understand that the hasty and
immense increase of its loans would greatly enhance the evil which by their
application to Congress they professed to be so anxious to avoid. What
then induced the corporation to adopt a measure which according to their
own shewing was likely to be injurious to themselves & greatly distress-
ing to the community? Can any impartial and unprejudiced mind doubt
the motive? Was it not to enable the Bank to obtain a position by which
it could exercise a controlling influence over the action of the government
in relation to its charter? Was it not to compel the people—to continue its
monopoly and privileges—not on account of the benefits conferred by it—but
to escape from the suffering which the corporation had the power to
inflict? And if the loans made in the year 1831 immediately preceding the
application to Congress could find any reasonable justification what can be
said in defence of the additional seven millions of dollars which the Bank
showered upon the people between the first of January & the first of June
1832 while the application for a renewal of its charter was actually pending
before Congress?—and pressed too upon the Legislature on the ground that
a decision was necessary at that time to enable the corporation to prepare
for winding up its affairs if their application should prove unsuccessful?

In a case where such great interests are at stake we are not permitted
to shut our eyes against the light of evidence—or to fancy that a good or
innocent motive may have existed for an action where no such probable
one can be assigned. Charity itself cannot suggest a justifiable inducement
for this flood of Bank accommodation suddenly poured out upon the
people at the very time when the corporation itself admits that it felt the
necessity of looking to the approaching termination of its existence and of
preparing gradually to close its vast and wide spread concerns. And when
the heat and passions of the time shall have passed away & the prejudices
which warm party contests never fail to engender, shall be dissipated I am
convinced that many of those who at this day advocate the Bank and vin-
dicate its conduct will be ready to acknowledge the delusions under which
they are now acting. A fiscal agent which has thus endeavored to fasten itself upon the body politic, & to perpetuate its monopoly and exclusive privileges by the lash of its power is no longer worthy of the confidence or employment of the government.

3. Independently of the two considerations before mentioned the conduct of the Bank in relation to the 3 pr. ct. stocks of the U. States is of itself a sufficient reason for refusing further to confide in it as the fiscal agent of the government.

The deep interest which the people of the U. States have in the prudent and upright administration of the affairs of the Bank, both as stockholders and depositers made it necessary that the government should be regularly advised of all of its important operations. And for this purpose the right of appointing five directors is secured to the U. States by the charter and statements of the affairs of the corporation are required to be furnished to the Secretary of the Treasury. And any attempt of the private stockholders in the Bank or of their agents to conceal its transactions from the government is a direct violation of duty and renders the corporation unfit to be further trusted with the public money. Has this part of its duty been performed by the Bank? Has it frankly made known to the Government the course and condition of its business—or has it endeavored to conceal any of its important pecuniary transactions? The conduct of the officers of the Bank in relation to the three per cents is too well understood to need comment. One of its greatest money operations, in which the interests of the public were deeply and closely concerned, was carefully and industriously concealed from the officers of the Government and the public interests seriously and injuriously committed by the agents of the Corporation, before the transaction came to the knowledge of the government. Nor is this the only instance in which the Bank has endeavored to hide its proceedings from the eyes of the officers of the U. States. It is abundantly proved that its business has been so arranged by the agency of committees & the powers vested in particular officers of the corporation, that it habitually and systematically deprives this government of that knowledge of its affairs which the charter intended to secure; and which was supposed by the legislature to be necessary for the safety of the public interests which it directed to be placed in the care of the Bank. The government has been left to find out as well as it can by direct and rigorous scrutiny many of the most objectionable proceedings of the Bank corporation and its officers. Is the agent worthy of further confidence when so much it is ascertained that pains are taken to conceal his contracts & proceedings from his principal? In the case of individuals would any prudent man place his funds in the hands of such an agent? The regular and systematized arrangements which have been made to hide its proceedings from the government are not only indicative of unfairness & misconduct, but at the same time deprives the government of that supervision and knowledge of the concerns of the insti-
tution which the charter intended to secure and which was given for the protection of the public property placed in the hands of the Corporation.

4. There is another reason still more cogent to my mind than those I have already stated for withdrawing the Deposites. There is abundant evidence to shew that the money of the corporation has been employed to influence the press & to enlist newspapers in their service. The attempt of a great monied institution like the Bank of the U. States to exercise an influence over the press of the country by the mere power of money, is pregnant with so much evil that it cannot be too severely and pointedly reprobated. And to continue towards it the confidence of the government after the proofs which have been exhibited on this head would be giving the sanction of public approval to its conduct. It is due to the government and to the purity of our institutions, to mark it with the strongest tokens of disapprobation. And the withdrawal of the Deposites & the refusal to employ it as the Agent of the public, would be nothing more than a proper rebuke for the unjustifiable means it has used to obtain influence & power over public opinion.

Waving therefore various other considerations which are calculated to strengthen the opinion I have formed on this point, and which are clearly and forcibly put forward in the report of the minority of the committee I respectfully advise that the deposites be not continued in the Bank of the U. States but that other agents be employed upon whose conduct towards the public more reliance may justly be placed.

3. Upon the third point which you have proposed for consideration, the principles already stated will shew the opinion I have formed. I think the renewal of the present charter ought not to be assented to under any circumstances or with any modifications.

The abuses of its power to which I have already referred furnish abundant reasons for refusing to continue the charter to the present Bank even if the constitutional objections stated in the veto message could be surmounted. And if it could be demonstrated that a Bank chartered by the U. States was authorized by the constitution and essentially necessary for the purposes of the General Government, I should still think that the charter to the present corporation ought in no event whatever and under no circumstances to be continued. There is evidence enough to satisfy any unprejudiced mind that it has profusely lavished its money to obtain political power. It was openly in the field as a political party, partisan at the last election of President, using the vast power which it feels that it possesses in order to influence the decision of the people. Such abuses of the privileges and franchises conferred upon it not only deprive it of all claim to public favor, but make it a fit subject for some striking mark of public reprobation.

4. On the fourth question the result of my reflections may be stated in a few words. I think the reason suggested by you on this point is entirely
conclusive. A Bank of the U. States cannot be justified under the constitution if the fiscal operations of the government can be carried on with safety and convenience without it. And a full and fair experiment ought to be made before the General Government can be warranted in assuming that a Bank chartered by the U. States is a necessary and indispensable agent of the Treasury. The history of the financial concerns of this Government by no means proves the necessity of such a Bank.

Indeed the necessity must be very apparent that would reconcile me to the establishment of a Bank of the U. States with the power of branching in the different states under any limitations. The experience we have had with the present Bank shews very clearly the dangers to be apprehended from monied monopolies with a large capital. And however its privileges might be restricted in the first instance or wherever the mother Bank might be located, yet its capital would unavoidably be a large one and its power proportionably great. It would be the point on which the monied aristocracy would concentrate their power, and the instrument by which they would exercise a combined & corrupting influence in the government. And if a Bank of that description should be engrafted on our institutions & be considered as a settled & permanent establishment to be renewed by charter from time to time it would be constantly and silently seeking to advance its own interests & to remove restrictions which it found to be inconvenient or troublesome. The history of the present bank and the dangerous and formidable political power it now possesses will shew us what may be apprehended by a monied institution of large capital without a rival—which feels that money gives it power—and that power will bring it money.

5. The remaining enquiry is what system ought to be adopted for the deposite & distribution of the revenue?

The one you have proposed appears to me to be the best—and I think on experiment will be found to be quite as safe and convenient as the Bank of the U. States without being attended with any of the evils and dangers which must always arise out of an institution of that description. The state Banks judiciously selected and arranged will I have no doubt be able to perform all the duties of fiscal agents & to furnish a general currency as wholesome & stable as that of the U. States Bank.

I forbear to present at this time a detailed plan on this subject—because before such a scheme could be finally arranged the points where depositories are needed by the Treasury and disbursements are likely to be made must be carefully estimated so that the State Banks which are selected as agents may be prepared to meet the calls of the government. But I am convinced that there will be no difficulty in perfecting the plan as soon as the necessary information is obtained—and that the pledge of the Government to receive in payment of its dues every where the notes of certain designated Banks, would afford to the community a currency as sound & healthy and as little liable to fluctuation in amount and value as that now provided by the Bank of the U. States.
Upon the whole I respectfully advise that measures be taken to select and designate the State Banks who are to be employed as agents for the Treasury—and to make the proper arrangements with them. And that as soon as this is done, further deposits in the Bank of the U. States be discontinued & the reasons which lead to this decision be reported to Congress according to the directions of the charter.

I do not conceal from myself the fierce & desperate struggle which the Bank will make to maintain its monopoly and procure a restoration of the deposits. Nor am I insensible of its power. But I sincerely believe that the purity of our institutions & the best interests of the country call for prompt firm & decisive measures on the part of the Executive—and I rely for support on the intelligence & patriotism of the people. & I am Sir with the highest respect yr. obt. st.

R. B. Taney


LS, DLC (42).

1. Biddle's March 29, 1832, letter to McLane proposing to defer payment of the three per cents said that a July 1 redemption “would operate injuriously on the community, and by abridging the facilities which the debtors of the Government are in the habit of receiving from the bank, may endanger the punctual payment of the revenue” (HRDoc 9, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 2–3, Serial 233).

2. The Bank's memorial for renewal had been introduced in both House and Senate on January 9, 1832. It argued that a favorable decision would “relieve the country” of uncertainty regarding the future, while an unfavorable one would make it “still more important that the country should begin early to prepare for the expected change,” giving the Bank “as much time as possible” to wind up its affairs and direct its business elsewhere “by gradual and gentle movements” to avoid commercial disruption (Register of Debates, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 53–54).

3. The House Ways and Means minority report showed an increase in aggregate debts to the BUS from $42,402,304 on December 31, 1830, to $63,026,452 on December 31, 1831, “an advance of about 50 per cent. upon its accommodation, in a single year” (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 29, Serial 236).

4. The Ways and Means minority report noted debts to the BUS of $70,428,070 at the end of May 1832, “an increase, in about five months, of more than seven millions” (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 30, Serial 236).

5. The charter authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to require statements from the BUS of its capital stock, outstanding loans, deposits, notes in circulation, and specie as often as once a week, and gave him the right to inspect its books (Statutes, 3:273–74).

Memoranda on the Bank of the United States

[These two entries appear in sequence on the same page of Jackson’s private memorandum book. The second is undated but was likely written before the entry on the next page, which is dated “May 1833.”]
I have reflected upon the subject of the purchase of the ballance of the public debt. It appears to me, now, right under all circumstances, that the secretary of the Treasury should direct all loan officers to transmit all their Books & papers, & close their accounts with the Treasury, and deposit all sums in their hands to the credit of the Treasurer of the United States—and that an agent should be, confidentially selected by the secretary of the Treasury to buy in the outstanding evidences of the public debt. We have full evidence that we cannot confide in the U. States Bank as our agent to transact this business. It is important that the whole debt should be paid this year (1833)—bring this to the recollection of the Secretary of the Treasury A. J.

Shall we run a scire facias against the U. S. Bank, on the Evidence reported by the committee of ways & means or shall we change the Deposits. The scire facias disapproved of by my cabinet and abandoned—

AN, DLC (64; 22-0582; 22-0565).

1. This coda was apparently added later. AJ wrote Roger Taney about this on August 11 (below).

Memorandum on the Bank of the United States

[Jackson probably composed this undated memorandum in the spring of 1833—most likely in March or early April, when he was actively considering proceeding against the Bank by means of a scire facias.]

Charges against the Bank—asserted to be subjects of positive proof from the Books and clerks of the Bank—

1rst. That A. Dickens owed the B. a debt—which has been settled by being charged by the bank to profit & loss—proof, bank books under letter B, and J. Andrew 2nd. assistant cashier of the Bank.¹

2nd. Gales & Seaton within the last two months has been overdrawers to more than $10,000—proof, the Books &c &c &c—

3rd. Barr, has discount of $13,000, J. S. Johnston about $8000 on 31st of october last. J. S. Johnston discounter for $76,000, These with the loans to Daniel, Davis, Poindexter, Carson, and Webster members of congress, all without the knowledge of the board of directors the two first having been first rejected by the Board. The Directors will prove this—refer to them all & particularly to Sulivan.²

4th. Thos. Biddle has overdrawn $22,000 octbr. 32, the Books will prove this—and a discount for $100,000 without a board of directors, & from the affidavit of President Biddle, that no committee meets on
the same day the board are in Session—the Books will prove this trans-
action. When these loans were thus made to the printers, members of
Congress, solvent notes of commercial men of unquestionable solvency,
were rejected & thrown out.3

5th. That the review, written by biddle and corrected by Binney and
Seargeant, as is believed, with reviewing & criticising the Bank veto,
together with Websters speach against the same, were published by the
Bank, paid for and distributed by the Bank, and the postage paid on them
out of the funds of the Bank. note one fifth of these funds belonged to the
Treasury of the U. States, and could not be legally appropriated by the
Bank to such purposes.4

6th. The Board of directors had no knowledge of Genl Calwaleders
mission to england, Therefore, all, and any expences of this mission paid
by the Bank, illegal, and every act of his null & void. If this mission was
by the mere volition of the President, then he must believe that he pos-
sesses all controle over the Bank, & its funds, without the direction of the
Board, and may convert its funds to his own use, or to any other, that his
caprice may choose to indulge in.

7th. Simpsons paper was subscriber for by the mother Bank, and one
for each branch 26 in number, paid for by Bank—5

8th. The Bank bill passed the 2nd day of July 1832—on the 4th. it
was delivered to the President, on the 7th. Daniel, and Davis, arrived
at Philadelphia, in company with President Biddle, & received a loan
on their own indorsments for each other one note for $5000—the other
$2500—both insolvent as is believed & reported. The Bill was returned
on the 10th. with the Presidents objections, and Mr Clay had boasted of
²⁄₃ if the bill was vetoed. Is this not like tampering with the members, as
Daniel had been loud & open against it, but on the 2nd. of july voted for
the Bank, and got the loan on the 7th. of the same month.6

9th. Enquire about the 3 percent stock how much was bought by
Bearing & brothers, how much by Thomas Biddle broker—refer to the
monthly statement of the Bank for the 1rst. of November and compare it
with its return in October and see how much of the Public debt the Bank
reports to have paid on the first of October. May not the object of the
Bank be to become responsible for the interest and withhold the certificates
of the debt from the Treasury—Enquire—7

Questions, ?from all the facts, does it appear that the Bank has by its
acts violated its charter so that it becomes the duty of the President to
order, as per its charter, a scire facias against it—and whether these facts
would justify the secretary of the Treasury to withdraw its deposits.

A. J—

[Endorsed by AJ:] Memorandum of charges against The U. States bank
alias Mr. Biddle President—A. J. with notes for enquiry—A. J.
Through Amos Kendall, AJ queried government directors John T. Sullivan, Peter Wager, and Henry D. Gilpin about the Bank's practices on April 5. They replied to AJ on April 8 (below).

1. John Andrews (1783–1860) was first assistant cashier of the Bank in Philadelphia and may have been AJ's source for information in this memorandum. Asbury Dickins (1780–1861) was chief clerk of the Treasury Department. On November 17, 1832, he had written Biddle for help in quelling stories that he was overdrawn $600 at the Bank, that Andrews had written him about it, and that his debt had finally been written off as profit and loss. Biddle had replied on November 19, confirming that “the miserable gossip . . . is a complete fiction from beginning to end” (Biddle Papers, DLC).

2. Josiah Stoddard Johnston (1784–1833) was a senator from Louisiana. Henry Daniel of Kentucky, Warren Ransom Davis (1793–1835) of South Carolina, and Samuel Price Carson (1798–1838) of North Carolina were congressmen. Letters and lists in Biddle's DLC papers show that all four, plus Webster and Poindexter, had borrowed from the Bank. Philadelphia businessman John T. Sullivan (c1782–1863), now in his second year on the BUS board, was the most senior government director.

3. Philadelphia broker Thomas A. Biddle (1776–1857) was a second cousin to Nicholas Biddle. In 1832 a House investigating committee had inquired into and finally rejected charges that the Bank had afforded him preferential treatment (HRRep 460, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 153–57, 306–8, 433, Serial 227).

4. Review of the Veto, Containing an Examination of the Principles of the President's Message was published anonymously in Philadelphia in 1832. Horace Binney (1780–1875) and John Sergeant (1779–1852) were Bank attorneys in Philadelphia. Daniel Webster had delivered a Senate speech against AJ's veto on July 11, 1832. On August 20 he sent it to Biddle to “correct & amend” (Biddle Papers, DLC). Biddle published it “under my own eye” in September and had it widely circulated (Webster Papers: Speeches and Formal Writings, 1:501–29; Correspondence, 3:189–92). The Review and Webster's speech were among the documents that the government directors on August 19, 1833, reported to AJ had been published and distributed by the Bank under the expense heading of “stationery and printing” (SDoc 2, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 30–31, Serial 238).

5. Philadelphia editor Stephen Simpson (1789–1854) had been an early Jackson supporter. He later broke with the administration and in 1831–32 published the virulently anti-Jackson Pennsylvania Whig.

6. Henry Daniel had spoken against the Bank in the House on March 12, 1832, saying he “was opposed to it, not on specific charges, but on its general character,” and that he “should vote against the bank, unless he was instructed to the contrary by his constituents” (Register of Debates, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 2100). On July 3 he voted for the recharter bill. On January 9, 1833, Biddle wrote Warren Davis, chiding him and Daniel for nonpayment of their co-signed notes for $5,000 and $1,500 on their January 8 due date. On March 31, Daniel asked Biddle to state in writing that he had not borrowed $7,000 from the Bank, a “false” charge that Daniel intended to deny “without any further explanation,” as the actual loan was only $6,500 (Biddle Papers, DLC). In Senate debate on July 12, 1832, on overriding AJ's recharter veto, Henry Clay had said that he knew there were enough senators to make a two-thirds majority for the bill, and believed the same was true in the House (Register of Debates, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1265). The Senate vote to override failed the next day, 22 yeas to 19 nays.

7. The Bank's monthly statements had reported redemptions of public debt of $3,079,564.93 on October 1 and $4,747,696.45 on November 1, 1832 (SDoc 6, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 25, 31, Serial 230).
April

To Francis Preston Blair

April 1rst. 1833—

Header A Word for the Union
Sign’d a Voice for the Union

The President with his respects to Mr Blair, Editor of the Globe, requests that he would give a place in the Globe to the pieces, in the Richmond Enquirer, in nos. headed & signed as above. They are, as I am confidential advised, from the pen of one of the first characters in Virginia—one, who is opposed to the absurd doctrines of nullification, & secession—one who may be confided in,—those pieces are well calculated to follow the expose in the Globe of this morning, “of the bloody bill.”¹

¹ An April 1st Globe editorial, headed “The Bloody Bill,” defended the Force Bill and attacked the exaggerations of its critics.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington 2nd. of April 1833—

My son,

A few hours after Mr. George Breathit left me this morning I received your kind and affectionate letter, of the 30 ultimo giving the pleasing intelligence of your safe arrival, and the improved health of Sarah, & the dear little Rachel.

I should have wrote you by Mr. Breathitt, but having wrote you the day before giving the news of the Colera having reached the Hermitage, destroyed Titus & Anna’s child¹ I had nothing to communicate, excepting the burning of the Treasury House, the particulars of which will be related
to you, by Mr Breathitt—as the investigation progresses, it becomes more apparent that it could not have proceeded from accident, but must have been the act of an incendiary. But what limb of Nullification has done the wicked deed, has not as yet been discovered, and perhaps never may.

Doctor Breathitt of Franklin is with his Brother George, I wish you to pay some attention to him, as well as Mr Weatherall. Let him see Sarah & my dear little Rachel, & if convenient I would like to hear that George & the Doctor had dined with you at Mr Weatherells.

To day my health has been better than it has been for some time, & I trust in a kind providence that it may continue to improve. I am very lonesome since you left us, and will rejoice to see you & Sarah with the little pet, safe here again. I am anxious about Sarah’s health, and have sent on by Mr Breathitt an introductory letter for you & him to Doctor Physic whose advice on her situation I am very desirous should be had—his skill and experience, if any thing is wrong, will, by taking it in time, perfectly restore her, when if neglected now, may destroy her health in time. Therefore it is, that I wish you, to take Doctor Physics advice in her case—and I pray you not to neglect it.

I shall want, so soon as my funds will permit me to make the purchase, two spring bottom settees & one Dozzen of good chairs, or one Dozzen & a half—before you leave the city, make enquiry what the two settees & the Dozzen & a half of chairs will cost & where they can be had—of good quality—and also to examine for carpenting—view those East India matts or carpeting and see whether These recommended by Mr Toland will answer, better for the passage than oil cloath—and whether Sarah would prefer these to common carpets for the bedrooms. I intend having finished the room next to the garden, & furnished. The paper got for Sarahs room, if yet on hand, will paper that. This room when papered, & furnished, will be a very convenient lodging room, & being on the lower floor, more convenient, than those up stairs.

Give my compliments to Mr & Mrs. Weatherall, to Emma, and Miss Lippincot—to Mr Breathit & the Doctor Toland, & Leiper, & all enquiring friends say to Mr Breathit I will write him soon, when the enquiry about the burning is over. Kiss Sarah & my Dr Little Rachel for me, and with my prayers for your healths & safety, & speedy return, I am affectionately yrs.

Andrew Jackson

It is now 11 oclock—good night—

ALS, DLC (42). Andrew and Sarah had left Washington for Philadelphia.
1. This was presumably Anaca. An 1829 Hermitage inventory gave her mother’s name as Creasy (Jackson Papers, 7:8).
2. Physician Edward Breathitt (1790–1837) of Franklin, Tenn., was George Breathitt’s brother. Samuel M. Wetherill (1801–1840) of Philadelphia was the husband of Sarah Yorke Jackson’s sister, Jane Lockridge (or Loveridge) Yorke Wetherill (1805–1872).
From Levi Woodbury

2d. April. 1833
Navy Deptmt.

By the communication, of which a copy is annexed, the President of the United States having asked my opinion upon sundry points, growing out of “the relation in which the government stands towards the Bank of the United States,” it will be my endeavour, in the remarks now submitted, to comply with his wishes.¹

Where my information concerning facts may enable me to do it, I shall express a decided opinion upon those points and where that information is defective I shall present such hypothetical views as the case appears to justify.

The charter of the present Bank expires on the 3d. of March A.D. 1836: and though by the 21st. section two years after that period is allowed for the collection of its debts—the settlement of its accounts and the sale of its property; yet it is expressly declared not to be allowed “for any other purpose” “whatever.”²

For the purpose of making discounts, receiving deposits, or transacting any business whether for the government or individuals, the Bank must therefore be considered as having left, at this time, less than three years of its prescribed term of existence.

It is to be recollected, also, that having the last year applied for an extension of its Charter beyond that period, the application was refused and has not again been renewed.

Under these circumstances, it is believed by me to be the duty of the Executive to regard the present Bank as dead for all fiscal purposes after the 3d. of March 1836 and seasonably to take such steps as may seem proper and necessary for the due management of the monied concerns of the government after that time, without the aid or co-operation of the present Bank.

In an examination of the enquiry, what those steps ought to be, it will become convenient to furnish answers on most of the points presented for my consideration by the President.

I think one of those steps should be to discountenance in every way either a new Charter, similar to that now existing; or a new one under any modifications whatever—to the proprietors of the Bank now in operation.
It is believed by me, that a fair construction of the Constitution does not in the present state of the country—of our public debt—and of our revenue require or justify a corporation of such a character as the present one.

I refer to my written opinion delivered to the President in July 1832 about the renewal of its charter as then contemplated, for a sketch of my reasons for this conclusion—and to the Veto Message of the President during the same month for other and fuller reasons in favour of the same conclusion.3

Nor would any modification of the charter while in the hands of the present stockholders prove in my judgement the most judicious and useful course for the future operations of the government, in respect to the collection and disbursement of its revenues.

In the first place, no modifications could be made, leaving the Bank under private control and conferring any thing like its present enlarged powers as to amount of capital—number and location of its branches—exemption from taxation—exclusive privileges &c, &c, which would, according to my views, render the charter either constitutional or expedient.

In the next place, if further experiments should hereafter show, that some kind of a Bank incorporated by the general government and admitting private interest in it to a certain extent was proper and necessary for the due management of our fiscal concerns—I should be unwilling to again invest the present corporation with that authority.

The reasons for this are not with me its supposed insolvency or its intentional and injurious unfaithfulness as a mere fiscal agent; but they are its long enjoyment already of a privilege which, when regranted, should be opened to all—its known political hostility to the present administration of the government growing out of the Presdr.'s veto and other circumstances which need not be recapitulated—its late questionable conduct as to the three per cents.—its treatment of the government Directors, excluding them from a full knowledge of its business concerns and its extraordinary loans and gifts indicating in some degree political and party motives, derogatory to its connection with the government and dangerous, if not detrimental to the public interests in the stock.

For these reasons I think that under no modifications could it be most proper and wise to select the present Bank again as the fiscal agent of the government under any new charter, when different agents, if any kind of charter becomes proper could be chosen, who are free from many of these objections.

My own belief, however, is, that at the present time, the reduced debt and revenue of the government—the increased facilities of commercial intercourse between all portions of the country, the better acquaintance with banking principles which more widely prevails—and the greater number and safety of private Banks in almost every district where revenue
is to be collected or disbursed, will enable the government to transact hereafter its monied concerns without the aid of any Banking corporation of any kind created by congress for this purpose.

But after due inquiry should a safe and economical plan for this purpose not be able to be arranged with the private and local Banks, or if arranged and put into operation, should it not satisfactorily succeed, I entertain in opinion, that the government ought then to organize an institution as auxiliary to the Treasury Dept. to aid in the collection and disbursements of the revenue. But this institution should, if possible, be entirely public in its character, officers and capital and have just so much power and no more than would be sufficient to accomplish the public ends designed.

If in that way found adequate to accomplish the ends proposed it would then clearly come within constitutional limits; being then existing under the exercise of an implied incidental power, proper and necessary to carry other express and principal powers into effect and would when so organized rest on similar grounds and be as constitutional as collectors and custom houses and no more dangerous, or subject to abuse, than are they or the Army and Navy.

If such a scheme, on full examination should not be deemed feasible or expedient, the last resort should in my judgement be, to establish a Bank in this District, allowing some private stock and giving it such powers as might be thought necessary to accomplish the fiscal objects in view and requiring the consent of the states to any monied operations attempted within them, beyond the mere collection and disbursement of the public revenue.

Entertaining these general impressions on these portions of the inquiry, the first step in my opinion towards the transaction of the public business through private Banks, at some future period is to ascertain the probable amount of revenue to be collected annually the ensuing eight or ten years—the principal places where it is to be collected and where it is to be disbursed, and then to open a confidential correspondence with intelligent men in those places in which the large deposits and transfers are to be made for ascertaining the best terms as to safety and economy on which they can be effected. Agents might be sent in some cases, where it is most important to obtain entire certainty on this subject.

Should it thus be ascertained that these deposits and transfers can be safely, promptly and economically effected through the private Banks I think that the government ought in the next place to commence the operations through them whenever the time, left for the charter to the U.S. Bank to run shall not exceed what as regards the community and the government is proper for a safe change of so great magnitude and what is necessary for enabling the new agents gradually but fully to become acquainted with the management of our whole deposits and disbursements. I see no
occasion or justification for an earlier experiment on this subject, unless
the Bank of the U. States, which Congress have in my opinion provided
as the usual organ for this kind of business, should before that time, be
believed to have become insolvent, or should be shown to have conducted
so unfaithfully and injuriously in its agency for the government, as no
longer to justify a continuance of the deposits in its vaults. Concerning
these last points, which depend mostly on matters of fact rather than of
principle on which I can speak only from the limited information before
me. But with no very favourable prepossession towards the Bank, I have
not discovered in that information a decided preponderance of facts ren-
dering it probable, that the deposits in said Bank are now actually unsafe,
or that its fiscal agency, has been so designedly unfaithful, as to justify the
government in not continuing to risk the collections of the revenue in its
possession where the laws place them, ’till a new arrangement incident
to the expiration of its charter requires a change to be commenced in the
deposits on the ground of that new arrangement.

The present price of the Bank stock at 8 or 9 pr cent above par—the
report made by Mr Toland the agent of the Treasury and the late resolu-
tion of the House of Reps. “that the Government deposits may, in the
opinion of the House, be safely continued in the Bank of the U. States.”
furnish a general presumption on these questions, entitled to much weight.

In answer to an enquiry of the President about the impression, which
may have existed against the solvency of the Bank at the commencement
of the late session, derived from its conduct as to the 3 per cents owned
abroad, I think that impression has in some degree been changed by the
amount of certificates the Bank has since obtained and surrendered—by
the report of the Treasury Agent, and by the subsequent decision of the
House of Representatives. The investigations preceding that report and
that decision were made by competent authority and on the suggestions of
the proper Department—and though we may not coincide in all the con-
clusions of the Agent or of the majority in the House of Represents. yet
those conclusions must on questions of mere fact be entitled to a certain
degree of respect till rebutted by further enquiry and fuller information:
Indeed I am ready to declare, that the nominal value of stocks can so eas-
ily and ingeniously be effected by other causes than its real value—that the
agent for the Treasury might so much more judiciously have taken less on
trust from the President and Directors as to the condition of the institu-
tion and that the report of the minority of the Committee of the House
of Representatives—shows an action on the part of the majority in some
degree so hasty and superficial—and that the official conduct of the Bank
the last few years has in sundry particulars been in my judgment so very
censurable that it merits from the Executive no privileges beyond what
strict chartered rights may entitle it to & what the interests of the public
and sound policy may require. Yet most of these circumstances rather
indicate the propriety of making further enquiries and obtaining facts
more accurately and extensively than of directing a total and immediate removal of the deposits.

Without making such an enquiry or obtaining such facts—or until they are effected—it will surely be safer to the Executive and the public, for the present, to act on the presumptions before named. But a change of the deposits will on other grounds in my judgment soon become necessary with a view to the early expiration of the present Charter of the Bank—to my most decided objections against its renewal and to the commencement of a new system of managing the Revenue through private banks. I think this change should seasonably be commenced. It should be begun gradually and not suddenly, and should be both begun and conducted at such a time and in such manner as to furnish the least ground to the public or to Congress for complaint on account of any consequent pressure or excitement in the monied market.

On the facts now known to me—sometime in the summer of 1834—when less than two years of the Charter will remain—if contracts shall have been then completed with the private banks, a change in the deposits might in my judgment be judiciously commenced—leaving the bank of the United States, unless hereafter found to be insolvent or as a fiscal agent clearly unfaithful—to disburse the funds then remaining in its vaults. But on either of those last events, occurring or being made manifest earlier, I have no doubt, a total transfer of the deposits ought to be made earlier and indeed soon as practicable: while without those events the proposed change somewhat later and slower seems for many reasons to be preferable. It would then be so deferred and so gradual as to prevent any shock in the value of stock—property or funds and to furnish no just ground of censure by Congress against the administration for a precipitate and unnecessary movement. It would furnish no apology to the Bank for causing distress to its debtors on account of the previous sudden and large withdrawal of our deposits; or for attributing to this circumstance any distress that may actually arise from other causes.

In this way its debtors could be prepared at the proper time to obtain new and increased credits at the local Banks, strengthened as they will then be, by the public deposits so as to enable the debtors gradually to meet all their engagements with the expiring institution. There will be no panic or suffering in the community at large consequent from such a change and it will be one justifiable on sound general principles; and on facts not controverted or doubtful and hence will probably be acquiesced in and approved by the public and by Congress as quite indispensable to meet seasonably the new state of things after March 3d. 1836.

The revenue should thereafter in my opinion be received in specie or only such Bank bills, as the institutions holding the deposits circulate or are willing to consider as specie.

The above remarks are believed to cover the whole ground presented by the President’s interrogatories and contain my deliberate opinions and
views in relation to them, so far as the facts within my knowledge enable me to give them.

Levi Woodbury

[Endorsed by AJ:] Govr. Wooburys reply to the matters submitted—U. S. B. & deposits—

LS, DLC (42). Draft and LS copy, DLC-Woodbury Papers (mAJs).
2. Section 21 allowed the BUS to continue operating for two years beyond the charter’s expiration to conclude its business and settle its accounts, “but not for any other purpose, or in any other manner whatsoever” (Statutes, 3:276).
3. An undated draft of this opinion is in DLC-Woodbury Papers.

To William Berkeley Lewis

April 3rd. 1833—

Memorandum for Major Lewis—

He will please visit the Hermitage—enquire as to the health of the servants, & particularly as to the health Sally’s (wife of Dick) eldest daughter who was confined with a pain in her hip when Sarah & Andrew left her.1

He will please look at the garden, see how it is cultivated & give such directions as he may judge necessary for its restoration to what it was before my dear wife’s death—look at the monument over the Grave & see whether it is finished as it ought to have been.2 Look & inquire as to the poultry—whether there are any Turkeys, Geese & other fouls raising and the quantity of each—say to the servants that I may be home this summer, if not surely if I live next & will hope to find the comforts to be derived from the farm different & more abundant than I found them last year. Look at my stud horse Citizen & my yearling colts, fillys & mares & see their condition, with the other stock—and make strict inquiry as to the conduct & treatment of the overseer to the hands—enquire as to the spinning & weaving &c &c. I my Dr Sir know nothing of the overseer, have no one to give me any account of his doings & actings.

Andrew Jackson

ADS, NjMoHP (22-0931). Lewis reported on April 21 (below).
1. In 1830 AJ had purchased Dick (b. c1781), Sally, and four children, including eldest daughter Hannah, for $900 from the family of his late associate James C. Bronaugh (Jackson Papers, 8:210).
2. In 1832 AJ had had a monument erected over Rachel’s grave at the Hermitage.
From William Berkeley Lewis


D. Genl.

The enclosed letter is from Mr. Ritchie. I should like very much that you would read it. He is wrong in some things, but still I think he is a sincere friend, and feels grateful for the many and important benefits you have conferred on the South. He is an honest man and possesses talents, certainly, of a high order. I would hear him, tho’ of course I should pursue, notwithstanding, the dictates of my own judgement. After reading, I will thank you to enclose it to me.

Wishing that I may find, on my return to Washington, your health entirely restored, I am my dear Sir, Truly & sincly Yours.

Wm B Lewis

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr E. Livingston will read the inclosed & then return it—he must recollect that the opinion of the Cabinet was taken on the points suggested & Mr Harris, nominated charge de affairs, to remove the difficulty I had suggested  A. J

ALS, DLC (42). ALS copy, NN (22-0932). Lewis left later this same day for Tennessee. Andrew Stevenson had consulted with Thomas Ritchie upon receiving Livingston’s March 15 notice of AJ’s intent to appoint him minister to Britain to pursue the Northeast boundary negotiation (DNA-RG 59, M77-73). Ritchie objected that this vacancy, and also the one to France which Livingston was expected to fill, had occurred before the last Senate session and, having not been filled during it, should not now be filled after its adjournment. Stevenson concurred, and the two agreed that Ritchie should write Lewis. Ritchie wrote Lewis on March 20, complaining of the recess appointments and also of AJ’s stance on nullification. Lewis replied on March 25, promising that if Ritchie would write him “a friendly and conciliatory letter” about the appointments he would show it to AJ, but “without saying one word about the Proclamation or Revenue Bill,” as it would “do no good to touch those irritating and unpleasant subjects.” Lewis explained that the diplomatic posts were not considered vacant, though presently filled at a lower rank. Aaron Vail had been nominated and confirmed as chargé d’affaires in London in 1832, and Levett Harris (d. 1839) as chargé at Paris in February 1833 (an appointment made, according to AJ’s endorsement above, precisely to address this issue). AJ had held off naming their replacements Stevenson and Livingston, said Lewis, not from disrespect to the Senate but to avoid changes in the administration during the nullification crisis (William B. Lewis Papers, NN).

Ritchie rewrote his letter, and Lewis now enclosed it to AJ. It praised AJ’s administration and applauded his good intentions but warned of the dangerous precedent of bypassing Senate concurrence for appointments. Ritchie proposed calling the new Senate, whose official term had begun on March 4, into early session to approve the nominations.

The Northeast boundary negotiation soon resumed at Washington rather than London, and Aaron Vail continued unreplaced as chargé. In May 1834 AJ nominated Stevenson as minister. In Senate proceedings on the nomination, Livingston’s March 15 note to Stevenson, excerpts from Ritchie’s letters to Lewis, and later letters from Ritchie and Lewis to Stevenson recounting the events were introduced and subsequently printed (DNA-RG 46; Nat. Intelligencer, June 26, 1834). The Senate rejected Stevenson in June 1834. In 1836 he was again nominated and confirmed.
To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington April 5th. 1833—

My Dr Sir,

I have this moment recd. your letter of the 3rd. & Sarahs of the 2nd.—am happy to learn that you are all in good health & that Sarah & the little pet, is increasing in flesh. I have wrote to Sarah which I inclose under cover to you with this which you will please deliver to her.

As to the Colera, let us not be uneasy, that it has reached the Hermitage. The Lords will be done, & it is our duty to be ready to submit to it with humble hearts—he giveth & he has a right to take away, & we ought always be ready to say blessed be his name.

I have wrote to Mr Holzclaw to have every attention paid to them—he says this is done, & the Doctor attentive—the Doctor was with Titus untill he died.

After you return here we will consult on your going out & when. I have recd. no letter, since I wrote you, from Tennessee.

I sincerely regret that Thomas & Samuel did not pass this way.¹ I was anxious to see them both, & rouse Thomas to proper energy & action—he has double the property I had when I commenced House keeping, and I had no one to give me one cent of aid. I determined by my own exertions to become independent. I succeeded. So will they, with the same industry that I used. Then say to Emma with my respects to cease desponding, cheer up, & with affectionate & united energy & industry, they will soon be wealthy & happy. Riches does not bring contentment or happiness—beyond an independence, wealth is a perfect bubble, & some times a curse instead of a blessing. All we get for all our struggle here below is what we eat & wear. This is but little, & we want that little but a few short years.

We are all well here, my health improving, & all join in our love to you Sarah & the pet—and to Mrs. Weatherall & family & Emma—say to Emma we will be happy to see her here with you & Sarah, when you return, which I hope will be before long. I write to Mr Breathit by this mail. I am affectionately yrs.

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (42).

¹. Samuel R. Donelson had received his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania on March 28, with a thesis on infant cholera. He and his brother Thomas J. Donelson were now traveling back to Tennessee. On April 17 William B. Lewis reported seeing them at Wheeling (below).
To Hardy Murfree Cryer

(Private) Washington April 7th. 1833—

My Revd. friend,

your kind letter breathing the true spirit of real friendship, with the much esteemed inclosures, has been recd. and has been lying by, from a continued press of business, & feeble health, for a leisure moment to reply to them.

The memento of the respect of our pious and aged friend, Bishop McKendra, has been gratefully received, & perused with much delight, and Dr A. Clerks letter, which he has been good enough to present me, thro you, shall be preserved with care, and passed down to posterity—present him with my thanks for it.

Please accept the tender of my sincere condolence on the loss of your charming daughter—Martha—severe as this bereavement is, and tho hard for human nature to meet with a proper resignation—still that christian Philosophy so clearly taught by our blessed redeemer, will sustain you in this trying & afflicting scene—you as christian parents ought not to repine, but rejoice at the parting with such a daughter, for you have a well grounded hope, that she is only changed from this wicked world, to that of peace, happiness, & glory. This must be a balm to your sorrows, and you ought to be ready to say “let us mourn for the living not mourn for the dead.”

I will present your letter to Major Eaton & his lady when the opportunity may occur, and when my son returns to the Hermitage will endeavour to send little Rachel something.

The wicked projects of the leaders in nullification and secession, are for the present, I think effectually, and, I hope, forever put down. But the coalition between Clay & Calhoun, and combined as it is, with a few nullifiers in virginia, & Poindexter, & his coadjuters in the South & southwest, protends no good, but much evil, if the people could be misled, and become dupes to their heresies & wicked designs. This combination wields the U. States Bank, & with its corrupting influence they calculate to carry every thing, even its recharter by two thirds of Congress, against the veto of the Executive; if they can do this, they calculate with certainty to put Clay or Calhoun in the Presidency—and I have no hesitation to say, if they can recharter the Bank, with this hydra of corruption, & they will rule the nation, and its charter will be perpetual, and its corrupting influence destroy the liberty of our Country.

When I came into the administration it was said, & believed, that I had a majority of seventy five—since then, it is now believed it has bought over by loans, discounts, &c &c, until at the close of last session, it was said, there was two thirds for rechartering it. It is believed that in the last...
two years, that it has loaned to members of congress & subsidised presses, at least half a million of dollars, the greater part of which will be lost to the Bank, & the Stockholders; if such corruption exists in the green tree, what will be in the dry.

such has been the scenes of corruption in our last congress, that I loathe the corruption of human nature & long for retirement & repose on the Hermitage. But until I can strangle this hydra of corruption, the Bank, I will not shrink from my duty, or my part. I think a system may be arranged with the state Banks, for all the purpose of deposits, & facilities of the government in its fiscal concerns, which if it can, will withdraw the corrupting influence now exercised over Congress by this monied institution which will have a healthful effect upon the legislation of congress & its morals and prevent the continual drain of our specie from the western states to the east, & to Europe to pay the dividends. I am now engaged in this investigation, and I trust that a kind superintending providence will aid my deliberations, & efforts.

you will please attend to my post scrip, & answer it. Present me kindly to Mrs Cryer, & all your children, & kiss little Rachel for me, and believe me your friend

Andrew Jackson

To Lewis Cass

April 8th. 1833—

Dr. Sir,

This will be handed to you by the Revd. Mr Campble of Pittsburgh P.a. who I beg leave to make known to you. Mr Campble is one of the Executive committee of the board of Foreign & Domestic Missionaries. The Board has it in view to extend their missions to the Indians west of the Mississippi & has a desire to converse with you upon the subject, and see the provisions in the Treaties, if any, on this subject

I have made known to him, that the Government cannot give permission, this must be obtained from the Indians, & when this is done, we will freely give our assent to any thing that may be agreed on by them, and for their benefit, yrs

Andrew Jackson

ALS, Christie's, December 9, 1993, sale, lot 178 (mAJs). Allan Ditchfield Campbell (1791–1861) had been known to AJ since serving as pastor of Nashville's First Presbyterian Church from 1820 to 1827. He was on the board of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, founded in 1831 by the Presbyterian Synod of Pittsburgh. In October 1833 the Synod approved a mission to the western Indians, and stations were subsequently established among the Weas and Iowas.
To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington April 8th. 1833—

My Dr. Son,

This moment your letter of the 6th. was handed me by Mr Leiper, and I rejoice to learn the improving health of Sarah & the dr. little pet. Still I wish Sarah to see Doctor Pysic & have his advice on her situation & cause of her occasional debility.

I have just received a letter from your cousin William who writes, that he is fearfull that Titus & Anna’s child died from the want of attention. that Titus had been sick some days without a phician—that on Sunday as Mr Hotzclaw rode by Dr McKorkles, he called & told the Doctor Titus was sick, but he did not believe there was much the matter with him. When Dr McCorkle got there he was dying & refers me to Dr McCorkle for information, & fears that he has been deceived in the character of Holtzclaw and advises me to visit the Hermitage this summer &c &c.

Mr Donelson also writes that your Uncle Levan lies dangerously ill at his House, believes he will die & has made his will and left all his estate to John and Samuel—he must believe he is about to die or he would not have made a will and his will would have been just had he included Thomas with John & Saml—and if your uncle dies, I hope Saml & John will liberally divide with Thomas. When you return I will write them on this subject, should yr uncle die.

All here join in kind salutations to you, Sarah, Emma, Mr. & Mrs. Weatherall and all friends—present Sarah & little Rachel with an affectionate kiss for me. Emily is unwell, & John has been, but his teeth has appeared thro the gums, & he is better. I am your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P.S I am very lonesome, and will rejoice to see you all back—say with my compliment to Mr Breathitt I wrote him last evening & rejoice to find his health improving A. J.

ALS, DLC (42).
1. William Donelson had written AJ on March 26 (above). Miles McCorkle wrote AJ on April 19 (below).
2. John Samuel Donelson (1832–1863) was the third child of Emily and AJ Donelson.

From John T. Sullivan, Peter Wager, and Henry Dilworth Gilpin

[Sullivan, Wager (1782–1863), and Gilpin were the three Philadelphia residents among the five government directors of the Bank of the United States for 1833. On April 5, Amos Kendall wrote at Jackson’s behest to
Sullivan as their senior member, requesting an official report “in the most authentic form” on practices “in which the Bank has violated its charter or abused its power,” including irregular or unsecured loans to editors and congressmen, exclusion of the government directors from board business and committees, and circulation of “political essays” (Gilpin Diary, PHi).

Philadelphia 8 April 1833.

Sir

We have received a letter from Mr. Kendall conveying to us your wishes that we should communicate to you in the most authentic form, information relative to various proceedings of the Bank of the United States, & we need hardly say how readily we shall perform all the duties of the office you have confided to us. Our efforts have hitherto been honestly directed to promote what we believe the true interests of the country in this institution, to ascertain its situation, and to alter or prevent every thing in its operations which we have deemed to be disadvantageous or incorrect. In this course, whatever success may attend us, we shall resolutely persevere. It is less easy than is generally supposed even for Directors, especially Government Directors, to possess themselves of all the facts and there are difficulties in the way of any inquiry, other than a formally official one, not readily to be surmounted. We are at liberty it is true to inspect the private accounts of those whose paper is submitted to us, and we might do so occasionally and casually. But we could not, without a breach of trust, make the situation of those accounts known to others, except under such circumstances as would render the act one of representative duty or in obedience to explicit requisitions. The Secretary of the Treasury being expressly recognized in the charter as the agent between the Government and the Corporation as well as the official manager of the finances of the country, instructions from him would afford us unanswerable authority and justification for scrutinizing the accounts thus situated, insisting upon their full development, and reporting the details. Without something of this sort to back our movement we feel certain that we should be repelled with prompt distrust, our attempts would be defeated, and we should have to bear all the odium attached to a volunteer inquisition not pursued according to the mode prescribed by law, & necessary to sustain it with success. In an investigation so directed we might also be assisted (which we should greatly desire) by the other Government Directors acting immediately under the same instructions and repairing here at such times as we might agree upon. It is possible that in time we may gradually acquire a pretty correct knowledge of the loans that have been made to printers and members of congress, and we shall not hesitate to inform the government of any improper proceedings with which they were attended—this too we believe would meet your wishes more fully than less perfect information transmitted now. That we anxiously watch the course of proceedings with a view to protect the principles and interests of the government we trust it is
unnecessary to assure you; but it cannot be pronounced to what results or extent our investigations may lead till we shall be able to conduct them in the thorough and official form we have mentioned & with the advantages it will give us. Submitting these views to you with a full sense of our responsibilities and a sincere anxiety faithfully to discharge our duties to the government which we represent, We remain with great respect Yr. obt. servts

John T Sullivan
Peter Wager
H. D. Gilpin

LS in Gilpin’s hand, DLC (42). AJ replied on April 14 (below).

To John Coffee

Washington April 9th. 1833—

My Dr. Genl,

I was much gratified on receiving your letter yesterday of the 25th. ultimo, on finding that you were at home with your amiable family, and such good prospects of your speedy recovery which I am sure would well be the case by strict observance of the prescription of the physicians.

I had the pleasure of receiving your letter from Pittsburgh of the 10th. ult, and wrote you on its receipt, which I hope ere this you have recd. and it was the only intelligence we had until the receipt of yours yesterday—we have scolded they two Marys, much—the lasy toads might have, when on board the steam Boats, wrote us & droped it into a postoffice—say to your daughter Mary, that she can only obtain our forgiveness, by being a better correspondent hereafter, & we shall expect her, in your debilitated state, to keep us advised of your, & the families health.¹

I am gratified to learn that Col McKinley is up for congress—he has my best wishes for his success—he will keep the Alabama representation right. I am happy to hear that the absurd and dangerous doctrine of nullification & secession are repudiated by your citizens. Nullification is dead, but the coalition between Calhoun, Clay Poindexter & the nullifiers in the South—intend to blow up a storm on the subject of the slave question—altho they know the east have no such views, still they will try to arouse the southern people on this false tale. This ought to be met—for be assured these men would do any act to destroy the union, & form a southern confederacy bounded, north, by the Potomac river.

I am so crouded that I must close this hasty scrawl.

Andrew & Sarah is in Philadelphia, Sarahs health & the child’s quite restored—we are in tolerable health here & all join in kind salutations to you & your amiable family and to Hutchings, and with my prayers for the restoration of your health, and its long continuance your friend—

Andrew Jackson
P.S. I wrote you upon the subject of delivering Hutchings his estate  A. J
ALS, THi (22-0971).

1. Mary wrote AJ on April 29 (below).

To Thomas Ellicott

Washington April 9th. 1833.

Sir

This will be handed to you by Amos Kendall Esqr. 4th. Auditor of the Treasury, whom I beg leave to introduce to your acquaintance & polite attention. You will find him well informed upon all subjects, and in whom every confidence may be reposed. I have conversed with him freely & fully on the subject of Banks & Banking, and have charged him with making the necessary enquiry, whether a system for the deposits of the public monies, and the fiscal operations of the general Government cannot be adopted thro’ the State Banks as well as it has been by the United States, which will sustain & maintain a sound and uniform currency. I have referred him to you for such information as you may please to communicate on this interesting subject, and by whom you can convey to me your thoughts in writing, which you were good anough to promise me. I am sir, with great respect your mo. obdt. servt.

Andrew Jackson

ALS, MdHi (22-0974). Ellicott (1777–1859) was president of the Union Bank of Maryland in Baltimore. He replied on April 10, referring AJ to a letter he had already sent him via Taney on April 6, but which AJ had not yet received (Taney Papers, DLC; 22-0980). Ellicott’s April 6 letter argued that a removal of government deposits to state banks was feasible and could be so managed that the BUS would “glide out of existence” without destabilizing the currency or disrupting commerce. During the transition, the BUS’s charter obligation to transfer public funds from place to place without charge could be used to prevent if from retaliating against the state banks and to compel it to curtail its own circulation. Ellicott offered his services in helping to manage the change (DLC-42; Bassett, 5:49–52). Taney’s subsequent report to AJ on April 29 (below) in part incorporated Ellicott’s reasoning.

To Martin Gordon

Washington April 9th. 1833—

My Dr Sir,

I have recd. on yesterday, and to day, a memorials, & sundry letters from a number of your citizens protesting against the superceding of Mr Slidel removal as attorney for the District of Louisiana in which you are not spared of censure for, as they alledge. They censure you as giving some secrete information against hims moral or political character and calling for the secrete charges thus made.
I have not yet answered these letters, but as they are amongst the memorialist, many of my respectable friends such as Genl Plache & Col M. White &c, I mean to give shall answer them, and put this matter upon its true ground. I shall say to them that it is true I was informed by you, that such was the personal situation between the Collector an Mr Slidel, that the interest of the Govt could not be guarded and attended to as it ought feelings between you, that it rendered your situation unpleasant & made it necessary for the interest of the Govt that you or Mr Slidel should go out of office that the interest of the government could not be guarded and attended to as it ought without this change. Therefore that as a seperation of the two incumbents of the two offices incumbents became necessary for the public interest. The collector had so well performed his duty, that we could not think of superceding him by another his duties being of the greatest importance to the Govt. Mr. Gordon having performed his duty equally well as Mr Slidel; and as the term for which Mr Slidel was appointed had expired, no charges against his moral character having been made and no injury on that score could attach and as it was important, nay absolutely necessary that harmony should exist between the collector and attorney for the District it was determined to appoint another in the room of Mr. Slidel—not remove him Mr Slidel from office as is alledged by the memorialist, and nothing disgrace can be attached to Mr Slidel moral or political character from this act, nor was any intended

Mr. Colton it is true was named by Mr you (Mr Gordon) as a fit person, one with whom (he) (you) could act with quiet & in harmony and he was therefore appointed.

This explanation will I trust be satisfactory to them—but should it not and that I may be prepared for defence if assailed, send me a copy of your letter on which I acted with such a justification for your application for Mr Slidels being superceded as you have in your power, shewing the want of harmony between you & in what of his acts it consisted—and do this early as you can.

Mr Blair has this day communicated to me the liberal donation you & nine other gentlemen has made him. The thing, & the manner in which it has been done, is honorable to you, & to him, and to the cause you so nobly support. This is truly grateful to me, and an ample remuneration for the $1000 fine imposed upon me for defending your city, with the beauty, & booty, it contained—receive my thanks for the handsome manner in which you have presented this boon to Mr Blair—he deserves it.

With a tender of my sincere respects to your amiable lady & family believe me your friend.

A. J

[Endorsed by AJ:] Rough draft to Martin Gordon Norleans april 9th. 1833—A. J
ALS draft, DLC (42). Gordon was the customs collector at New Orleans, appointed by AJ in 1829.

1. Jean Baptiste Plauché (1785–1860) had commanded an elite battalion of city volunteers at the Battle of New Orleans. AJ answered the memorial, probably on the next day, April 10 (below).

2. This was Henry Carleton (1785–1863), whom AJ had nominated to succeed Slidell on February 26.

3. Gordon and nine others had sent Blair $1,000 to support the *Globe*. On April 11 Blair wrote Gordon describing AJ’s gratification on learning of the gift (NHi). After the Battle of New Orleans in January 1815, AJ had held the city under martial law for two months while awaiting official notice of the end of the war. During that time he arrested a Louisiana legislator and then a U.S. district judge who had tried to free him with a habeas corpus. After martial law was lifted in March, AJ was tried for contempt before the same judge and fined $1,000, which he paid. Congress refunded the money with interest in 1844. Americans, including AJ, had long maintained that the British on the eve of New Orleans had adopted the watchword “beauty and booty” in anticipation of plundering the city. British minister Charles Richard Vaughan wrote AJ about it on July 16 (below).

4. Gordon’s wife was Anne Meisson Gordon.

*To Edward Livingston*

April 9th. 1833—

The President with his respects to Mr Livingston, informs him he is anxiously waiting for his opinion on the subject of the Bank, deposits &c &c, submitted for his opinion in writing. Mr Woodbury & the atto. Genl has handed in theirs, & the President will thank Mr. L. to hand his as soon as it is convenient

AN, NjP-Livingston Papers (mAJs). No reply from Livingston to AJ’s March 19 circular has been found.

*To Jean Baptiste Plauché et al.*

Your memorial of _____ has just been recd. complaining & remonstrating against the removal, of Mr Slidel from office, censuring, the Collector of New Orleans, for being the secrete authors of charges as Mr Slidels moral & political conduct.

In reply, it is necessary to see notice the mistake into which you have fallen. Mr. Slidel was not removed from office, it was vacant by the expiration of his commission, and open for any one whose services could be more serviceable to the Government.

The cause for his not being reappointed. It was communicated by Mr Gordon as collector of the Port of N. Orleans that unpleasant & bad feelings had arisen between him & Mr Slidel, so much so, that it was tending to the injury of the government, and made it necessary that one or the other should retire from the situations they held. That the interest of the
government could not be carried on and guarded as it ought under their then existing feelings, and the interest of the fiscal concerns of the country, required that this separation should take place.

The question presented itself, under these circumstance, which should be dropped. The collector had performed his duty well, with faithfulness, zeal, vigilance & zeal; and we could not change him, as long as he would consent to remain for another. There was no charge of immoral conduct, or want of abilities against Mr Slidel—but the want of harmony, so necessary to exist between those officers, & which was producing injury to the service—Mr. Gordon had named Mr Colton as a fit person, and with whom he could harmonise, if it was thought expedient not to reappoint Mr. Slidel; we thought it best to retain the collector & as a separation was necessary to appoint Mr Colton, without his Mr. C's a knowledge or consultation with him.

Mr. Slidel was not removed, his time had expired, and bad feelings had grew up between him and the collector, the interest of the public require harmony there between these incumbents. There was no charge against the moral character or capacity of Mr Slidel, and why it should be intimated that injury would attach to Mr Slidels moral character cannot be perceived—no charge against it being alleged, nor none intended.

I cannot doubt, but this statement will be satisfactory to all of the necessity of a change, and of harmony between these officers so intimately connected in securing & protecting the interest of the Treasury and that no injury could be intended either to Mr Slidels moral, or official character by dropping him under existing circumstances, his commission having expired. I am Gentlemen with great respect—yr mo. obdt. servt.

A. J.

ALS draft, DLC (73). The date of April 10 ascribed by the Library of Congress is likely correct. Slidell had written Van Buren on March 27 that nearly every leading Jacksonian and government official in New Orleans had signed the Plauché remonstrance against his removal. Van Buren replied on April 20 that AJ had made the decision without his knowledge, but that, as explained in AJ's reply, it was “in no degree influenced by any unfriendly feelings towards yourself” (Van Buren Papers, DLC). Van Buren wrote AJ about Slidell on August 6 (below).

From Hugh Lawson White

Knoxville April 11th. 1833.

My dear Sir,

Yours dated 24th. ult. reached me a few days ago, and I embrace my soonest leisure moment to answer its contents.

Sometimes I incline to the opinion that our race is growing worse but a little reflection satisfies me that as I grow older I only become better acquainted with men, and that probably those of my own day are neither
better nor worse than those who preceded them would have shewn themselves to have been under the like circumstances. In such a government as ours where the highest offices are accessible to all, we must expect continual struggles for power, and the means employed for its attainment will not always be the most honorable. The true Patriot should never wish the accomplishment of any object, by which, the interest of his country would not be promoted, and to effect his ends ought never to employ any means which a virtuous community would not approve if made fully acquainted with them: but it is vain to expect all aspirants to become patriots, therefore in many, we must expect deviations from the path of correctness, contenting ourselves with being as useful as we can, in our respective stations, always hoping that an enlightened people will judge correctly of the motives and acts of ourselves, as well as of our fellow men.

I now proceed to answer the specific inquiries submitted in your letter.

1st. “Can the fiscal concerns of the Government be carried on thro the Agency of State Banks? If they can, as I believe, what would be the best system to adopt, with them, with respect to our deposits & transferring our funds?”

To the first of these interrogatories I answer, that I have no doubt, all the fiscal concerns of the Federal Government can be safely and conveniently be carried on, thro the agency of Banks chartered by the respective states. The mode in which this shall be accomplished can best be fixed on by those who have the aid of past experience. Possessing very little of this I now say, that were it my duty to adopt a plan, I would select some one state Bank, in the solvency of which I had entire confidence, for example one of the Virginia Banks, and make the whole arrangement with that Bank, and let that Bank make an arrangement with some other Bank in each state, thro which the whole operations should be carried on. The deposits would then be all made in that Bank and in those designated by it, and thro them the whole disbursements would be made.

The notes of such Bank, and those designated by it, should be receivable every where in discharge of debts due to the government, and this of itself would give general credit and currency to all such notes.

To secure the government, the Secretary should require a weekly statement of the actual condition of each Bank in which deposits were made, and should have power to rescind the agreement whenever he doubted the safety of the public funds.

If such arrangement cannot be made with some one Bank, then an arrangement must be made with some in each State, upon the plan formerly pursued, with such improvements as past experience may suggest.

2nd. “As to the time to commence our deposits in the State Banks, Would it not be best to commence the plan before the meeting of next Congress, and communicate the reasons of the change, or when?”

To this inquiry I answer, We ought not only to do that which is for the public interest, but we should do it under circumstances which will enable
us to satisfy the people whose business we transact that the change was necessary to promote their interest.

When the Bank of the United States failed to obey the directions of the government in paying off its debt, and negotiated with the creditors for indulgence, I think the deposits ought to have been immediately withdrawn, and every federal officer instructed not to receive any of those small drafts or checks, now used as substitutes for five ten and twenty dollar notes. Public opinion I have no doubt would then have sustained the Executive in such a course: but the Government, from motives which all ought to approve, wished to be certain of the insolvency of the Bank before it withdrew the public deposits, therefore appointed an Agent to examine and report its condition. That Report is before the world, and is as flattering, as the Bank could wish, as to its solvency. Since then the matter has been brought to the notice of Congress, a committee has been created by the House of Representatives, and a majority of that Committee has made a Report most favorable to the Bank. The minority of the Committee has also submitted its view of the solvency and management of the Bank, in such terms, as if it stood alone, would create a well founded belief that the public money was unsafe, where now deposited. But the question recurs what opinion will society form from these documents taking them all together. The opinion of the confidential Agent of the treasury and that of a Majority of the committee one way, and that of the minority of the Committee the other places the question of the solvency of the Bank in such attitude before the public that I do not believe the Executive would act wisely in ordering a withdrawal of the deposits from the Bank of the United States and placing them in State Banks, at this time. Public opinion will in my judgment best sustain the Executive in permitting them to remain with the Bank of the U.S., until its charter expires, or some future development shall show that the Bank is so managing its concerns as to make it necessary to the public interest that the public money should be withdrawn from the power and control of the Bank.

I think the fiscal concerns of the Government can always be managed thru State Banks, and that a Bank chartered by the U.S. will never be indispensable to the collection or disbursement of the public money: but I am at the same time of opinion such a Bank will be a convenience to the government and a great benefit to the Commercial community.

This charter I would not renew, even if the government were not a Stockholder.

The only one, to which, with my present impressions, I would agree, should be chartered in the district of Columbia, with a power to connect itself with some Bank in each state, chartered by the respective states, and to use notes bearing the signatures of the officers of the Federal District Bank. Such a Bank would be constitutional, the Federal government could receive, have faithfully kept and promptly paid out, all its money, through

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it’s agency, and the community would have an uniform paper medium, a safe substitute for specie.

I have now, My dear Sir, with frankness, and in the least possible compass, given you my opinion, upon the several points suggested by your letter. I have lived long enough to distrust my own opinions, upon almost all subjects, thinking them of but little value I seldom obtrude them, even upon my best friends. When asked by you, they never have been, they never shall be withheld.

I wish, I could indulge the hope, that the close of your public life would, in it’s comforts, furnish some adequate return, for the toils, hardships, perils and privations which have fallen to your lot, since the commencement of our acquaintance. I am, as I ought to be your friend

Hu. L. White

[Endorsed by AJ:] Judge White—on the deposits—& Bank—

ALS, DLC (42).

1. This was Henry Toland’s report, communicated by McLane to the House on December 10, 1832 (HRDoc 8, 22d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 233).

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From Thomas J. Lacy

Nashville April 13th 1833.

Dear Sir,

It’s with unfeigned sorrow I inform you of the death of your sincere and much attached friend Judge Overton. He departed this life at half past three o’clock on yesterday, after a serious indisposition of about eight weeks. He died calmly, and with the assurance of a happy immortality; and seemed to be perfectly reconciled to his fate. I was not with him at the time, though I had been with him previously during his illness two weeks. He often spoke to me of you in the most affectionate and devoted terms, and enjoined it upon me to communicate his death to you. He spoke to Dr Hogg a few moments before he died, and told him to inform you whe he saw you, that he died as he lived your friend and as became a brave man and a soldier! He remarked to Mr Barry he wish me to write, that you and your happiness were amonge his last thoughts and the dearest wishes of his heart! He constantly spoke of you and talked about whatever concerned you, during the whole time of his indisposition; and nothing seemed to animate or revive him so much as the mention of your name. His greatest pride and happiness consisted, in being honored with your friendship, and in proving himself worth of that distinction. He called me to the bed side the morning I was compelled to leave him to go to Rutherford Court, and observed, that you and he had been dear friends on this earth, and if it was destined you never should meet here more, that he had no doubt, you would again be united in a better and a happier world! He prayed God
to bless you, with long life, increase of happiness & honor, and a glorious hereafter! His greatest anxiety and wish was to see you once more, and I do verily believe if any thing would have prolonged his existence, it would have been your presence. He often remarked if he could but start to Washington by the way of Orleans, the hope of seeing you, and the exercise of travelling might restore him: But alas! he was to weak for the attempt; and he has gone were neither the things or the cares of this earth will ever more reach him. To you, Dear and Venerable Sir, his virtues and his talents were know and justly appreciated; and his loss will deeply deplored! To me his death will long be a source of bitter affliction. He was amonge the few relatives I have in this world, and he always manifested the most lively concern in whatever affected my welfare or happiness. I feel I must ask pardon for being so minute; but you who sympathize with me in my sorrow, will excuse the tediousness of the narative.

If devotion to you, personally & politically, & admiration for your hight and exalted virtues & talents conisitute a claim to confidence and affection, then he may be justly entitled to that honor; and I hope sharring the same feelings & intertaining the same sentiments, I may be permitted to offer my humble tribute along with his dying love and memory!

I would have been rejoiced to have written you my views of your public acts & messages last winter; but standing in the situation I did, I deemed it indelicate if not improper to trouble about upon any subject. I will only remak, that Providence seems to have assigned you the most important and difficult duties in life to perform, and that you have discharged them in a manner, that has covered yourself, your Country, & posterity with imperishable renown. The blessings of millions are upon you, and the happiness and applause of your own times and of after ages constitute at once your fame and reward!

Permit me, Dear Sir, to join with those, love for your person, gratitude for your servises, and honor for your great and glorious actions; and believe me to be your humble & devoted servant.

Thos. J. Lacy.

P.S. I should ask to hear from when at lieshure. My wife desires to be remembered to you affectionately; & mention us to Maj. Eaton Lady & Maj: Barry.²

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. Lacy—The death of my old & much respected friend judge, J. Overton who died on the 12th. april 1833, peace to his manes A. J— answered 29th. april 1833 A. J.

ALS, DLC (42). Lacy’s mother, Elizabeth Overton Lacy, was John Overton’s first cousin. AJ appointed Lacy an Arkansas Territory district judge in 1834.
1. Samuel Hogg (1783–1842) was a physician and former Tennessee congressman. Richard Henry Barry (d. 1839) was a Nashville merchant. He wrote AJ on April 14 (below).
2. Lacy’s wife was Anna A. Lacy (d. 1844).
From Louis McLane

Dear Sir,

I have just received a letter from Mr. Taney informing me of his conversation with you, and that he had been requested to communicate your wish that my report respecting the conflagration of the Treasury building should not be published, until subsequently to that of the Members of the Cabinet.

I certainly can have no desire upon this matter but to acquiesce in your wishes whatever they may be. My only motive for desiring the publication of my report is to satisfy the solicitude naturally felt by the public in the extent of the loss occasioned by the fire; & regarding this mainly of public concern, I thought it should be speedily put at rest. I pray, however, Sir, that you will exercise your own pleasure in the whole matter. I have the honor to be, Dear Sir, with the highest respect faithfully, your Servant

Louis McLane

ALS, TNJ (22-1009). The Globe printed the two reports on the Treasury fire together on April 15. The joint Cabinet report, with William T. Barry’s signature added to it, came first.

To William Berkeley Lewis

Washington April 14th. 1833.

Dr Major

I have only time to say, we, that are here, are in tolerable health, Mary in good health; she spent last evening with me, with the amiable Mrs. Surrurier Mr. Vaugh has arrived, with Mrs. Bankhead, both in much improved health. Andrew & Sarah, Breathitt, the Doctor & Lady & Major Eaton & Mrs. E. gone to Philadelphia. I expect Andrew & Sarah this week. Since you left me, I have not been very well, & have been very loansome.¹

Will you have the goodness to make enquiry of Col Wilson about two Trunks of Pamphlets & Books, that I sent to him to have selected, & bound together those that related to the same subject. They were sent to Mr Josiah Nichol, and I believe were not attended to by Wilson—have them my friend, hunted up, & direct Mr Nichol to have them sent back to the Hermitage.²

Please visit the Hermitage & write me—give my respects to Mrs. Love & the Col. to Mr Crutcher, McLamore, Barryhill, Armstrong Nichol & their families, & to all my Nashville friends too numerous to name, but amonghs whom Mrs. Catron & the judge & connections are included.³

yr friend

Andrew Jackson
I shall expect you back as soon as you can. Juista, the stewart, has informed us he wants to go to England with his wife—he cannot leave before you arrive, that all things about the house property can be settled satisfactory4 A. J.

ALS, NN (22-1020). Lewis replied on May 1 (below).

1. Mary was Lewis’s daughter, Mary Ann Lewis Pageot (c1814–1866). In November 1832 she had married Alphonse Joseph Yves Pageot, secretary of the French legation in Washington. He was at present in Tennessee. Louise Pageot des Noutières Séruier (1795–1876), Pageot’s half-sister, was the wife of French minister Louis Séruier. British minister to the U.S. Charles Richard Vaughan (1774–1849), who had been away on leave since 1831, had returned the previous week to resume his post. Maria Horatia Paul Bankhead (d. 1866) was the wife of British secretary of legation Charles Bankhead, who had acted as chargé in Vaughan’s absence. The doctor and lady were Edward Breathitt and his wife Mary Pauline Eaton Breathitt (d. 1847), who was John Eaton’s sister.

2. Wilson was probably George Wilson (1778–1848), former publisher of the Nashville Gazette.

3. Thomas Crutcher (1760–1844) was a Tennessee state district treasurer and former Nashville mayor. John Christmas McLemore (1790–1864) was a Nashville businessman and AJ’s nephew-in-law. His wife Elizabeth Donelson McLemore (1796–1836) was the sister of Emily Tennessee Donelson and of John Coffee’s wife Mary. William McLean Berryhill (1785–1836) was a Nashville merchant and Robert Armstrong (1792–1854) was the Nashville postmaster.

4. Michael Anthony Giusta (c1786–1872) had been John Quincy Adams’s White House steward and had remained under AJ. His wife, born in England, was Mary Newell Giusta (1795–1874).

To John T. Sullivan, Peter Wager, and Henry Dilworth Gilpin

Washington April 14th. 1833—

Gentlemen

your letter of the 8th. instant has been rec’d. In reply I have to remark, that the information requested is for my own satisfaction, and I do not wish it extended beyond the personal knowledge of the Government directors. In case of a gross violation of the charter, it is my duty to run a scire facias against the Bank If the rumors I have heard be true, it will probably be incumbent on me to do so, and those rumors relate to proceedings which must have come within the personal knowledge or observation of some of you. If they shall be confirmed by your report, I shall not only be able to judge of my particular duty; but may, if thought proper, cause to be made thro’ the secretary of the Treasury that more formal and thorough investigation which you suggest.

In conclusion I would remark, that the discounts granted to individuals are not deemed to constitute those private accounts which by the charter are so carefully guarded; but that provision only embraces the debtor & creditor accounts of individuals on the Books of the Bank.1 If
any discounts be corruptly or improperly granted, it is not only deemed right, but in aggravated cases the duty of the government directors to communicate the fact to the government. I am Gentlemen with great respect yr mo obdt. servt.

Andrew Jackson

ALS, NjMoHP (22-1022). LS draft in Amos Kendall’s hand, DLC (42); Bassett, 5:59. Copy in Gilpin’s hand, PHi; Copy in AJ Donelson’s hand, DNA-RG 46; Copy, DNA-RG 233 (22-1024). SDoc 333, 23d Cong., 1st sess., p. 10 (Serial 241). Gilpin, Sullivan, and Wager reported to AJ on April 22. They charged that the relegation of much of the Bank’s regular business to board committees, especially the secretive exchange committee on which no government director sat, limited their knowledge of its affairs and usurped functions that properly belonged to the full board. The evasion of board authority over Bank operations both violated the charter and invited loss. As example, Gales and Seaton had been allowed to repeatedly overdraw their account. Their debt now stood above $80,000, on doubtful security that was also pledged to cover debts elsewhere; yet a recent unpaid $5,000 note from them had gone unprotested, in violation of policy. On request of the government directors, the board had ordered an investigation. But the exchange committee instead renewed the unpaid note and discounted two more, despite a Bank by-law prohibiting further lending to an overdrawn debtor. The board had then voted to cancel its investigation (SDoc 2, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 22–27, Serial 238).

1. The BUS charter stated that the Secretary of the Treasury’s right to require a weekly accounting from the BUS and to inspect its books “shall not be construed to imply a right of inspecting the account of any private individual or individuals with the bank” (Statutes, 3:274). The government directors’ April 22 report to AJ stated that while this restriction did not apply to their remarks about Gales and Seaton, which related only “to the action of the board upon matters fully open and discussed before them, and extend in no instance to the private debtor and creditor accounts of individuals,” still they appreciated that AJ would hold their information in confidence. They renewed their April 8 request for authority to conduct a fuller official investigation.

From Richard Henry Barry

Travellers Rest April th14= 1833

Dear Sir

It becomes my painful duty to announce to you the death of our old friend Judge Overton who departed this life on friday the 12 about 15 minutes past 4 oclock in the evening after being confined to his room for about 6 weeks during which time he was often heard to say that he never could get well Doct Overton is of oppinion that the curing of the stricture last summer which has for many years troubled him verry probibally was his death as he has complained ever since that time of a drawing in of his bowels and a verry bad cough both of which increased on him until the verry last moment the Judge retained his proper mind until the last and often said he was willing and prepared to die and for the last two day often told me he wished I could help him die and close his Eyes in eternity for he must go and that soon and prayed that the would take him out of
his misery he requested Doct Hogg about two hours before expired that when ever he saw you that he would tell you that he died Like a man & a Soldier, he receivd your two last letters one of which he read the other he did not read but told me to read all of your letters that might come to him from time to time during his Illness I have done so and since his death have burnt them and will do the same with all that may come from any of his friends as I know that was all was his rule some short time before his death he gave me a lease on the place he purchased from Lytle as he wished me to live neare his Children so I might attend to them and his other bissiness in town and all of his corespondance with his different agents through the country as he had become entirely unable to attend to any bissiness whatever and could not expect to Live long and wished to have all of his bissiness satisfactorely arranged during his life and that he had appointed in his will Maj Thos. Edminston & his nephew Mr. John S. Claybrook his Exr. and Judge White & myself guardians of his children and Maj M. B. Winchester his agent at memphis,¹ the Judge bore his illness with unusual fortitude and I beleive he had a full hope of future happiness Mr Hume preached his funeral on yesterday Evening there was a good many persons presant he was carriad and put in the grave by his old friends Maj Edminston Thos. Crutcher Wm. E. Anderson & Judge Catron² he was extreamly anxious to talk for about 4 hours before he expired but his voice was feebl and failed entirly for one hour before he died he said to me early the morning before he [ . . . ] that the struggle between life & death w[as a des]perate one and that he was the [ . . . ] the Judges family and my [own] are all well and no doubt would [be] glad to here from you at any time give my respects to Maj Barry & family also to your son and Jno. W. Overton yours respectfully³

R H Barry


ALS, DLC (42). Barry was the husband of Overton’s stepdaughter, Mary Lawson May Barry. Travellers Rest was Overton’s plantation near Nashville.

1. Overton’s will named his friend Thomas Edmiston (1779–1834) and nephew John Samuel Claybrooke (1807–1892) as executors, and Barry and Overton’s brother-in-law Hugh Lawson White as guardians of his three children. Marcus Brutus Winchester (1796–1856) was Overton’s business agent in Memphis. Overton had purchased a tract of land from Archibald Lytle (1778–1855) in 1830.

2. William Evans Anderson (1791–1841) was a Nashville lawyer. William Hume (1770–1833) was a Nashville Presbyterian minister.

3. Postmaster General William T. Barry’s first wife had been Overton’s niece, Lucy Waller Overton. Her brother, John Waller Overton (1789–1853), was a Treasury clerk.
To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington april 16th. 1833—

My son,

I have just received yours, & Sarahs, kind letters, of the 14th. instant, and am gratified to hear of both your good healths, and the little pets. Mine is not good, I am oppressed today, with one of my disagreeable head aches.

I have heard nothing from home since I wrote you. It was not true as Holtzclaw wrote, that the colera was at the Hermitage, or it would have been stated in some of the letters written to Andrew & Emily.

For the present it will be proper to omit purchasing they chairs & Settees. I have just recd. Mr Nichols account, which after a credit for the cash recd. for the cotton leaves you three hundred, & about, 80 dollars in debt; therefore this debt must be met, before we make further purchases. You know my Creed, never to be in debt, & in these days of Pressure, those who do, will be sure to do ill.

Emily has recovered, & the rest of the family, except myself, are well. We will be all happy to see you & Sarah, with my little Rachel, return in good health, we are very loansome here, tho’, constantly pressed with business.

I am glad to hear you have laid in the Matts, so well. I suppose the plate ordered, is ready. I would like to hear of its being shipped, as I wish to remit the amount, and close my accounts up to the first of May, that I may know how much we have to spend the present year. I shall not write Mr Josiah Nichol until you return.

give my love to Sarah, & kiss the little Pet for me, & present me to Mr & Mrs. Weatherall, to Emma & all our friends, to Mr G. Breathitt, the Doctor & his lady & to Major Eaton & his. I sincerely regret that Samuel did not pass this way, as I wished to have seen him & Thomas, & have got them to have given us a just account of my family & farm. I have wrote Dr McCorkle, but whether he will write, in answer, is more than doubt-ful.¹ yours affectionately

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (42).

¹ McCorkle wrote AJ on April 19 (below).

From William Berkeley Lewis

Nashville 17th. Apl. 1833.

My dear Genl.

I reached here last evening in the Louisville Stage, in good health and without the occurrence of any accident. I left Gov. Woodbury at Louisville,
but he expected to leave the same morning I did, in the Hibernia, one of the Mail Steam Boats. She is a good Boat; and her commander a very clever, warm-hearted Irishman, and a friend of yours. I have no doubt his passage will be a pleasant one, and I hope also a safe one.¹

Your friends here, so far as heard from, are generally well. Before this reaches you, the death of your old friend Judge Overton, will have been received. He had been lingering for some time, and, Mr. Crutcher informs me, was confined three weeks to his bed before his death. He died on Friday, the 12th. Inst, and was apparently as well as he had been for several days previous; but was taken with a fit of coughing which collected the phlegm in his throat, and, not being able to throw it up, was strangled. Mr. Crutcher informs me that Mrs. Overton is well. I shall ride out to see her in a few days.²

As I was on my way to the Steam Boat, at Wheeling, I saw Mr. Williamson, formerly of Washington, who informed me that Mr. Thomas Donelson and his brother were at his house, and the latter was there, and had been, and was then quite indisposed. Gov. Woodbury and myself went up to the House, where they were, to see them. Mr. Donelson told me he was some better, but was still too unwell to travel. He thought, however, that he would be able to commence his journey again in a day or two; but altho I was detained two days nearly at Cincinnati and one day at Louisville, I neither saw nor heard of them after I left Wheeling—from this circumstance I was apprehensive that Mr. Donelson had got worse again. He was attacked he informed me, with something like the billious cholic.³

Mr. McLemore has been in the Western District, Mr. Crutcher informs me, for the last two or three months, and it is not known when he will return.

The enclosed letter is from your old friend Col. Polk. I do not know what better to do with it than to send it to you; I do not Nor do I know what reason he has to suppose his standing with you is on the wane. So far as I have any knowledge of the relations subsisting between you, I am sure it is sheer imagination. But for the sake of “auld lang sine,” if you think it necessary to write to him, I would treat him with great kindness.

I have not yet seen any of Col. Loves family. I will get him, if he is not too busy to ride up to the Hermitage with me in a day or two. I have not yet been out to Fairfield, but shall see it in the course of an hour or two. I fear it is in rather a bad condition, but from what Mr. Crutcher tells me, I am in hopes the young man I now have will soon put it in pretty good repair—He thinks very favourably of him.⁴

Please present my respects to all your family, and particularly Mr. Earle, and believe me to be, Sincerely Yours

W B Lewis

P.S. Mr. Crutcher sits by me and desires to be kindly remembered to you.
I also send you a letter this moment recd. from Mr. South of Phila.—you will see what he says about your silver Plate. Lewis

ALS, DLC (42). AJ replied on April 29 (below).

1. Woodbury was bound for New Orleans, to begin an inspection tour of southern naval facilities. The Hibernia, captained by John Shallcross (1799–1866), was an Ohio and Mississippi Mail Line steamer running between New Orleans and Louisville.

2. Overton's widow was Mary McConnell White May Overton (1782–1862).

3. Lewis and Woodbury reached Wheeling on Sunday, April 7, and left the next day.

4. Fairfield was Lewis's estate near Nashville.

5. The enclosed April 2 letter from Philadelphia merchant George W. South to Lewis discussed the purchase of imported floor cloth, curtains, sheets, and table linens for the White House (DLC-42). South recommended purchasing a silver dinner service, once the property of Russian minister to the U.S. Baron de Tuyll, from his successor Paul Baron de Krudener. AJ purchased the silver, through South, on June 29 for $4,308.82.

[Enclosure: William Polk to William B. Lewis]

Raleigh Mar. 31st. 1833

Dear Sir.

Our City was yesterday much excited in consequence of a rumour, that our Post Master Thos. G. Scott Esqr. was or was about to be removed from his Office; and a certain Jos. B Hinton to be his successor. Be assured that such a measure will greatly impair the confidence of the people of this City & its vicinity, towards the President, and those having the gift of Office.

I speak with confidence when I say that the incumbent, is honest capable & a friend to the powers that be and always has been, from 1826 to this day.—not so his reported successor—the people here have no confidence in him; and I am satisfied (if the sayings of honorable men are to be believed) he is not is not deserving of confidence; the puff in the Globe to the contrary notwithstanding—not one word of which is true.1

I hope for the good of the Government & the people here this contemplated appointment may be arrested. I would write the Genl. myself on the subject; but I fear my standing with him is in the wane. Believe me to be sincerely & respectfully yr mo obt

Wm: Polk

ALS, DLC (42). William Polk (1758–1834), father of Lucius Junius Polk, was a North Carolina Revolutionary veteran and a longtime friend of AJ. Thomas G. Scott had been postmaster at Raleigh since 1829. Joseph Blount Hinton (b. c1789), of Beaufort County, had sponsored state senate resolutions endorsing AJ’s reelection in 1831, but had previously pledged his support to President Adams while seeking an appointment from him in 1825–27 (Jackson Papers, 9:85–87). On March 30 Polk had chaired a Raleigh meeting that denounced Scott’s removal for Hinton in strong terms. Lewis wrote Polk from Nashville on April 26 that to his knowledge no decision would soon be made, although “impressions, quite unfavourable to Mr. Scott, have been made at the Post Office Department.” As for AJ, Lewis assured Polk that he knew of nothing to suggest “that the relations, which have
so long and so happily subsisted between you and him, have or ought to be changed” (Polk
Family Papers, DLC). Scott was not removed and served until 1845.

1. On March 14 the Globe had printed an item effusively praising Hinton as an “intrepid
friend of civil and religious liberty” for sponsoring a legislative resolution against the
Protestant religious test for office-holding in North Carolina’s state constitution.

To Andrew Jackson Hutchings

Washington April 18th. 1833—

Dr Hutchings

I am at last gratified in receiving a letter from you, yours of the 5th. instant has just been received, and I sincerely thank you for the information given of the family & of the state of the Hermitage. I sincerely regret the loss of they two Sampsons, as I do the rest, but where it does not arise from neglect, or inhumanity, but from the will of our creator, “who giveth, & has the right to take away,” I submit to it, with an humble resignation.1 I was fearful from a letter I had received from a connection, that there might be neglect, & particularly in the death of Titus, and Anake, Ben’s daughter.2 When you see Mr Holtzclaw say to him I have recd. your letter, and am pleased with the description you give me of the contentment of the negroes & the situation of the farm & stock, and hope it will long continue.

I am happy to find you have taken the management of your estate into your own hands; I have only once more to remark to you, that you will find many who, will profess much friendship, court you with kindness, to obtain your confidence if they can, and then obtain your money, and swindle you out of it, if possible. Therefore act as tho you had confidence in all, never reposing it in any until you have good reason to believe, it will be well placed—deal with all as tho’ they were dishonest, and you never can be deceived, because the honest man deceives no one, and you will then be always guarded against the dishonest

Major Lewis was advised by me that you would want your money this Spring—he said to me in reply, that if you did, he would arrange his matters to pay you in Nashville—he is now there.3

Doctor Hogg will certainly pay you, or secure the debt by giving you a new bond with security. I wish you to close all your business in such a manner as will put you in receipt of all the money due the estate. Doctor Hogg is in honor bound to secure this debt, and pay it punctually. I had a lien on his property, but trusting to his honor as I still do, I let it go for his benefit and I wish you, as soon as possible, to have it secured—he can pay, if he will—he can, I should suppose, get it from the Bank, he is in good practice & must have a great deal of money owing to him and if you think it doubtful, I would advise you to take good notes from him at such
discount as will indemnify you in the trouble & expense of collecting it. I enclose a note to the Doctor open for you to read seal & deliver to him.

Write me on the receipt of this, after you have an interview with the Doctor, I have indulged him, and if the debt is not recovered of him I will be responsible for not holding him to security, on releasing his property from the lien taken on it. Therefore, I hope, every attention will be paid to collecting & securing it—from the late losses I have met with—the failure of my crop last year, with the increased expenses of my family & connection who have visited us, it would be very inconvenient for me to be saddled with this debt—the money being advanced to save the Doctors property from execution, his household property, & House & Lott, I have confidence he will pay the debt or secure it to be paid. You will soon be able to judge when you call upon him whether he will exert himself to pay the debt, by offering you security in notes, or endorsers so that you can discount it in Bank with safety to yourself. Mr. McLamore can advise you as to the solvency of those offered, so can Mr. Crutcher who will faithfully advise you on this as well as any other subject.4

If no satisfactory arrangement can be made, then you will have to bring suit, and have a judgt. to bind his property. This would be an alternative I would sincerely regret, and I hope he will avoid it by payment.

How is your uncle Levan? last advices, that he was dangerously ill & not expected to live. How is Mr. McLamore & family? is Mary about to marry. How is my good friend Genl. Coffee & his amiable family. Mary promised to write me but like yourself did not comply—when you write, see all my colts & tell me how they look. How does my Citizen stud colt Look? is he large, & likely, what is the promise of his colt by the oscar filly, & compare it with the Bolivar out of Diana, the virginian—and let me know really how Mr. Holtzclaw is getting on, and how the negroes are, and if contented—how much cotton is planted, & how much corn, & how the whole crop, wheat, Grass oats & rye looks with a glance at the sheep, horned cattle, & hoggs—and how all our friends are, & good neighbours &c.5

If you have leisure please tell me is Mr. Albert Ward serious in proposing his place for sale & if he is, at what price.6

I would be happy to hear of you often & particularly how your farm negroes, crop & stock are progressing—whether your overseer is doing well, and the amount of your last years crop of cotton. My crop has not paid half its expense and left the farm $380 in debt. So much for my absence. Tell me what Thomas J. Donelson is doing & the Doctor. Samuel graduated with credit at Philadelphia and obtained his diploma. I am afraid Thomas will be disappointed in the expected fortune, and perhaps Emma thought she was getting a fortune. She has in the man I am sure, if not in guineas—one word to you as to matrimony—seek a wife, one who will aid you in your exertions in making a competency & will take care
of it when made, for you will find it easier to spend two thousand dol-

lars, than to make five hundred. Look at the oconomy of the Mother & if
you find it in her mother there, you will find it in the daughter—recollect
the industry of your dear aunt, and with what oconomy she watched
over what I made, & how we waded thro the vast expence of the mass of
company we had—nothing but her care and industry with good oconomy
could have saved me from ruin—if she had been extravagant the property
would have vanished & poverty & want would have been our doom.
Think of this before you attempt to select a wife. When you can find such,
and I think you can, then I would say to you that you cannot too soon
settle yourself.

For oconomy & prudence I would bring to your view Genl Coffee &
Polly—take Coffee for your guide receive his admonitions & pursue them
& you will be sure to do well—live within your means, never be in debt,
and by husbanding your money you can always lay it out well—but when
you get in debt you become a slave therefore, I say to you never involve
yourself in debt—and become no mans surety—if your friend is in distress
aid him if you have the means to spare—if he fails to be able to return it,
it is only so much lost, your property is not sold by the sheriff to raise it,
as is the case when you become security & have to pay the debt, that you
have made no provisions to meet—think of all these things—practise them
as you enter life, & they will end your days in plenty & in peace. I say live
always within your means—settle all your debts on the first of every year,
& you will know your means, and can keep within it.

My health is not very good [. . . ] has been a little unwell, but is [. . . ]
Andrew, Sarah, & my little Rac[hel are] in Philadelphia all well—Sar[. . . ]
like to have died here soon aft[er her] arrival—we all join in affectionate
regard to you—say to Thomas I have recd. a letter today from Emma she
is well but I suppose she writes him every week to rouse his spirits when
improving those Rockey Hills. Believe me to be your affectionate uncle

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THi (22-1044).
2. The slave Ben (b. c1794) was Anaca’s father.
3. Percifor Pearson’s reckoning in February 1832 of the Hutchings accounts at the close
of AJ’s guardianship showed that William B. Lewis owed Hutchings $1,000 plus interest on
a note of December 1828 (19-0977; Jackson Papers, 10:80).
4. AJ had lent Hogg $1,400 from Hutchings’s estate in July 1823 to meet two judgments
against him. On June 1, 1828, the debt was converted to a $1,500 note payable in two years
with interest (DLC-72; Jackson Papers, 8:725–26).
5. Virginian was a noted stud horse.
6. Albert G. Ward (d. 1840), nephew of AJ’s neighbor Edward Ward, had inherited a
221-acre parcel near the Hermitage in 1828.
To William Berkeley Lewis

Washington April 19th. 1833—

Dear Major,

This will reach you at sweet home where you will spend a few quiet days with your friends & your own domestics. I am sorry to intrude on your sweet repose, by saying to you that I wish you to be here, if you can with any convenience, before the 25th. of May, the time, if I go eastward, I wish to set out. Mr. juista has notified me, that he wishes to leave his business, and before I knew his intention, he had engaged a house, and is about to open a boarding house or tavern, and William has informed us that he wishes to go at the last of this month, this was without the least intimation, until yesterday, and I suppose he is going into the employ of Mr juista—but this is mere conjecture; I would like therefore that you would be here, when an inventory of the furniture is taken, that it might be compared with the one you have. I will have some trouble to get as faithful a man as William—but this I cannot help. William cannot well be replaced.\(^1\)

We are all enjoying tolerable health  I am slowly getting better of my cough—your daughter is in good health, as is Madam Surrurier & Mr Surrurier—and all join in kind salutations to you and all our friends in Nashville, to whom, we beg you to present us affectionately and believe me yr friend

Andrew Jackson

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1. Giusta operated an establishment on Pennsylvania Avenue after leaving AJ.

From Miles Blythe McCorkle

April 19th. 1833.

Dear General,

I have deferred answering your last Letter, until now, in order to give some information respecting your Negroes; many of whom at that time were very ill. There has been more sickness among them for some months, than usual. The cause I cannot well imagine. The diseases that have prevailed among them, have been something similar to an Epidemic. High Fever, headache, attended with cough and pain in the breast, extending occasionally to the stomach and bowels. There have been about 20 cases of this character. One case, which terminated fatally (Titus) of which you have been informed, had many of the symptoms of Cholera. He lived about 8 hours after being attacked violently. I was with him until he died; but our efforts were all in vain  I have had 2 other cases of the kind in the neighbourhood  One at A. J. Donelsons and one at Drakes Lick the latter a well marked case of Spasmodic Cholera both of which terminated
favourably. There was another case in the bend of the River (Pryors) which died. Old Sampson (the gardener) fell a victim to the disease of an Epidemic character. His constitution could not bear its violent attack. The rest have all recovered, and now enjoy good health. I think I have been unremitting in my attention, both by day & night. The Cholera has again subsided in Nashville; and the general health of the Country is good.

Your farm business goes on well under the management of Mr Holtzclaw. I think he is one of the best Managers I have ever seen; and considering the backwardness of the season, and Sickness, he is quite forward in his business. He will I no doubt make a fine crop. What he does is well done, and done with judgement. I think the Negroes are becoming quite reconciled, and he tells me he finds no difficulty with them, having rarely to chastise.

I should be quite glad whenever you have a leisure moment for you to drop me a few lines. I will write to you again ere long and after an examination of your stock, and especially your blooded horses, &c give you the particulars[.] Your friend

M. Mc.Corkle

P.S. I prepared an immediate answer to your favour but did not send it for reasons already given. I have thought best to send it now with this.

M. M.

ALS, DLC (42).

To Manuel Gómez Pedraza

Great and Good Friend!

I have received the letter which Your Excellency was pleased to write to me on the 9th of February, informing me of the termination of the civil and intestine dissensions which had so long disturbed the peace and retarded the prosperity of the Mexican people, and of your having resumed the authority vested in you by a prior election as President of the United Mexican States.

The intelligence of these important facts gives me very great satisfaction, as affording evidence of the happy termination of a state of things so afflicting to humanity and destructive of the best interests of the Mexican people, and as a sure pledge, that a proper respect for the supremacy of the laws, with the blessings of good order and tranquillity will henceforward be thoroughly established and inviolably maintained in the United Mexican States, through the wise and efficient measures of Your Excellency’s administration.

I offer my cordial congratulations upon these auspicious events, to Your Excellency and to your country, and pray you to accept of my
acknowledgements for the notice you take of my reelection, and so I pray God to have Your Excellency always in his holy keeping.

Written at Washington, this twentieth day of April, AD 1833, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the fifty seventh. Your Good Friend,

Andrew Jackson

LC, DNA-RG 59; Copy (dated April 24), DNA-RG 84 (22-1163). HRDoc 351, 25th Cong., 2d sess., p. 104 (Serial 332). Gómez Pedraza’s term as president had ended March 31. Santa Anna, his elected successor, wrote AJ on November 1 (below).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington April 20th. 1833—

My Son,

I have not heard from you or Mr Breathit for some days. This morning I was in hopes to have recd. a letter from you or Sarah this morning, or from Mr Breathit, saying when you would be here, and how you were. We are much pressed with business, & Mr juista has notified us that he wishes to leave his present employ, and also William, therefore I want you here to aid in taking inventories of the furniture & stores before he goes, and to aid in filing letters which have accumulated, and from his other business, he cannot aid me in this duty. I therefore wish you & Sarah to return as early as it will suit her convenience.

Give my respects to Mr Toland and Leiper, & all other friends, & present Sarah & my little Rachel, with a kiss, & believe me very affectionately yours.

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THer (22-1062).

From William Berkeley Lewis

Fairfield Apl. 21st. 1833.

My dear Genl.

I have this moment returned from a visit to the Hermitage. I left home after an early breakfast and got up there between ten and eleven Oclock, where I remained until after breakfast this morning. It is with pleasure I inform you that I found every individual, big and little, well except Hannah, Sallys eldest child, and she, I was told by the overseer and her mother, was getting better. I had her brought to the house, so that I might see her myself, and ascertain, if I could, the nature of her complaint. I was apprehensive from what Mr. Holtzclaw told me, that she was afflicted
with the hip complaint, such as Major Barry’s son had; but on interrogating her and her mother, as to the origin of her disease, I am inclined to think it is something else. Mr. Holtzclaw and some of the black people think it is the white swelling she has. Her mother told me when she first complained of a pain in the hip she examined her and found a large lump in her groin, having the appearance of what is called a waxen-kernel. She also told me that she complained not only of pain in the hip, but also in the thick, or muscular part of the thigh, and particularly the kee. As I do not know how those who have the hip-complaint are affected, I cannot say whether these are symptoms of that disease or not. When she was first taken Sally tells me she could not walk at all and suffered much pain. She can now walk a little, and her pains are not so distressing. Indeed she told me she suffered little or no pain except of nights. I thought this, probably, was owing to her taking too much exercise in the day, and I told her she must walk very little on her leg until it got better. I also charged her mother to keep her from exercising too much. She is a very pretty little girl and, as she will no doubt make a valuable servant, if she lives and gets well, I have some thought of getting Dr. Hogg to ride up and see her, for I am apprehensive Dr. Mc.Corkle does not understand the nature of her complaint. If she should require his personal attention afterwards, she might be brought down and left with her grand mother, who lives on Parsons lot, College Hill, and would take good care of her. The old woman (old Aunt Nanny you know) was up to see her not long since, the overseer informed me, and was very anxious to take her down with her, but that he did not feel authorised to let her go. When next you write to me let me know yours wishes with regard to this matter, and Hannah shall be treated in all respects as you may direct.

The farm is in pretty good order. The fences all look strong and good, and particularly the outer ones. I was told by the negroes that nearly all the fencing on the Donelson lands had been repaired—most of it, also, round the Caney field—I did not see them but I have no doubt it is so. Some of the fences around the lots and stables have also been repaired, as well as the outer fence north of your brick negro houses. I think there is no fault to be found with any portion of the fencing—some few of the fences about the lots which need it, have not yet been repaired; but the overseer says he intends giving his attention to them the first wet spell. He has made you some 10 or 12 new gates and hung them—they are well made and well hung.

The House looks, I presume, pretty much as it did when you were here last summer. I thought perhaps it had not been sufficiently aired, and I directed Hannah who seems to have charge of it, to open the doors and windows whenever the weather is dry and pleasant. The yard and garden look badly—neither is attended to as they should be. This however, is more Dicks fault than the Overseers, as he has necessarily been much and constantly engaged in getting in his crop—and withal I expect he has
very little taste for gardening. I told Dick he must put the garden in order
forth with and keep it so—that the walks, borders and squares must all be
*cleaned* and *kept so*. The Overseer promised me that in future *he* would
pay more attention to Dick and the Garden, and yard.

Finding the yard pretty much grown up with weeds; indeed the back
part of it entirely taken with the green-planting, I directed the Overseer
to take his hogs into it the first rain that fell and scrape the whole of it
over, not leaving a weed or spear of grass inside of the Paling, in front or
rear of the house, and to keep it so until the last of September, when he
must chop it over lightly and sow it down, *thickly*, with good blue grass
seed, unmixed with any other. These orders were given because I did not
calculate on your visiting the Hermitage this summer, and by the next, if
the blue grass seed comes up well, it will look much better than it now
does, or ever has done.

As you requested I looked also at the Monument, in the garden. Its
appearance is very good, but I do not think it is finished entirely as it
should be. The circular stones which rest upon the columns should also,
be plastered in the interior, as is the case with the dome above. This is
necessary in order to hide the joints and rough appearance of the stone
work. There are also many rough places and little *holes* in the
columns themselves, owing to defects in the stones, which should be filled
up and nicely painted over. In addition to this I would suggest that a neat
little iron-railing be thrown around it at the distance of four feet from the
base of the monument, and paved all round with nicely dressed flagstones,
similar to those which cover the tombs. This would not cost very much,
and would give a handsome finish to the tomb, which monument which,
I think, quite tasty and appropriate.

I sent for old aunt Hannah who has charge of the poultry and told her
that you had been very much mortified at finding, on your return to the
Hermitage, no fowls or poultry of any kind, for the use of the table; and
that you wished me to say to her that you hoped it would never be the
case again. She assured me that she would do her best to raise a plentiful
supply, but said her chickens and turkeys died very much with the gaps,
which with every thing she could do, she could not prevent.4 The overseer
she said had built her a good house, and she expected now, she would be
able to take better care of them. She has a very good stock of turkeys to
raise from—I counted 12 hens and four Gobblers; and, as I understood
from her, she has also, a pretty good supply of chickens &c—

I enquired of the Overseer with regard to your horses, cattle, hogs and
sheep. He told me his work horses were in very good order and were
sufficient to tend his crop. He runs at this time, 17 ploughs, but says if
necessary he can run 19. I sent also for Ben, who I was told had charge
of the plough horses, and enquired of him as to their condition. He said
they were all in pretty good order, and even thriving. He informed me that
they had lost a young mule, but did not seem to think that blame ought to
attach to any one. I saw some of the plough horses myself, and if the balance are in as good order they will do very well. The Overseer informed me that he had 60 grown cows and yearlings, and 22 young calves making altogether, of all discriptions, 82. The cattle look as well as is usual for this season of the year. He has about 300 head of hogs; of this number there will be, he thinks, about 80 or 90 large enough to kill next fall which he hopes will be sufficient, or nearly so, for the use of the farm—he further informed me that of the 300 head, 109 of them were pigs not more than a month old. Your flock of sheep look very well. I enquired of Mr. Holtzclaw the number—he told me there were 92 old sheep, and 59 lambs.

I paid Dun a visit at his stables and looked at all his horses and colts, and I assure you I was much pleased and gratified at their appearance. The Horse, Citizen, is in fine order, and condition—he is really a beautiful animal. The two 3 year old fillies are also in fine condition. I think the one by Stockholder much the finest of the two, but the other is also a fine animal. His colts too (3 in number) are in good order, and very playful. Indeed all his horses, are quite fat, as much so as there is any use for. One of your mares the Overseer informed me, was in Williamson, and as he would have soon to send for her he wishes me to say to you that he would want some money, 40 dollars I think he said, to pay for her season and keeping.

Upon the whole, if Mr. Holtzclaw will hold out as he has begun I think he will make you a good crop, if he has a good stand of cotton and the season suits, & take very good care of your stock. He feels, however, considerable uneasiness with regard to his cotton crop—he is afraid his stand will not be a good one—his seed he says, were not good, nor could he get those that were good any where. He finished planting yesterday (20th.) while I was at the Hermitage. He says he could have planted a week earlier, but not having confidence in the soundness of his seed, he did not like to risk them sooner. He will finish planting his corn tomorrow. He tells me he has 200 acres in cotton, considerably upwards of 300 acres in corn and something like 120, or 130 acres in Oats. He has his sweet potatoes planted, and in the pice of fresh land on the left hand of the gate as you approach the House. I enquired of him particularly about your meadows and timothy. He says no hay, he is afraid, can be made off them. Indeed he says one piece (adjoining the lot Duns stables are in) was so taken in with weeds that he found it necessary to plough it up and put it in corn. He thinks by tending it well this summer the weeds may be killed, and then, by sowing it down again in timothy, it might bring good grass. I looked at the ground, and from its appearance I have no doubt he done right in ploughing it up and putting it in corn. He thinks by tending it well this summer the weeds may be killed, and then, by sowing it down again in timothy, it might bring good grass. I looked at the ground, and from its appearance I have no doubt he done right in ploughing it up—it must have been very much taken with weeds. He has not ploughed up the other, but he is afraid it will not make hay—he says it was badly rooted up by the pigs and hogs last fall, and has more now more weeds than grass in it. Your two fields of clover look very well, and a good deal of hay may be made off one of them (the one opposite the cotton Gin) as Mr. Holtzclaw intends mowing it—the other, he says, he is obliged to pasture.
I enquired of Mr. Holtzclaw about the sickness on the place in the early part of the spring and the cause of so many negroes dying. He told me that he thought the cholera had visited that neighbourhood, and that some of your negroes had died of that disease—particularly Titus, whose death he seemed very much to regret, as he was a fine hand and a most valuable servant. He did not seem, however, to be satisfied in his own mind that either the girl, or the two Sampsons died with that disease. He says Dr. Mc.Corkle saw Titus on the Saturday evening before his death, and said he was well again, and would be able to go to work on Monday morning—at 11 Oclock Sunday night he was a corpse. Now, my dear Sir, I doubt very much whether the cholera has ever been at the Hermitage or its neighbourhood. I heard of its being no where else, except a reported case on Major Donelsons farm, Mr. Donelsons negro who was supposed to be attacked with the cholera, recovered and is now well—which I have no confidence in. I think Titus must have died of some other cause.

I had heard at Nashville that Mr. Holtzclaw was very severe with the negroes, but from my own observation and what the negroes themselves told me while there I think, probably, he is not more so than is necessary. Where there are so many negroes, there must be a pretty rigid police. I told him what I had heard of his severity; but I hoped he had given no foundation for such reports about him. I added that you knew the necessity of keeping order on the place and among the negroes, but that I was sure that you did not wish, nor would you permit, your negroes knowingly, to be treated with cruelty. I hoped therefore that he would not use towards them any unnecessary severity. He assured me that he had not, and would not. I told him if an overseer would be constantly, himself, with his hands, very little whipping would be required. The best way of managing negroes, according to my experience, was to treat them kindly when they done well, and to punish reasonably when they misbehaved; but that he might be assured that no negroes would conduct well who were left too much to themselves—that some one, for whom they had either respect or fear, should always be near at hand. He concurred with me in opinion, and said that he scarcely ever was off the place unless obliged by business.

Your negroes evidently are better clad than they were under Mr. Steele’s administration. They informed me they all got their quantum of winter clothing, and most of them have already been furnished with their winter clothing—I did not see a single child, even, that on the place that was not well clad, and Mr. Holtzclaw informed me there were 58 of them. He keeps his wheel constantly going, and he informed me it spins 6, or 7 cuts yards every day—besides the spinning ginney he says he keeps some of the old women spining by hand—and his two looms, he says are constantly going.

I believe, my D. Genl, I have given you all the information I have with regard to the Hermitage, its culture, and management. If there should be any thing else you wish me to attend to, let me know and it shall be done.
My place, I believe, has fared worse by my absence than yours. My former overseer made me nothing the last four years, and on my return this spring I find nothing scarcely on it—stript almost of every thing. I have got, however, I think, a very fine young man, who will in this and next year be able perhaps to restore things to what they formerly were.

Mr. MLeomore has got back again. I saw him a few days ago at his own house. I never saw him look better, but Mrs. Mc. Lemore has been unwell for some time; altho getting better she still looks badly. The rest of the family are well. Mr. MLeomore informed me, that Genl. Coffee was still quite unwell, and threatened with the dropsy in the chest. I trust this may not be so, but really I have my fears. The Genl. did not by any means seem to me to be in sound health, while in Washington.

Please say to Mr. Donelson when at the Hermitage I stepped over to his place, and enquired how they all were there. His overseer told me that there was not a sick person on the place. He said he had finished planting his cotton the 15th. (I think,) and that he had all his corn planted except the new ground—every thing I thought looked pretty well. You can say to Mrs. Donelson I understood they were all well at her mothers. I had not time or I would gone over to see the old lady. I will try and do so the next time I go up to the Hermitage.

I do not know yet when I shall be able to return to Washington. Mr. Crutcher and myself have done nothing yet towards settling arranging the accounts of the estate, nor shall I be able to attend to that matter before Mr. Pageot leaves here, which will be on Wednesday morning, the 24th. Inst. so that you may expect to see him in Washington in a very few days after you receive this hasty scrall. If it should be necessary for me to be back earlier than the first or middle of June, write me and I will return at any time you may think it necessary.

Please present my respects to your family, not forgetting my good friend, Mr. Earle, and believe me to be, D Sir, sincerely yours

W B Lewis

P.S. The Overseer, Dun says, gives him every opportunity to take good care of his horses. He has logs he says, for new stables which he intends putting up in the course of the summer. I forgot to tell you when speaking about your cattle that Mr. Holtzclaw said he had lost two very fine cows, which were downed in the mill race. These he said was the only stock he had lost—

[Endorsed by AJ:] Major Lewis—recd. 4th. May 1833—

[Endorsed by AJ Jr.:] On Private affairs home on home file A J jr

ALS, DLC (42). AJ replied on May 4 (below).
1. “White swelling” is an inflammation of the knee. William T. Barry’s son, Armistead Mason Barry (d. 1845), had been treated for a hip problem in Philadelphia. AJ wrote AJ Jr. about it on December 22 (below). A waxing kernel is a small tumor formed by enlargement of the lymphatic glands, most commonly in children.

2. College Hill was the site of the University of Nashville, whose president was Presbyterian clergyman Philip Lindsley (1786–1855).

3. The slave Hannah (b. c1801) was head of the Hermitage household staff.

4. Old Hannah (b. c1770) was a Hermitage house slave. “The gapes” is a parasitic infection in poultry.

5. The slave Dunwoody (c1770–c1845), purchased in 1806, was the trainer of AJ’s racing stock.

6. Emily Donelson’s mother was Mary Purnell Donelson.

From Charles Jones Love

Mansfield 21 April 1833

My dear General

I recd three days since your favr. of the sixth Inst covering one to Mrs. Love. I can assure you it was gratifying to learn that Mrs Jacksons health was Improving I hope ear this it has been perfectly Restored

We regret to learn that your health is not so good. I am confident it proceeds from the great fatigue you were obliged to undergo before the rising of Congress. If you could spend a few week at the Hermitage this Summer I feel confident it would be of infinit service to your general health. You have now got matters settled in the South as well as all as our Relations in Europe, you have laboured hard to effect these objects and as they have been crowned with sucess I think you ought to take some repose yourself; particularly when your health requires it so Imperitively.

I will not say much about its being your Interest to be at the Hermitage at least once a year for that would not way with you where the publick was concerned but your health requires it and I hope and trust you will look some how what to your own repose and come out this summer If you should visite the East you might come out by way of the Lakes and pass through the northern part of Ohio. The Cholera is not at the Hermitage nor do I think it has been more than that at this place or generally through the Country. Our servants have been subject to bowel complaints & pains in the stomach but nothing serious when not exposed Poor Sampson I believe caught cold but he had been lingering for some time our country is at this time very healthy, our Winter has been unusually wet and damp which was the cause of so much sickness, Mrs Loves health is fast Improving and the balance of the family are well Mrs Love & Elizabeth desire to be most affectionately rembrd to Mrs. Jackson and your self with my cordial wishes for your health and happiness I am your sincer Frend

Ch J Love

ALS, DLC (42).
From Worden Pope

Louisville Apl 21st. 1833

My dear Sir

Your kind letter, announcing my appointment as a Visiter at West-Point, was gratefully received. The commission for that purpose, has not yet reached me. I presume that I shall receive it, in a few days.\(^1\)

We have just had the pleasure of Gov. Woodbury’s visit, to our city. He reached here, on Saturday the 14th and passed through our canal on Sunday the 15th. inst. on his way to New-Orleans. I spent an hour in his company on Saturday, and went through the canal, with him on Sunday. He was free, to me, in his conversations, on public subjects. I obtained from him, information, which I had much desired. I was highly pleased with his open and easy manners. There was, none of the starch, of high station, about him.

My son is a candidate for congress in this District, with probable prospects of success. Henry Crittendon of Shelby and Mr Graves, a lawyer, of Henry, are his opponents, and on the Clay side.\(^2\) They vehemently push Mr Clay’s Land-bill at him. They spread much, upon the advantages to Kentucky, of a division of the money, for the public lands, amongst the states, to the purposes of Education and internal improvements. Gov. Woodbury informed me, that the application of this fund, to those objects and colonization, was stricken out of the bill; and by his advice, I now request you, to send me, copies of the bill and your objections. It will be understood, that the objections are to be given, in the strictest confidence, and not to be used, without your leave.\(^3\)

I consider it very likely, that Crittendon or Graves, will be ruled off the political track; an event I had rather, not see. If they both continue, I look, upon the success of my son, as certain. Lecount is not a candidate; and I hope that he will exert all his force and influence in favor of my son. His friends are warm for Patrick. On this point, a letter from Major Barry to Lecount, will be highly important. It will induce him to be active, in favor of my son. Lecounts right arm was amputated, in lopping Gallatin, Owen, Franklin, Anderson from Shelby and Henry. This ought to influence him to go the whole for Patrick H Pope.\(^4\)

The opposition are endeavoring to make this point, the nucleus of their power in the west but more particularly in Kentucky; and here your friends, ought to be strengthened. If we get my son, as the Representative, from this District, it will be a death-blow to the opposition. I have much to say when we meet, in private, about the plan, objects and actions of public men. “The poper study of mankind, is man.”\(^5\)

Mrs Pope’s health is still very bad; and nothing, I believe, will restore it, but travelling.\(^6\) With the highest respect and esteem, I am your friend sincerely

Worden Pope
ALS, DLC (42). Pope (1772–1838) was a Louisville lawyer.

1. Each year the War Department appointed a board of visitors to inspect and report on cadet instruction at West Point.

2. Pope’s son, Patrick Hamilton Pope (1806–1841), was a Louisville lawyer. In August he was elected to Congress over Henry Crittenden (1792–1834), brother of John Jordan Crittenden. William Jordan Graves (1805–1848) withdrew from the race but defeated Pope for reelection in 1835.

3. The clause in Clay’s bill to distribute federal land revenues among the states that directed the distributed funds to be spent on education, internal improvement, or colonization of free blacks was stricken in the House of Representatives before the bill’s passage on March 1. AJ pocket-vetoed the bill and delivered his reasons to the new Congress on December 4 (below).

4. Since 1825, Joseph LeCompte (1797–1851) had represented a congressional district embracing Henry, Shelby, Gallatin, Owen, Franklin, and part of Anderson counties. Reapportionment by the legislature in February 1833 under the 1830 census had in effect dissolved his district, splitting off the latter four counties among three different districts.


6. Pope’s wife was Elizabeth Taylor Thruston Pope (1785–1838).

From Martin Van Buren

Philadelphia April 21st. 33

My Dr Sir

The enclosed letter is from one of our state Bank Commissioners whose business it is to examine the Banks subject to the Safety fund law. He is a man of great intelligence though perhaps somewhat prejudiced agt. the Manhattan Bank as that is one of the few institutions which has not yet come under the general law. I send it to you principally on account of the suggestion it contains in relation to the propriety of Associating the Banks together which you will recollect was a suggestion I made to you in one of our conversations upon the subject & which strikes me more & more favourably. One of our friends at Baltimore suggested a wish to be invited to accompany you on your tour. I told him frankly that I could not advise it as I thought you would be under the necessity of laying down a general rule not to give any such invitations to avoid giving offence. The idea is worth bearing in mind. I send you also a letter from our old & honest friend Elmendorf who was in Congress with you which is worth a perusal—please destroy it & at your leisure enclose Col. Stebbins letter to me at Nyork. I intended to have shewn you Forsyths letter but forgot to do so. As you will find it next to impossible to read it I do not trouble you with it. After complaining in his genteel way about the post—objecting to sending out the Minister in the recess and urging the impropriety of leaving the entire South without a member of the Cabinet—he says in substance that he will consider the Russian mission offered to him in good faith & that we you will so regulate the period of Mr B.s return & his going out so to suit his (Forsyths) convenience &c &c. I find that
the opposition are making a good deal of talk about the appointment of the relations of the members of the Cabinet. This is a delicate matter & should be dealt with cautiously. I shall write you again soon. Remember me most kindly to Mr & Mrs. Donelson & Mr Earle. We have carried Rhode Island—what next! Kentucky if I mistake not. The Major desires to be remembered to you.[.]4 Very truly yours

M. Van Buren

P.S. I propose to remain here until Saturday—

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (22-1081). AJ replied on April 25 (below).

1. An 1829 New York “safety fund” law required state banks to pay into an insurance fund to provide against their insolvency, and created a board of commissioners to inspect and report on their condition. The law applied only to banks whose charters were granted or renewed after its passage and so did not extend to the Manhattan Company, which had received a perpetual charter in 1799. Charles Stebbins (1789–1873) was one of the first three commissioners appointed in 1830. On April 17 he had written Van Buren advising on which New York banks should receive federal deposits if they were removed from the BUS. Stebbins opposed the Manhattan Bank, saying that little was known of its condition or management because of its exemption from safety-fund inspection and that its stock was largely owned abroad. He recommended entrusting the deposits to a consortium of leading banks, to provide greater security and help stabilize the currency (Van Buren Papers, DLC).

2. Lucas Conrad Elmendorf (1758–1843) had been a New York congressman from 1797 to 1803, overlapping AJ’s 1797–98 tenure as a Tennessee senator. Elmendorf had written Van Buren on April 8 to warn that if AJ’s withholding the distribution bill meant that he intended to embrace Missouri senator Thomas Hart Benton’s countervailing proposal to further reduce the price of western federal public lands, he would forfeit all his popularity in the Atlantic states. Cheap western lands depreciated eastern property values and invited a flood of refuse immigration from Europe, threatening sound government and depriving the older states, including New York, of their fair share of the land proceeds. Elmendorf complained of “all this Adventitious Western Prosperity” already purchased at eastern expense, and forecast a reshaping of parties around the land issue (Van Buren Papers, DLC).

3. Forsyth had written Van Buren on March 29, complaining of his unrequited services and sacrifices for the administration. Its repeated failure to offer him a Cabinet post made him look weak at home and seemed to show a “fixed policy” to “keep all Southern men out of the Cabinet.” He would not again expose himself by defending the “unnecessary” and “abominable” dispatch of foreign ministers during the Senate recess. He would prefer the Russian mission to “remaining in the Senate inactive & useless” and to “hear myself abused at home for a silly simpleton who had not wit enough to secure his due portion of the spoils of victory.” Forsyth said he would “consider the Russian mission as offered in good faith” and “claim it as pledged” whenever Buchanan was recalled (Van Buren Papers, DLC).

4. A coalition of Jacksonians and Anti-Masons had carried the Rhode Island gubernatorial and state senate election on April 17. The major was Van Buren’s eldest son, Abraham Van Buren (1807–1873), an Army lieutenant and aide to General Macomb.
From Wilson Lumpkin

Executive Department Ga
Milledgeville April 22nd. 1833.

Dear Sir,

I have deemed it expedient to inform you & through you the Secretary of War, of the present prospect & state of affairs amongst the Cherokee Indians. Since the return of Ross & company from Washington, the prospect of a Treaty with the Cherokees has constantly lessened. I am not prepared however to attribute the change of feeling amongst the Cherokees, to any influence which may have been used by their own delegation—But rather incline to the opinion, that these individuals are acting in concert, with the Enemies of good order & Government. It is quite obvious that the enemies of the Union, are doing all they can, to give us trouble with the Cherokees. Regardless of truth or foundation, the Indians & Indian Countrymen, are told that under a late act of Congress, the way is prepared to restore them to all their former high expectations of Independant Government &c. &c.1 Idle as these stories are known to be, to every man of sense—yet men of sense are found to be base enough to exert their whole energies, thus to delude & mislead this unfortunate people. Yea, Newspapers & Citizens of Georgia, are at this moment engaged in the unhallowed work, of fanning the embers of strife, between the Cherokees & the Government of Georgia. And I regret to find in some neighbourhoods, where but few whites have settled, the Indians have manifested a spirit of disregard & insolence to our laws. I have however so far relied upon the civil authority of the newly organized Counties; & shall continue to do so, until I am assured, that there is not sufficient moral force in the Country, to maintain the Supremacy of our laws. I have taken proper steps to remind the leading men amongst the Cherokees that it is my duty to see that the laws of the state, are faithfully administered & executed. And that they must be obeyed by every description of population within the State. I have warned them against adhering to the councils of bad men. I have moreover reminded them, of the kind solicitude with which I have watched over their interest; & how they have been shielded from oppression by the Agents of the Government, sent amongst them. I have told them distinctly, (as you have done before) that so long as they remain in the state, they must yield obedience to its laws.2 This course has become necessary, on account of the falsehoods propegated by the enemies of the Country. They have told the Indians, that the U. States Troops lately marched from Augusta to Tennessee, were sent on as an advanced corps designed to drive the Georgians from the Cherokee Country. After the developments which will transpire at the Cherokee Council, which is to meet on the 14th. of next month, we shall be better prepared to judge in regard to subsequent measures. You will please excuse me for suggesting, that it may be useful for you, in some distinct form to let the Cherokees
know—that all those statements, of your unprincipled enemies, is mere slander, which go to charge you with any change of Opinion, in regard to the rights & prospects of the Cherokees. 3 I am Dear Sir with Unabating confidence & Esteem Yr. Obt. Servt.

Wilson Lumpkin

LC, G-Ar (22-1143). Lumpkin, *The Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia* (New York, 1907), 1:216–18. Lumpkin (1783–1870) was the governor of Georgia. AJ replied on April 30 (below).

1. In his subsequent convening address to the Cherokee General Council in May, John Ross opined that the Force Bill and AJ’s assertion of federal supremacy in the nullification crisis might be turned to the Cherokees’ benefit, as Georgia’s usurpations against them exemplified nullification in practice (Cherokee Phoenix, August 10, 1833; Papers of John Ross, 1:267–68).

2. Beginning with his first presidential address to them in April 1829 (delivered through Secretary of War John Eaton), AJ had repeatedly told the Cherokees that the federal government had no power to protect them against Georgia’s sovereign authority and that their only alternatives were to submit to its laws or remove west.

3. On March 13, Army commanding general Macomb had ordered troops from Charleston, S.C., to march to expel intruders on Cherokee lands in North Carolina and Tennessee, and troops from the Augusta arsenal to Fort Mitchell to remove “certain intruders” in Alabama and Georgia (DNA-RG 108, M857-1). The next day, March 14, Elbert Herring, Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the War Department, wrote the Cherokee delegation acknowledging the injuries they had suffered from unlawful intruders and pledging the dispatch of a military force to expel them. On April 26, Lumpkin complained to Secretary of War Cass that Ross was “exhibiting this indiscreet letter” to show that “all the Georgia settlers who have settled under the authority of the laws of Georgia, will be driven from their homes by the United States’ Army.” He requested a public contradiction to “put an end to all false stories.” Cass replied on May 2, affirming AJ’s unaltered conviction that he had no right to remove settlers from Indian lands where state law had been extended. He enclosed May 1 letters from Herring to the Cherokees and to their federal agents, clarifying that the orders to expel intruders applied only to Cherokee lands in Tennessee and North Carolina (Cherokee Phoenix, July 20, 1833). Lumpkin made the letters public.

To Martin Van Buren

Washington April 25th. 1833.

My Dr Sir,

I have endeavoured yesterday to obtain a moment to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21rst, and its enclosures, but really I am more pressed with business, and office hunters, than I have been throughout the session of Congress, and my health feeble since you left me. The death of my old friend judge Overton, just announced, who took his flight on the 12th. instant, has added to my want of good spirits, and not calculated for some time to add to the recovery of my health. His change is a happy one; he was worn down with illhealth & affliction of body; and is gone where the wicked cease to trouble, & the weary are at rest—peace to his manes.

I have read both they letters you inclosed to me. The one on the Banks, is a good production and altho there are some errors in his views still there
are much good sense worthy of recollection. That of Mr Glendendorf on
the subject of the Public Lands & Mr Clays bill for raising a surpluss
revenue, I deem too selfish, for recommendation. These politicians who
would lay aside the great principles of our constitution, and from selfish
views adopt a policy in open violation of its principles, that will lead to
the destruction of our happy government, are dangerous guides to us, who
take the constitution for our guide, and public good, & the durability of
our pure republican system—our end in view. I cannot therefore adopt his
vews regardless of any consequences that he may apprehend. I therefore
return both letters. Mr P. on no account ought to be destroyed, for a time
may come when this letter may be of importance to shew his opinions,
and the pernicious consequences if they were adopted, and that he would
not be a faithful sentinel on the watchtower of our republic.

I am happy to hear that our mutual friend Forsythe is contented with
the prospect in view. His objections to sending out a minister to France
must have arisen without taking a full view of the subject—reasons of
importance exist, & which it is the Exctives duty to embrace.

you must recollect that on the last evening of the session Mr Clays
Tariff was passed—there was no time to deliberate upon its details. In that
bill the duty on Brandy & wines, & French silks, are reduced very much.
The duty upon our Tobacco is a great grievance to the south & west on
their [ex]ports. The time now offers when it can be pressed upon them
with great force by stating to them, that unless that government makes
some reciprocal arrangements on that subject, or strong assurances that
satisfactory arrangements will be made, that I will recommend to next
congress to increase the duties on their Brandy, wine & silks—now is the
time to arrange that matter next in importance to that of our seamen\(^1\)—in
addition, we are advised that up to the last dates, no appropriation had
been made by France to meet the payment of the debt under the late
Treaty and great difficulty was apprehended in the appropriation. This of
itself not being known on the adjournment of congress would justify us
to send out a minister to attend to this alone—both together, form one
that it would be criminal for us to overlook.\(^2\) Therefore Mr. L. will go
out in june—you will be surprised to see that our friend Trist is going to
the Havanna—& Mr Brent in time is going abroad.\(^3\) I can say no more at
present, only to say to you, my family now with me, are well & greet you
with their kind salutations—present mine to your sons, & accept of my
prays for your health & prosperity.

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (22-1179).

1. Edward Livingston resigned as secretary of state and was commissioned as minister
to France on May 29. His June 3 instructions said that “an important, if not the most
important, object of your mission” was to procure a reduction in the “onerous duties” on
American exports to France, especially on tobacco, which if not alleviated might prompt
AJ to recommend retaliatory duties to the next Congress in December, before the first reductions in the Compromise tariff were to take effect (DNA-59, M77-54). AJ’s “seamen” remark may have referred to the unresolved issue of British impressment of American sailors, which Van Buren had attempted to reopen as minister to Britain in 1831–32.

2. In July 1831 France and the United States had signed a convention obligating France to pay 25 million francs over six years for spoliations on American shipping during the Napoleonic Wars. The first installment, due February 2, 1833, had not been paid, and acting U.S. chargé at Paris Nathaniel Niles had reported in February and March that there was resistance in the French Chamber of Deputies to appropriating the money (DNA-RG 59, M34-29).

3. AJ had the day before, April 24, commissioned Nicholas P. Trist as U.S. consul at Havana to succeed the deceased William Shaler. On August 8, State Department chief clerk Daniel Carroll Brent (1774–1841) was commissioned to succeed the deceased Isaac Cox Barnet as consul at Paris. Livingston sailed on August 14.

From William Berkeley Lewis

Nashville 26 Apl. 1833.

My dear Genl.

I received by yesterdays mail the enclosed letter from Martin Gordon. He speaks of two letters, accompanying the enclosed, to you. He must have forgot to put them up, as I have not recd. them, unless he sent them under a seperate cover, & they were opened at the office and taken to you. If this be not the case it is probable they will come to hand in a day or two, and I will then enclose them to you. I thought, however, that it was important that you should understand the state of things in New Orleans, and have therefore sent you the enclosed without waiting for the others. Gordon, no doubt, is a good deal excited at the course of those gentlemen, but he is a true and sincere friend, and worth a regiment of lukewarm and or pretending friends.1

I have heard nothing from your farm, or Overseer since I last wrote you. I forgot to say to you in that letter that Mr. Holtzclaw was apprehensive his corn would be short. He will, however, he says use every economy.

We have nothing here, very interesting, except the electioneering now in progress. Bell has, as yet, no opposition—perhaps will have none. The Bank people are doing all they can against Polk, who is opposed by Thec. Bradford of Bedford County. Col. Walker, Polks brother in law, is now in Nashville and says there is no danger of his election. I saw Mr. Tho. H. Fletcher a day or two ago, who informed me that he had just returned from Cave Johnstons District, and that he thought the contest there was entirely between Dr. Marable, and Genl. Cheatham—that Johnston was completely down.2 The contest in this county for the Legislature is between Geo. Yerger (for Foster) and Jos. Horton former Sheriff (for Grundy); and William Anderson (Foster) and Hickman (Grundy)—the two former for the Senate and the latter for the lower House. Eatons friends are looking on, but taking
no part in the struggle here. It would be better for Eaton if he were here, but absent as he is I think his prospects very good—better than either of the others. Newton Cannon, among many as well as others not heretofore counted on by his friends, has come out openly for him. Cannon is running for the Senate without opposition I understand. Gov. Carroll, Col. Armstrong & Hall think, is supporting Eaton in good faith. Armstrong says he must not be appointed to any office before this election is over.\(^3\)

I regret very much to hear of Genl. Coffees indisposition. I fear he is considered dangerous. He wrote here for Dr. Hogg to ride out to see him. He has not yet returned. We can therefore know nothing certain with regard to Genl. Coffee’s situation until we see him. Remember me kindly to your family & Mr. Earle, and believe me to be sincerely yours.

W B Lewis

ALS, DLC (42).

1. Gordon’s letter to Lewis, written March 27 and enclosed herewith to AJ, warned of a memorial on its way to Washington calling for his ouster as collector at New Orleans. Gordon charged that its “immediate Agents” were John Slidell “actuated by the principle of revenge,” customs surveyor Samuel Spotts, and U.S. marshal John Nicholson, “a disguised enemy” to both Gordon and AJ. Neither Spotts or Nicholson had “ever contributed one cent towards the Support of our Cause,” but had always associated with “our most vindictive, and malicious political enemies.” Gordon said their mutual continuance in office had become impossible, and he asked Lewis to apprise AJ “in the most delicate way” that if the two were not removed, he would have to resign himself (DLC-42). Gordon wrote AJ on July 2 (below).

The memorial against Gordon was signed by more than eighty New Orleans merchants and citizens headed by William L. Robeson, and sent to AJ on March 29 via Treasury secretary McLane. Claiming to “speak the unanimous voice of the whole community,” it denounced Gordon’s official conduct as “tyrannical, overbearing and capricious.” AJ returned it to McLane with instructions that the “petitioners be called on to specify, the acts of tyranny & oppression committed by the collector & particularly on whom committed, & how. And the collector furnished with a copy” (DNA-RG 36). McLane accordingly notified Gordon and wrote the memorialists for explanation on April 16 (DNA-RG 36, M175-4; Nat. Intelligencer, June 14, 1833). On June 16 a committee of the memorialists, headed by Robeson, sent depositions and statements to the Treasury offering “conclusive evidence” of Gordon’s “arbitrary, capricious and oppressive” conduct (DNA-RG 36). AJ had appointed Robeson receiver at the New Orleans land office in 1829. On July 20 he ordered his removal.

2. In Tennessee’s August elections, congressman John Bell was returned unopposed, incumbent James K. Polk defeated Thomas Porter and state legislator Theodorick Fowlk Bradford, and incumbent Cave Johnson defeated state legislator Richard Cheatham (1799–1845) and former congressman John Hartwell Marable (1786–1844). James Walker (1792–1864) of Columbia was married to Polk’s sister Jane Maria. Thomas H. Fletcher (1792–1845) was a former Tennessee legislator and secretary of state.

3. Incumbent Felix Grundy, Ephraim Hubbard Foster (1794–1854), and John H. Eaton were competitors for the U.S. Senate seat to be filled in the upcoming fall legislative session. In Davidson county, George S. Yerger (1808–1860) defeated Joseph W. Horton (1792–1846) for state senate, and William E. Anderson beat John Pryor Hickman (1788–1840) for the assembly. Former congressman and future governor Newton Cannon (1781–1841) was defeated for the state senate in Williamson and Rutherford counties by Leonard H. Sims. Allen A. Hall (c1803–1867) was editor of the Nashville Republican and State Gazette.
To William Berkeley Lewis

Washington April 29th. 1833

Dear Major,

yours of the 17th. instant is just received, & I congratulate you most sincerely in once more being at sweet home & in the midsts of your friends. I would to god I was with you—but assure my friends, if I live, I will see them next summer—present me kindly to all, & particularly to Mr Crutcher Mr & Mrs. Love & their family.

Before yours reached me, I had been advised by letters from Mr Lacy, Mr Barry & the Revd. Mr Hume of the death of my old & valued friend Judge Overton. I regret he is gone, but when I reflect he is ‘beyond where the wicked cease to trouble’ & where the weary are at rest, although I could lament in the language & feelings of David for Absalom, I am constrained to say, peace to his manes—let us weep for the living, & not for the dead—present me kindly to Mrs. Overton & family if you see them.

I would sincerely regret to hear that my friend Genl Wm. Polk should have taken up the idea, that my friendship & regard for him was on the wane. He is gone to Tennessee, and when you see, assure him, that if any thing in my letter to him, confidential, has given rise to such a thought, I beg you to say to him banish it forever. My letter was addressed to him as a friend, to bring to his view, how easy it was for interested men to get up a meeting of good men to shield themselves or connections from suspicions. There had been considerable losses from the mail on that rout, & suspicions had fell upon a youth the son of the man who called the meeting. Suspicions had fell upon the Postmaster at Raleigh for keeping this youth in the office and still...our investigation was still going on. We had been urged to give Mr Hinton an office by Spaight and many others and it had reached Raleigh that Hinton was about to receive that appointment—the meeting was got up, & a great display in favour of a Postmaster whose conduct to say the least, was as suspicious as the one we had just removed in the east, & the conduct of the administration arraigned for what it had not done, nor as to the appointment of Mr. Hinton, did not mean to do, as it had been made known after he left here, that he was a public defal-ter. My confidential letter was to him as a friend to put him on his guard for the future, for surely if Mr Scott is as honest as the meeting pourtray him—he is much to blame for keeping the young man in his employ who is getting rich by Dealing in lottery ticketts—when much money has been taken out of the mail.

Say to my friend, was he in my situation, & see the vast depredations on the Treasury, and how few there are amongst the many, that we believed to be honest, are so, he would think well of my caution, to beware of confiding, now adays, in the honesty of men handling public money—if ever I get time I will write him—but tell him when the U.S. Bank buy up members of congress by the Dozzen, morality is on the
I have been so often interrupted since I began this, that I doubt whether you will be able to read or understand it—you can give Genl Polk my meaning at least.

I regret to learn that Mr McLamore is still in the Western District. I fear his private business is not in a pleasant situation—do give me confidentially your opinion on the best information you can obtain.

Do my Dr Sir see the Hermitage before you return—and if you can be here by the 25th. of May—I suppose I will go to the north & I do not wish to leave here before you return. It will be proper to have some confidential person here as well for the management of the arrangements of the furniture for the House & improvements around it, as for other purposes. I wish you here as soon as you can. Mary is in fine health, as is Mrs. Surrier & Monshier.

I expect Andrew & Sarah today, all here join in kind salutations to you—Major Eaton & Lady at Baltimore[.] In haste yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS and Copy, NN (22-1201).

2. Spaight was congressman Jesse Speight. The eastern postmaster was probably Matthias Day (1766–1844) at Newark, removed in March.

From Mary Donelson Coffee

Florence April the 29th. 1833

My Dear Uncle

Papa received a letter from you a few days ago, in which you give Cousin Mary and myself a severe scolding for not writing you, I acknowledge my dear Uncle we have been very remiss, but I knew you were so much harassed with letters, that I concluded it would be best to pester you with no more, Since you are so kind as to desire it, however, I will endeavour to merit a pardon in the only way, you say will be acceptable, by future good behavior, Pa’, continues in very low health, he is very much reduced since you saw him, the Physician’s in Florence did not know whether his disease was dropsy or the asthma, consequently, they did not know how to treat him, Dr. Hogg of Nashvill has been with him now for three or four days, he pronounces the disease to be dropsy not yet confined to any part of the system he has been very energetic, using calomel, the lancet and blistering, and altho’ Pa’ thinks he feels a little better under his treatment I am afraid he will reduce him too low. The weather seems to have so much influence on his feelings, that I am in hopes, the summer and Dr Hogg to gather will soon restore him, I hope we shall prevail on the Dr remain here until Pa’ is better, he will at any rate remain two days longer I was delighted to hear of Cousin Sarah’s recovery, I was really
very much allarmed for her when we left Washington, she seemed to be affected so like I had heard the Cholera described, I supose you will all leave Washington soon, Aunt and Uncle Andrew for Tennessee I wish you could come out with them, your friends would all be very much gratified to see you but I dare say you would not enjoy the trip much, you have so little quiet and peace when you are there, I supose however, you will leave Washington and I hope the country air, and quiet (compared to the bustle of this winter) will entirely restore your health, Pa says he will write you as soon as he is better, the Dr says he thinks the symtoms are more flattering than they have been, Ma’ & Pa’ join me in love to Aunt Emily, Cousin Sarah, and yourself[.] I remain, my dear Uncle your affectionate Niece

Mary Coffee

[Endorsed by AJ:] Miss Mary Coffee answered May 29th. 1833—A. J answered 29th.

ALS, T (22-1197). AJ wrote Coffee acknowledging Mary’s letter on May 11, and replied to Mary on May 29 (both below).

From Roger Brooke Taney

Attorney General’s Office
April 29, 1833.

Sir,

I have already had the honor of stating to you in writing my opinion that the conduct of the Bank of the United States appears to have been such that the Executive Branch of the Government may lawfully withdraw from it the deposits of the public money, and that the public interest requires it to be done. And also that the fiscal operations of the Government may be safely and conveniently carried on through the State Banks.

The most formidable objection to this measure arises from an apprehension of the difficulties which the Bank of the United States may throw in the way of its execution. It is supposed that the Bank of the U. States, by means of its immense capital and numerous Branches would be able to cripple the operations of the State Banks and perhaps to break them—and thereby derange the currency, embarrass the Government & produce great individual inconvenience & distress. And it seems to be believed that the Bank of the U. States would be disposed to use this power if the public deposits should be withdrawn from it.

If the Bank possesses this alarming power to do evil, the Government have a right to expect that the President and Directors of that institution would be incapable of using it for such an unworthy purpose. It is difficult
to imagine that a corporation which owes its existence to the Government & has received so many favours from it and so much indulgence, could under any circumstances be so forgetful of its moral as well as of its legal & political duties, as to use its powers for the purpose of inflicting injury on the community which it was created to serve. One can hardly bring himself to believe that the powers and privileges given to a corporation in order to enable it to confer benefits on the people of the U. States could in the spirit of revenge or of selfishness be wilfully abused for the purpose of producing public distress. It must however be admitted to be the general sentiment that the Bank is prepared to act on such reprehensible motives. And this prevailing impression is of itself abundant proof that the corporation has by its conduct forfeited the confidence & esteem of the public—and that it is now believed to be capable of violating its duties moral & political in order to advance its interests or promote the ambitious views of those who wield its power.

It would not therefore be prudent in the Government to count on the forbearance of the Bank or on its sense of duty to the public. And if it can be shewn that the Bank possesses the power to break or to embarrass the State Banks selected by the government, and thus destroy the healthy state of the currency, it may well be doubted whether the measure ought to be adopted. But the evidence or the argument which proves that the Bank possesses this power must will at the same time shew that the corporation is dangerous to the liberties of the country and ought not to be longer tolerated. For if the measures of the Government are to be influenced by the fear of its resentment or opposition, the time will soon come when its power must be encountered in some form or other—or the government be in effect surrendered into the hands of the Bank.

But does the Bank possess this power? Is there any reason to fear its hostility?

As I understand the argument on this point it is shortly this. The Bank of the U. States will refuse to receive from the selected State Banks, their own notes payable at their branches. The greater part of their notes in circulation are of this description—and they are payable for the most part at remote Branches. These notes will be paid into the state Banks in the commercial cities for duties and debts to the Government. The state Banks will not be able to convert them into specie, and they will remain an useless incumbrance in their vaults, unless they incur the ruinous expense of sending agents to collect them at the various & distant places where they are made payable. And the notes of the State Banks being collected at the different Branches of the Bank of the U. States and transmitted to the mother Bank that Bank will press for specie on the State Banks—and these Banks having an over proportion of their funds in these unavailable Branch notes, they would not be able to meet the calls upon them, and still less to transmit the revenue to the points where the exigencies of the Government
require it to be placed. This I believe is the outline of the argument founded on apprehensions of the power of the Bank of the U. States.

This whole argument rests on the assumption that if the deposits are withdrawn the Bank of the U. States will be absolved from the obligation to give the necessary facilities for transferring the funds of the U. States from place to place, as is provided for in the fifteenth Section of the charter. It is very clear that if this obligation on the Bank continues in force after the deposits have been withdrawn there can be no just ground to fear its power. Because as soon as the notes payable at the Branches come into the possession of the State Banks as a special deposite for the public, the Government would have the right to place them in the Bank of the U. States and to require these funds to be transferred to any place or places where the Secretary of the Treasury might direct. And thus the Bank would have the burden of transferring the public funds without having any advantage from the deposits. It would for example be obliged to transfer to New York the Branch notes received in Philadelphia or Baltimore, and to place the fund to the credit of the U. States in good and available money. And in like manner they might be compelled to transfer to Philadelphia or Baltimore or elsewhere at the pleasure of the Government the Branch notes received at New York. If therefore this obligation will continue on the Bank after the Deposites are withdrawn, that institution will be at the mercy of the Government and the Government will not be at the feet of the Bank.

Will the withdrawal of the deposits release the Bank from this duty? May they lawfully refuse to afford the facilities for transferring the public funds as soon as the deposits are taken from them?

The right to withdraw the deposits for any cause which the government may deem sufficient is given in plain and unlimited terms. They may be taken away in part or altogether—permanently or for a time—and there is no restriction upon this power in favour of the Bank. If the Secretary of the Treasury direct it to be done, and Congress do not by law order them to be restored, then by the provisions of the charter itself the Bank is to be no longer entitled to them during its existence, unless the government should think proper to restore them. Does the withdrawal of the Deposites repeal any clause in the charter or in any respect alter the provisions of that instrument? Certainly not. The change of the place of deposite is nothing more than the exercise of a power secured to the Government by the charter. The rights of the parties remain in every respect the same that they were before. For the exercise of one right cannot be the forfeiture of another right, unless it is made so by the charter. And the charter annexes no condition whatever in favour of the Bank upon the removal of the deposits. How then can it be supposed that while all the other rights of the Government & of the Corporation are admitted to continue notwithstanding the withdrawal of the deposits—
this one clause securing to the Government the right to the transfer of its funds, is to be considered as erased from the Law?

The Deposites are withdrawn in pursuance of the provisions of the act incorporating the Bank, and not in opposition to them. The withdrawal does not by the terms of the act of incorporation, change in any respect the rights of the parties under the charter as originally granted. And it might as well be contended that it would deprive the Government of the right of appointing Directors & of requiring statements of the condition of the Bank as of the right now under consideration.

It may be said that the Bank took upon itself the obligation to transfer the public funds, in consideration of the advantages it would derive from the deposits, and that the loss of these advantages would therefore in justice release them from the burthen of making the transfer. To this argument there are two answers either of which appear to me conclusive.

1st. The argument is not warranted by the language of the charter. It does not say that the duty to transfer shall depend on the continuance of the deposits and cease as soon as they are withdrawn. Nor are there any words in the act of incorporation which can be construed to mean that the obligation to transfer was undertaken in consideration that the public money should be deposited in the Bank. And it would violate one of the first and plainest principles in the construction of laws, & render all legislation vague & uncertain, if a condition should be engraven on a statute by conjecture & surmise when the language of the law does not imply it.

2. If it were allowable to go out of the words of the law in order to ascertain the meaning of the parties and to employ ourselves in conjecturing what may have led the government to require this duty from the Bank and induced the Bank to undertake it, there is an obvious reason for the provision altogether independent of the public deposits.

The obligation to make the transfer is imposed upon the Bank corporation by the 15th. section of the act incorporating the Bank. By the section which immediately precedes it, (the 14th.) the Government engages to receive the notes of the Bank in all payments to the United States unless otherwise directed by act of Congress. This obligation on the part of the government to receive the notes of the Bank was a most valuable one to that institution and made their notes current everywhere in the U. States and gave to that corporation many great and decided advantages over the state Banks. But in consideration of this agreement on the part of the Government it became indispensably necessary for the public security that the Bank should be bound to make their notes available funds wherever the government might require the money. The U. States must pay their debts in gold or silver if it is demanded. And the government could not without manifestly sacrificing the public interest, have obliged itself to receive the notes of the Bank payable at the distant Branches,—and at the same time take upon itself the burthen of rendering them available equivalent to gold and silver in other places where the exigencies of the public
might require the money to be used. It could not have been expected that
the Government would bind itself to receive at New York for example the
notes payable at the Branches of New Orleans or Louisville and also take
upon itself the expense of converting these notes into gold & silver or into
funds that would be equal to gold or silver in Boston and other places
where the money might be required. The obligation of the Government to
receive such funds created the necessity for the corresponding obligation
on the part of the Bank to transfer them from place to place according to
the wants of the government. And hence in the section next following the
one in which the U. States agrees to receive the notes, the Bank agrees to
make the transfer. And if we go out of the words of the law and construe
it upon speculative notions as to the motives which led to the introduc-
tion of this provision into the charter we see a very natural and sufficient
reason without recurring to the deposites. The propriety of this reasoning
is also confirmed by the manner in which the 16th. section relating to the
deposites is framed. The same clause which gives the deposites reserves
the right to withdraw them. And the power of deciding on that point is
vested in the Executive Department in the first instance, and does not as in
the case of the notes require the previous sanction of an act of Congress.
It is impossible to imagine that the charter intended that the obligation
on the part of the Bank to transfer the funds should cease as soon as the
Secretary of the Treasury withdrew the deposites or any part of them,—
while the U. States continued to continue bound to receive the notes
of the Bank no matter where payable. It is manifest that the government
would be still obliged to receive the notes after the Depositues were with-
drawn by the Secretary. Could it have been intended that the obligation to
receive them should remain upon the public when the Bank was absolved
from the duty of transferring the public funds. These two obligations are
obviously correlative in their nature and intended to stand together. The
depositues had nothing to do with them. They were to continue or not to
continue at the pleasure of the Government, and the power over them was
therefore vested in the first instance in the Executive Department.

It may perhaps be said that the Bank cannot afford the facilities for
transferring the public funds unless the deposites remain with them & that
the performance of the duty must therefore be dependent on the continu-
ance of the depositues.

It is true that the Bank cannot make the transfer required without
possessing the particular fund intended to be transferred. And whenever
the government possesses a fund in the notes of the Bank payable at its
Branches and desires to have it transferred to any particular place these
notes would as a matter of course be placed in the hands of the Bank. The
government would neither expect nor desire to retain the notes due from
the Bank & at the same time require the Bank to place a similar amount to
the credit of the public in some other place. The notes due from the Bank
& payable at its Branches would necessarily be placed in the possession of
the Bank when the transfer was demanded. But there would be no necessity for depositing with them other funds which the government did not desire them to transfer—and which were already in such a place and shape that they could be used without loss and without the aid of the Bank.

If it should be supposed that the Bank would probably refuse to make any transfer unless the deposites are continued whatever may be the construction of the charter and that difficulties may arise on that account, the answer is a plain one. Such an act on the part of the Bank would be a palpable forfeiture of its charter & the government would have a right to protect the interest of the public by refusing to receive its notes—and the power reserved to Congress to forbid their receipt would unquestionably under such circumstances be promptly exercised. Besides it might as well be said that the Bank will refuse to make the transfers, unless the Government consents at once to renew its charter—or to adopt any other measure which the corporation may please to dictate. The Government cannot suffer its course to be directed by such considerations. It is sufficient for us to know that the deposites may be lawfully withdrawn—and that their withdrawal does not by the charter discharge the Bank from the obligation of giving the necessary facilities for transferring the public funds from place to place.

Upon the whole I do not perceive any reason for apprehending the hostility of the Bank, sufficiently strong to deter the Government from withdrawing the deposites. And adhering to the opinion I have heretofore expressed on that measure I have the honor to be Sir, with the highest respect yr. obt. st.

R. B. Taney

[Endorsed by AJ:] Attorney General U. S. on the charter, & deposites, and transfer of the funds.

LS, DLC (42).

1. Section 15 of the BUS charter required it to provide “necessary facilities for transferring the public funds from place to place” and disbursing them, without charge, “during the continuance of this act, and whenever required by the Secretary of the Treasury” (Statutes, 3:274).

2. Section 14 of the charter said that BUS bills or notes “shall be receivable in all payments to the United States, unless otherwise directed by act of Congress” (Statutes, 3:274).

To Wilson Lumpkin

Washington April 30th. 1833

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 22d. instant and regret to hear that evil counsellors are again attempting to mislead the cherokees.

The delegation from those Indians lately here were well advised before they returned. They were repeatedly told that there had been no change in
my opinion respecting their relations to the state & Federal Governments, and that no alternative was left them but submission to the laws of the state or removal to the West.

The Council in May next is to come to a conclusion on the terms proposed to the nation by the Government of the U States for the sale of their land, and settlement beyond the Mississippi. I am very respectfully yr. obt. svt

Andrew Jackson

LS in AJ Donelson's hand, G-Ar (22-1216). LC, DNA-RG 75 (22-1219). The Cherokee General Council convened on May 14 at Red Clay in Tennessee, beyond reach of Georgia’s 1830 statute outlawing the Cherokee government. On May 20 it adopted resolutions that again rejected removal to the western country, reproved Cass’s “evasive and unsatisfactory” replies to the late delegation in Washington, and protested the federal government’s failure to protect “clearly recognized” Cherokee national rights. The last resolution pledged that “if the President will cause all further illegal proceedings on the part of Georgia and Alabama to cease, within the limits of this nation, and will suspend further proceedings through the agents of the Government,” the Council would adopt measures looking to “the final termination of all difficulties” at the next session of Congress (SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 4, pp. 409–10, Serial 247).

From Christian Eckloff

Washington April 30 33

To the President of United States—

Sir

the Signer of this your Humble Servant begs Leave of you to Lend an ear to the Statement of a Case of mine against [ * * * ] a Clerk in the State Department.1

He Came to my Store Nov. 26 1831 and Got measured for a Suit of Clothes Amounting to $64.50 for which he promised to pay me in 60 days, and his having the appearance of a Gentleman I took him to be one and let him have the articles on those terms.

When the Sixty days expired I Sent to him and he promised Farther until 11 or 12 Months expired and finding no other way of recovering my money I entered a Suit against him for which I received a Judgment after he entered the office when he took the Benefit of Insolvency, and having understood that your Highness had taken the Steps for the benefit of Mechanicks & Other Citizens of this place by removing or otherwise Making the Clerks pay their Honest debts and finding no other way of recovering my money I take this Liberty of requesting this great favour and hope It will not be in vain as I have a Large family depending on me for Support and Losing this would rob them of their dues

Respy Your Humble & Obedient Servant

[ Signed] Christian Eckloff
[Endorsed by AJ:] Refered to the Sec. of State—if on enquiry the fact stated be true—unless the clerk pays up the debt, let him be forthwith discharged. The government would become a party to such swindling provided it permitted its officers to become indebted for necessaries & not see that they paid their debts out of their salaries—honest men will pay their debts—dishonest, must not be employed by the Government. A. J.

This case is refered to Amos Kendall Esq and on ten dollars pr month being secured to Eckloff—Mr [Gooch] to be continued in his office A. J.


1. The Literary Era reproduction replaced the clerk's name with asterisks in Eckloff's appeal and blanked it out from AJ's endorsement. An American Autograph Shop catalog listing in 1939 gave the erased word in AJ's endorsement as “Gooch” (22-1215) and his full name as James Gooch. Gooch (1794–1873) had written AJ for an appointment on April 16, 1832, saying he had suffered for his late political services in Boston and was now destitute in Washington (THer, 20-0234). Gooch began as a Treasury clerk in the fifth auditor's office in October 1832 and remained until 1836, when he moved to the Post Office Department.

From William Taylor Barry

Having duly considered the subject presented to the members of his Cabinet by the President of the United States of the relations of the government to the Bank of the United States, I have the honor to submit the following remarks upon the several points embraced in his note to me of the 19th. of March

1. Nothing in my judgement has occurred to lessen the expression at the commencement of the late Session of Congress on the safety of the Bank of the United States for the public deposits. The Committee of ways & means it is true, reported in favor of the bank, which report was subsequently sustained by a majority of the House of Representatives. But an ability to secure the repayment at some distant day of the monies deposited for safe keeping, is not all that is requisite to constitute the bank a safe depository of the finances of the nation. The public monies are not raised for investment, but for current and immediate use; and they are not safe for these purposes, unless they are so placed that they shall at all times be within the reach and at the disposal of the government. The acknowledged fact that the public monies were not at the immediate disposal of the government, when directed to be applied to a redemption of a portion of the public debt entirely counterivels the report of the Committee. The determination of the government to apply its funds to the redemption of every description of the public debt had been so long avowed, that nothing but a want of ability or inclination, could have prevented the bank from being in perfect readiness to meet the call; either of which is sufficient to
impair public confidence in the safety of that institution as a depository of the public monies

2. The Bank has not, in my opinion, been a faithful agent in carrying into effect the fiscal arrangements of the Treasury; and therefore the management of it is not such as can be relied upon for that purpose. The withholding of the funds, or attempt to delay a return of the certificates for a portion of the three per cent stock; adding to the default factitious apologies, based upon misrepresentations, warrants the conclusion, that the bank is a faithless agent of the government unworthy of future confidence.

3. I fully concur in the sentiment expressed by the President “that the charter of the present bank ought under no circumstances and upon no considerations whatever to be renewed.”

4. In the sentiment of the President I also fully concur, “that the ground gained by the Veto ought to be firmly maintained;” that no new bank ought to be established by Congress, until a full and fair experiment shall have been made, to carry on the fiscal concerns of the government—through the agency of the State banks, or by immediate collection and disbursement through officers of its own; and that should it eventually be found necessary to create a new bank, its location should be within the District of Columbia, without the right of establishing branches in any state, except by the consent of the State; that the government at the same time should retain such control over all the branches as would secure fidelity in its transactions, and should reserve the right of modifying or repealing its charter at the pleasure of Congress. Deeming it unnecessary to refer to the causes and reasons which have led to these conclusions, I shall proceed to the consideration of the question concerning the public deposits in the present bank.

5. The propriety at this time of devising a system for the deposit and disbursement of the public funds through the agency of the State banks and the period at which the operation should commence, presents a subject of great importance. Sensible of the delicacy of offering views in relation to a matter that belongs especially to another Department, the head of which is invested by law with the power of controlling the public deposits, and who will be held responsible for any executive action in relation to them; I shall with due respect to that officer proceed to give my views to the President, and with that diffidence which becomes one who from the nature of his public duties cannot be familiar with the subject in many of its diversified relations. The entire withdrawal of the deposits from the United States Bank will produce much excitement, and the managers of the institution will do all in their power to increase it. Though the Bank has proved an unfaithful agent, and the forthcoming of the deposits confided to it, cannot with certainty be relied on; yet as the decision of a large majority of the representatives of the people in favor of the report of the Committee of Ways & Means, will be urged in behalf of the bank, and as no benefit will
be likely to result from any sensation that may be avoided, I should deem it expedient to refer the act of the withdrawal to other causes less liable to be disputed or perverted. The position may with certainty be assumed, that as the bank is not to be rechartered it will of its own impulse turn its attention to preparatory measures for closing its concerns; and that the government must in the mean time of necessity provide for itself another more suitable if not safer agent for the continued transaction of its business. The change can also be made gradually with less inconvenience than suddenly; and it should commence at an early day that no time may be lost in proposing and arranging the plan of a future system and for introducing the permanent change. The offices for deposit can be most advantageously designated by the Secretary of the Treasury. It occurs to me to be necessary to stipulate that a weekly confidential report to the Treasury Department of the condition of each bank where deposits shall be made should be furnished by its officers; and that provision for transferring the public monies without commission should be made as a consideration in part for the benefit which will be derived to the banks from the deposits. The banks should not be required to receive in payment of revenue, any other than the notes of such banks as they receive ordinarily on other accounts; and notes of the United States bank; which last are receivable by law. The reasons for my suggestions on these points need not be stated as they appear to be obvious. The remaining question is at what time should the action of the new agent commence. If the deposits are to be exchanged, not by a direct removal, but by causing future payments to be made in the other banks that shall be designated, which I should consider the preferable course, it would require some time before the change could be effected. Two periods have been suggested for the commencement. The first of October and the first of January next. The first before the meeting of Congress, the other during its session. In favor of the first period it may be urged that public feeling requires that the step should be taken at the earliest period practicable. That the bank is faithless to the government, and is exerting all its influence, even by the exercise of corrupt measures to thwart the views of the government in the performance of its duties; and to obtain a renewal of its charter in opposition to the will of the people as strongly expressed in the late election of President & vice President. That the public deposits are used to this end and to deprive her of them speedily would lessen her influence, diminish her power, and give strength to the new agent to be employed in counteracting the evil. That the issue between the government and the bank should be made before the meeting of Congress; that the representatives coming immediately from the people, will the more readily sustain the act of the President of their own choice and the principles upon which they have just elected him with this issue in view. That delay will strengthen the bank and furnish her with the power of increasing her influence.
On the other hand it may be urged that a due respect to the decision of the House of Representatives of the last Congress makes it expedient to wait the meeting of the next before acting. That the power and influence of the bank will not be materially circumscribed by the measure as she is a creditor for more than sixty millions of dollars.¹ That this measure on the part of the government would be made a pretext for acts of greater hostility to on the part of the bank. That having the power she would not hesitate to exercise it to the fullest extent, by merciless calls upon her debtors, by refusing her accustomed facilities to the commercial & other business of the country; by oppressing the state banks; and indeed by producing a general state of derangement and distress throughout the country. That the effort would be made and in many instances successfully, to cast the odium upon the government, for having by what would be called a premature and unnecessary measure, brought on the calamity. That the excitement would prevent Congress from giving that deliberate and calm consideration to the reasons assigned by the executive for the measure, which they would otherwise do; and thus furnish the bank with further means to perpetuate her power.

The reasons on both sides appear to me to be entitled to great consideration; and without presuming to designate the proper period for its commencement, I refer this point to the President, and to the Secretary of the Treasury, who is directly responsible in law, and will be so regarded by the people. I am free to express the opinion that whether an earlier or a later day be fixed on, the resolution should be definitely taken by the next meeting of Congress. It may not be improper to add, what indeed I feel it incumbent on me to state, that in regard to the fiscal concerns of the Post office Department, experience has shown that they can be managed though other banks more advantageously to the Department, and much more to the convenience of post masters and contractors as to the deposits of the former and the prompt payment of the latter, than through the United States Bank & its branches.

All of which is respectfully submitted

W. T. Barry

[Endorsed by AJ:] Major Barry on the U.S. Bank & change of Deposits—the view a good one. The time of withdrawal, the delicate & important question—the system must be tested of carrying on the fiscal concerns of the Govt. thro the State banks—

ALS, DLC (42).

¹ Henry Tolland's report to the Treasury had stated that the BUS was owed more than $62 million by individuals and $3.5 million by state banks, with its total assets exceeding liabilities by more than $42 million (HRDoc 8, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 11, Serial 233).
May

To Andrew Jackson Crawford

[Andrew Jackson Crawford (1796–1866) was a Methodist missionary and minister in Alabama. His grandmother and Jackson’s mother were sisters. Through Crawford’s family, this letter passed in 1860 to William L. Burt of Massachusetts, who furnished it to Senator Charles Sumner. Sumner read its last two paragraphs in the Senate on December 10, 1860 (Congressional Globe, 36th Cong., 2d sess., p. 32). A photographic facsimile was later made and widely distributed. Burt sent a copy to Abraham Lincoln on March 5, 1864 (Lincoln Papers, DLC).]

—Private—

Washington May 1rst. 1833—

My Dr Sir,

I have just received your letter of the 6th. ultimo, and have only time in reply to say that Genl Coffee well understood Mr. Shackleford and urged your nomination in his stead. I had nominated you, but on the serious importunity of Col King, your Senator with Genl Coffee the change was adopted and you nominated for the office you now fill. Before the receipt of yours Genl Coffee had written me, and requested that I would appoint you to the office vacated by Mr Shackleford—if we had a senate in whose principles we could rely, this would have been done, but I did not believe it would be prudent to bring your name before the Senate again, and am happy you are content where you are1

The Senate cannot remove you, and I am sure your faithfulness and honesty will never permit you to do an act, that will give good cause for your removal, and if Moor and Poindexter discovered that you were related to me, that would be sufficient cause, for them to reject you—therefore it is, that I let well anough alone, altho, I know it would be a convenience to you to be located where you are—still a rejection by the Senate might prove a greater inconvenience, and for the reasons assigned it was not done.

I have had a laborious task here—but nullification is dead; and its actors & excitiors will only be remembered by the people to be execrated for their wicked designs to sever & destroy the only good government on the globe, and that prosperity and happiness we enjoy over every other
portion of the world. Hamans gallows ought to be the fate of all such ambitious men who would involve their country in civil wars, and all the evils in its train that they might reign & ride on its whirlwinds & direct the storm. ² The free people of these United States have spoken, and consigned these wicked demagogues to their proper doom. Take care of your nullifiers—you have them amongst you—let them meet with the indignant frowns of every man who loves his country. The tariff, it is now well known was a mere pretext—its burthen was on your course wolleens—by the law of july 1832—course wooling was reduced to five pr cent for the benefit of the south Mr Clays bill takes it up & classes it with woollens, at 50 percent, reduces it gradually down to 20 prcent, and there it is to remain and Mr Calhoun & all the nullifiers agree to the principle—the cash duties & home valuation will be equal to 15 prcent more, and after the year 1842 you pay on coarse wollens 35 prcent—if this is not protection, I cannot understand—therefore the tariff was only the pretext and disunion & a southern confederacy the real object—the next pretext will be the negro, or slavery question.³

My health is not good, but is improving a little—present me kindly to your lady & family, and believe me to be your friend.⁴ I will always be happy to hear from you

Andrew Jackson

From William Berkeley Lewis

Nashville 1 May 1833.

D. Genl.

Yours of the 14th. was recd. some two or three days ago, and I am happy to learn that your health is improving—and particularly so that Mary was in good health. I left her with a cold and cough, and altho’ she appeared to be getting better, I felt uneasy, as I always do when she is afflicted with a cold. As long as she expected Mr. Pageot would be with
me she wrote me by every mail, but I have not heard from her since his departure but from thro’ you.

I saw Mr. Nichol the next morning after I recd. your letter, and read to him that part of it which had reference to the trunks of books and pamphlets, which you say, were sent to him for Col. Wilson. He told me that he was sure they had never been sent to him, but promised he would see Col. Wilson and enquire of him about them, and, as soon as he could get hold of them, would send them up to the Hermitage. I will also enquire of Wilson about them, as soon as I can see him.

Mr. Crutcher and myself are at work on our accounts with the Estate, but have not yet got them quite ready of the Clerk and Master. As soon as they are I shall set out for Pulaski to see my sister and children. I shall not remain there I think, more than 3 or 4 days, and if my law-business, here, will permit me, I shall, in a week after my return, set out for Washington.

I have not been up to the Hermitage since my first trip, but understand your family there are all well, except Hannah. I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing Dr. Hogg and talking with him about her. He is still with Genl. Coffee, or at least I have not yet heard of his return. I saw Mr. MLemore two days ago, and enquired if he had heard from the Genl. since Dr. Hogg had left us—he told me he had not. Your friends here, generally, are well. Col. Love called to see me this morning and informed me that Mrs. Love, as well as the balance of his family, were well in pretty good health. The Cholera, it is said, is still lingering in Nashville. I understood yesterday evening when in town, that Duncan Robertson, and Isaac Sitler had it, and that Duncan, must die. I have not heard from him this morning, but I fear he is no more. I wish you would tell Mr. Earle, that I have seen and enquired of William Robertson, Duncans son, about his prints, and learn from him that the whole number (200) ordered to Nashville had been recd. after being 6, or 7 months on the way. That he had sold only two, and the balance were still on hand. I advised him to write to Mr. Earle, as he never had done so, and give him all the information he had with regard to them. He thinks the price is too high. I told him I thought Mr. Earle expected to have some of them sent to New Orleans, and some to the Counties south of Nashville, where no doubt, some of them they might be disposed of. Mr. Earle promised to write to me after I got to Nashville, and inform me of his wishes in relation to those prints, but he has not yet done so. I doubt myself, whether Mr. Robertson would dispose of ten, in ten years to come. If a few were sent to the neighbouring towns in this state, and a few to Florence and Tuscumbia, in Alabama, I think it probable they might be sold.¹

Times in Nashville are exceedingly dull and hard. All the money that can be raised finds its way into the United States Bank to pay debts owing to that Institution. I am owing Hutchings 1000 or 1200 dollars, and I have been endeavouring to sell some property to pay him, but am afraid I shall not be able to do so. Bridge stock, which makes yields a dividend of

¹ In the original text, there is a number that seems to be missing or unclear, possibly a page number or a footnote reference. It is not clear from the context what this number refers to or what is meant by the phrase "ten years to come."
from 10 to 12 per cent every year, cannot, I believe, be sold for any thing like its value. I am determined to get out of debt, and if I can sell such property as I can spare, I will do so—or let those to whom I am indebted have it at even less than its value.2

I very much fear, our friend MLe more will scarcely be able to weather the storm much longer. He is, I understand, exceedingly oppressed at this time. Every body, it is said, to whom he is indebted, is making a push at him, as if they are afraid he is about to brake fail. He is here, but will leave again in a few days for the Western District.

What has become of Eaton? He ought to be here. The Foster and Grundy parties are waxing very hot. It is thought there will be some fighting in the families, before the August elections.

Please present my respects to your family, and believe me to be, D. Genl. Sincerely yours

W B Lewis

ALS, TU (mAJs).

1. Nashville bookseller Duncan Robertson (1771–1833) died on May 1. Isaac Sitler (1784–1837) survived. Robertson’s business partner and surviving son was John H. Robertson (c1810–1849). In 1832 the Boston firm Pendleton’s Lithography had published a print based on Ralph E. W. Earl’s 1830 “Farmer Jackson” portrait of AJ at the Hermitage. The print was distributed nationally at an initial price of $5.

2. “Bridge stock” was likely stock in the Nashville Bridge Company, which had completed the construction of a bridge across the Cumberland in 1823. AJ wrote Hutchings about Lewis’s debt on November 3 (below).

From Mordecai Manuel Noah

New York May 1 1833

Sir

Lieut Levy of the Navy writes to me from Paris that his leave of absence has nearly expired & that he is superintending the completion of a statue of Jefferson in Bronze which he desires to present to the Country & begs an extension of his leave of absence for six or nine months. As his services at this period may not be required & as the Secretary of the Navy is absent may I solicit the favour of your granting him an extension of his leave & direct the proper officer to transmit the same to me that it may be transmitted through his friend G. W. Erving Esq who sails on the 8th.1 I have the honor Yr Excellencys friend & obedt Servant

M M Noah

[Endorsed by AJ:] Refered to the acting Secretary of the Navy—if the Lts. services are not necessary for the present, his furlough may be extended under the present circumstances—A. J
ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-138). Uriah Phillips Levy (1792–1862) had been a Navy lieutenant since 1817. His leave was extended six months. The bronze of Jefferson that he had commissioned was presented to Congress upon completion in 1834 and now stands in the Capitol rotunda. In 1834 Levy also purchased Jefferson’s Monticello estate.

1. George William Erving (1769–1850) had served in several diplomatic posts.

To Henry Toland

Washington May 2nd. 1833—

My dear Sir,

Andrew & Sarah with their little pet, has returned all in good health, and from them I am gratified to learn, that you and yours were enjoying equal good health.

Andrew informs me that you had the goodness to purchase some china carpets for the Hermitage—will you have the goodness to include it in the bill for the plate and I will send you a check for the whole amount.

I will thank you to inform me the usual periods for your Packetts for Neworleans to leave Philadelphia. I have some articles here, that I wish to send to Nashville via Neworleans, that will not bear a land carriage, but perhaps from the late drougth in the west, it may be best to detain them until the fall, least they might not reach Nashville before, owing to the low water.

I have just heard of Major Lewis, he had reached home & found all well[.] I am Sir with great respect yr friend

Andrew Jackson

From Martin Van Buren

Newyork May 2d 33

My dear Sir

I saw the Carriage makers yesterday and learn from them that they are repairing your old carriage & will have it done by about the time you come up. Upon a more thorough examination of mine than I had been able to give it before I regret that I had not advised you more strongly to take it, than I did; I was deterred from doing so by an apprehension that it might prove too heavy for the Country, and as you have reason to hope that a new carriage will last you many years, I thought that ought to be looked to. I am now satisfied that there was no ground for such an apprehension, & as it is undoubtedly the best carriage that was ever made in the City, I am almost sorry that you did not take it. I shall have no occasion to use it soon, & if when you come up & see both, you should
prefer to dispose of yours, & take mine, the makers say they can have an other made for me by the 1st of September. If Mr McLane does not take Mr Livingstons he might do well to take yours.

What has become of the review. I have looked in the Globe for it with much anxiety. Remember me kindly to Mrs. D. the Major & Mr Earle & believe me to be Very truly yours

M. Van Buren

P.S. My visit at Philadelphia was very agreeable & I trust not without its use.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr V. Buren recd on 5th. answered on 6th. of May A. J.

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (22-1266).

1. On May 4 the Globe printed the first installment of “A Brief View of the Administration of Andrew Jackson.” It reviewed and applauded the administration’s accomplishments in foreign relations, and promised succeeding pieces on internal affairs and on AJ’s political principles. Van Buren had sent Nicholas Trist a sketch for the later part on April 15. He wrote AJ again about it on May 16 (below).

To John Coffee

Washington May 3rd. 1833—

My dear Genl,

Major Donelson has just shewn me your letter—it fills me with sincere regret to learn from it, that your indisposition still continues, but trust in a kind providence, who holds us in the palm of his hand, that he will soon restore it, and that you may long live as a blessing to your family, and Country, and consolation to your numerous friends.

If the appearance of dropsy in the chest should occur, will you permit me to suggest to you to try a dry diet, such as broiled beef on the coals, and ash cake bread, or hard biscuit, using as little liquids as possible. This will, in a short time, give evidence of its beneficial effects, if benefit is to result from it, & is worth the experiment—apply the flesh brush frequently, & freely, bathing your body in warm salt and water frequently, & your feet & legs in the same (warm) every evening, and rubbing them with brandy or whisky, after they are well wiped—the spirits to be warm, and not wiped off. This will do no harm, and from the diet, & bathing, good may result—take as much exercise as you can, either on horseback, or in a carriage—and if any medicine is necessary, let it be calomel, after six hours, worked off with oil—no liquid but coffee used to give action to the medicine, & to work it off—salts are injurious to all dropsical habits. and calomel is the great cleanser of the blood.

Andrew, Sarah, & little Rachel, has just returned from Philadelphia all in good health. Andrew and Emily & the children, with Mr Earle are all
in good health, and all join with me in kind salutations to you & your amiable family.

My own health is not good. I have suffered much with a pain in my left side, breast and shoulder, but hope the warm weather we now enjoy will remove it. I mean to travel to the East if my health will permit, & if I do, I shall leave here the last of this, or first of next month, before which time, I would be happy to hear from you. Mary who writes well, if your health and other more pressing business prevents, might write me, and let me know how you & the family are

I would like to know whether my ward A. J. Hutchings has got possession of his estate—and whether the court has appointed commissioners to settle it. In your weak state of health, Mr Pearson, who is acquainted with the business as examined by Mr Easton can attend to it—this I would be glad might be attended to—if my health will permit I may extend my travel to see you—but this is very doubtfull[.]

May god bless & restore you to health is the sincere prayer of your friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THi (22-1272).

1. John Donelson Coffee, Coffee’s son, wrote AJ about the Hutchings estate on August 17 (below).

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From William Berkeley Lewis

Fairfield 3d. May 1833.

My dear Genl.

Yours of the 19th. was recd. yesterday, and I am truly glad to hear that your cough is getting much better, and that our friends in Washington are all well.

Mr. Crutcher and myself have now placed our accounts in the hands of the clerk and master who will report on them to the chancery court on Monday next.

I shall leave here tomorrow morning in the 2 Oclock Stage for Franklin, where I shall remain a day with Mr. Hay, the clerk of the court. I shall then run down in the stage to Pulaski, where I shall remain only a few days, and then return to Nashville again. I will dispatch my business, after I get back to this place, as soon as possible, and then take my departure for Washington. I am unable yet, to say whether I shall be able to be with you by the 25th. but, if it can possibly be prevented, you shall not be disappointed.

I regret to hear that William has left you, or intends to leave you. As you say his place cannot be well supplied. Mr. Juista I think can be better spared. I have never had any reason to suspect his integrity, but he was not qualified to command and direct other servants. He would, on that
account, make a much better Butler than a Steward. He never would take any authority, and seemed unwilling, always, to say any thing, or do any thing which might give offence to the other servants—and particularly the black servants. I enquired of him one day why he did not exercise greater authority—that he was expected by you to attend to every thing about the House. He said he did not like to make a disturbance, and that he was afraid you would not like it. George, he added, was so artful as to make you believe, he was afraid, that he was always in the wrong. Juista, I think is honest, and does not lack industry, and withal is quite a good natured accommodating fellow. If he had more energy and would exercise more authority over the servants, no one would be better qualified to discharge the duties of the place he now occupies. His wife, too, is a fine, industrious, careful and inoffensive woman; and I fear you will find some difficulty in supplying her place.

If Mr. Juista leaves you, I think, you had better try and get Mr. Serurier’s Steward. If he returns to France this summer he will not, of course, want him. I should think he is just as well qualified as Mr. Juista, as it regards a knowledge of his business, and, from what I have seen of him, much better in other respects, as he appears to have much more energy of character. I have no doubt but he is also friendly, both from principle and feeling as most of the Uropean French are, which is certainly desirable. As the Seruriers are all your friends, and speak of you always with admiration and kindness, no doubt their feelings they, by their conversations, inspire their domestics with the same feelings. If you inquire of Mr. Serurier, with regard to his Steward, or other servants, he will with pleasure, I am sure, give you a true account of them, and frankly tell you whether they will suit you. It is more than probable that you may supply yourself with all the servants you want from his house, if he should leave the United States, as was expected by both him and Madam Serurier when I left Washington.\(^2\)

As I feared when I wrote you day before yesterday, our old friend, Duncan Robertson, is no more. He died in the afternoon of that day, and was buried last evening with Masonic honors. Some say he died of the cholera—others that it was billious cholic, with which he has of late years been frequently attacked. He was a useful citizen, and an honest and worthy man. He has left many worse men behind him, who could have been much better spared. But it has been otherwise decreed by Heaven, and we should bow in submission to its will.

I have heard nothing yet from our friend Genl. Coffee. Dr. Hogg has not yet returned—or at least had not last evening when I left Nashville. From the circumstance of his continuing so much longer with the Genl. than was contemplated, when he left here, I am apprehensive he is worse even than his friends in this place expected.

I have been overhauling all my old papers, for twenty years back, in search of some that may be of importance to me. I have not yet succeeded
in finding those I was in pursuit of, but have got hold of the two enclosed which, as I am sure they do not rightfully belong me, I herewith send to you. One is dated nearly 20 years back—the other not quite five.

Please present my best respects to your family, to Mr. & Mrs. Serurier, and my love to my two children, when you see them, and believe me to be, Truly and sincerely yours.

W B Lewis

P.S. Dr. Hogg has just returned. He says Genl. Coffee is better; and altho there is now a prospect of his recovery, he is not entirely out of danger. I have not yet seen him myself. WBL

ALS, DLC (73). Lewis wrote again this same day (below).

1. Preston Hay (1807–1849) was clerk of the Williamson County court.
2. AJ had written Giusta a check to close his stewardship on May 1. Joseph Boulanger began as steward the next day, May 2.

From William Berkeley Lewis

Nashville 3d. May 1833.

D. Genl.

I have just seen Dr. Hogg who informs me that Genl. Coffee was much better when he left him, and was improving. He thinks with care and proper attention to his case he will recover. When he first saw him, he says, he was in a dangerous situation—could scarcely breathe, or talk, and his pulse was beating at the rate of 122 to the minute. His feet also and ankles also, he says were much swoln, and that he had every appearance of a confirmed dropsy. However, before he left him he was able to ride out, and take moderate exercise. He informs me that if he continues to improve, he and Mrs. Coffee will come on to Nashville in ten or fifteen days.

I have requested the Dr. to ride up to the Hermitage and see Hannah and let me know when I return from Pulaski how she is and what ails her. Perhaps I have done wrong, as the Dr. is not the attending Physician at the Hermitage, but as you seemed to think so much of Hannah, and I was induced to believe that Dr. McCorkle did not understand her complaint, I thought it best.

The mail is about closing and I have not time to say more.

W B Lewis

ALS, DLC (73).
To William Berkeley Lewis

Washington May 4th. 1833

Dr Major

I have this moment received your very interesting letter of the 21rst. ultimo, and you cannot judge the extent of my gratification on its receipt. I had been kept under great anxiety & pain from various rumors, & letters, containing intimations of Mr Holtzclaw’s severity to my negroes, still, he had promised me to treat them with kindness & humanity so far as their conduct would permit, holding them to a strict subordination.

Your letter with one just rec’d. from Doctor McCorkle, has relieved me from those apprehensions of cruelty, to the negroes, and as to his capacity & industry I had no apprehensions about. Your letter has afforded me more satisfactory information, than I have had since I left the Hermitage in last September and therefore I feel the more obliged to you for it.

I will thank you to get Doctor Hogg to see Hanna, daughter of Sally, and if he thinks her case within his medical skill I will thank you to have the arrangement made that she can be near him. I would be sorry she would become a cripple. You may say to Doctor Hogg, that her lameness was occasioned by a stroke from Betty, or jumping over a rope, in which her feet became entangled, & she fell & hurt her hip. I will thank you to say to the overseer to prevent Betty from beating, or cruelly abusing the little negroes, that are under her about the kitchen—a small switch ought only to be used, but sometimes she uses any weapon she can get, and chokes them, & abuses them, and brings on disease—give such directions about the negro girl, as tho she was your own, and if convenient please visit the Hermitage again before you set out on your return.

My health has not been good since you left us, the weather has been very variable, & continues so, I hope if I do not experience injury from my visit to Fredericksburgh on the 7th. that it may, with the hot season, improve.

I am anxious that you should return before I set out for the north which if I go, will be the last of this, or early next month so as to get to the western parts of N.york before the 4th. of July, and if you can my Dr. Sir, be here, by the 25 or 28th. of the present month it will be highly gratifying to me—justa has left us, & so has William. Mr South has been writing to me about crudners plate, but I will give no instructions until you return as I am unadvised of what order you have given about the furniture & the more I see, the greater necessity I find to be cautious of men, for few there be now adays, in whom we can confide, & as there are several of the heads of Bureaus absent & sick, I wish you here before I set out to travel.

I send Livingston to France the first of June. Kendals health is feeble & he must travel—2nd. auditor is absent, & the Register on a visit to see Dr Phisic for his health, and the 1rst. comptroller confined to his bed &c &c
Mary Pajoit, yr daughter, is in good health, looking for her Dr husband who I hope she will see tomorrow in good health.

I sincerely regret the death of Genl Coffee & the death of my old friend, Alexander Porter. Should you see the family give to them my sincere condolence on this melancholy occasion.3

Present to Mr. Crutcher, to Mr. McLamore & his family, & all my friends who may enquire after me

Andrew & Sarah with the sweet little Rachel has returned in good health & they, with Col Earle, Major Donelson & Emily, all join me in kind salutations to you. I have missed you very much since you left me & wish your speedy return yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS and Copy, NN (22-1294). Lewis replied on May 16 (below).
1. Betty (c1793–c1870) followed her mother, Old Hannah, as Hermitage cook.
2. “Crudner” was Paul Baron de Krudener (1784–1858), Russian minister to the U.S.
3. Nashville merchant Alexander Porter (c1771–1833) had died of cholera in April.

From Felix Grundy

Nashville, May 6th 1833

Dear Sir,

Upon my arrival in Tennessee, I discovered, that Mr Fosters most popular friends, were up as Candidates, in almost all the Counties in the State. appearances were so formidable, altho I knew I had the strength with the people, that I hesitated some time, whether, I would engage actively in a controversy such as I foresaw, it must be. My friends became very urgent, that Candidates on my side should be put up to in opposition. I assented, so that with the exception of four or five perhaps 6 or 7 Counties, the Candidates are pitted between us. he has in general the most popular Candidates, but my popularity is superior to his. In this County, Yerger & Wm E Anderson are his Candidates, Horton & Hickman are mine. Balch runs at large, but will get no votes of account.1

I am charged, with Nullification &c. You know, how this is and that it is wholly untrue. I have therefore written the inclosed to you—beleiving there would be no impropriety in your answering it fully.

How far, I should use your answer, I wish left to my discretion. I shall be able perhaps to do, without publishing it—but in case of emergancy, I should like to be permitted to do that.

I anticipate a very warm & doubtfull contest. Foster I think had greatly the advantage, matters at this time are very equally balanced—perhaps, my chance not quite equal—but I have great faith in the people.
The Armstrongs, McLemore, Donelsons &c, are supporting my friends that is, Horton & Hickman. In Knox County, I am told there are none but Foster Candidates.² Yrs with great respect

Felix Grundy

ALS, DLC (42).
1. Alfred Balch (1785–1853) was a Nashville lawyer. He received 146 votes against 1,560 for Anderson and 1,427 for Hickman.
2. Spencer Jarnagin (1794–1851) was elected a state senator and Alexander Mabry (1796–1837) a representative from Knox and Anderson counties.

[Enclosure: Grundy to Jackson]

Nashville May 6th. 1833.

Dear Sir,

I am duly aware of the impropriety in general of troubling you upon subjects not connected with your Public Duties, but in cases where justice to individuals requires it I rely confidently that you will not with hold anything within your knowledge which may prevent injustice. I therefore take the liberty of making the following inquiries of you.

1st. Whether you were not intimately acquainted with my conduct in relation to the great questions of Nullification and Secession during the whole of the last Session of Congress?
2d. Whether you had not full opportunities not only of knowing my conduct, but also my private feelings on those subjects?
3d. Whether any member of Congress laboured with more zeal and assiduity to put down the doctrines of Nullification and Secession than I did?
4th Whether my whole energies were not directed to sustain the administration in the great conflict in which it was compelled to engage on the above subjects? Yours with great Respect.

Felix Grundy

Copy, THi; Copy, TKL; Copy, Don Campbell (22-1305). Nashville Republican and State Gazette, June 19, 1833. AJ replied on May 19 (below).

Address of the Fredericksburg Monumental Committee

[On February 11, 1832, Jackson had accepted an invitation to assist in laying the cornerstone of a monument to George Washington’s mother, Mary Ball Washington, at her grave at Fredericksburg, Virginia (Jackson Papers, 10:91–92). In April 1833, the date of the ceremony was fixed for May 7. On May 6, Jackson and an entourage including several Cabinet officers took a steamboat down from Washington and were escorted through Fredericksburg by a military procession. At the cornerstone
ceremony the next day, George Washington Bassett (1800–1878), chair of the Monumental Committee and a distant relation of Washington, delivered this address, and Jackson replied (below). A barbecue followed. Jackson returned to Washington by steamer on May 8.]

In the name of the Monumental Committee, I present you, General, the plate which is intended to distinguish that stone just adjusted by the Master of the Lodge as the corner stone of this pile.¹ I am happy, sir, that he who has defended his country’s rights when perilled in the cause of freedom, her cities when the haughty foe confident of success pressed eagerly to seize their Beauty and Booty, has bled for her, risked life, fortune and honor in her cause, is here to add to the honors of this occasion. Who so meet to make a pilgrimage to this shrine of hallowed relics? Who so fit to seal the stone which crowns the corner of a Monument to the Mother of Washington as he who now occupies that exalted station first filled by the son of that Mother. Let the occasion, General, and its circumstances excuse this, while we turn to remark more immediately on the object of our present regard. If we look to the page of History or survey the Earth we see Monuments have in every age and ever clime marked those spots distinguished by the happening of some great event or risen, as memorials of the once active virtues of departed worth. Frail man is ever apt to forget the past and seek new hope of pleasure in the future. He seldom learns from the experience of others the means of attaining what he aims at, and too often stumbles over a new unbroken tract, unmindful of the brightest objects by which he might trace his road to those distinctions after which natural desire so ardently toils. Hence enlightened posterity canonize the fame of their ancestors by emblems the most unfading their minds can devise or their powers execute.

Such is our constitution that the strongest appeals to our better feelings is through the medium of our grosser faculties. Thus Monuments are lasting incentives to those who view them, to imitate the virtues they commemorate, and attain, by their life and spirit, Glory and Honor. Nations share in the common sympathies of nature, and participate in all the honors heaped upon their mighty dead. In looking upon this Monument, (raised chiefly by the munificence of a patriotic individual,) the citizens of these States will remember that they are brothers.² They will remember that here lies the ashes of the Mother of the “Father of his Country.” They will acknowledge, too, this just tribute to the merits of her, who, early deprived of the support of her consort, encouraged and fostered, by precept and example, the dawning virtues of her illustrious son, and nurtured into maturity those noble faculties which were the ornament and glory of her waning years. They will acknowledge the hallowed character of this romantic spot, ever to be remembered as the place chosen for her private devotions—the spot to which she often led her offspring, and, pointing to the order and beauty of the works of Nature, here so eminently displayed,
she guided their youthful minds to contemplate the power and benevolence of the Great Author of their being. Here she taught the attributes of God—that to him, as their Creator, all praise belonged—that to glorify him was the object of their creation, and to this end their every energy should be devoted. Here she asked, as a dying request, that her mortal remains might rest. Hallowed be this wish—sacred this spot—lasting as Time this Monument. Let us cherish the remembrance of this hour. Let us carry with us hence, engraved on our hearts, the memory of her who is here interred. Her fortitude—her piety—her every grace of life—her sweet peace in Death—through her sure hope of a blessed Immortality.

1. Samuel Howison (1779–1845) was Master of the Fredericksburg Masonic Lodge.
2. New York City merchant Silas Enoch Burrows (1794–1870) had borne most of the cost of the monument and was an honorary member of the Monumental Committee.

Address at Fredericksburg

Sir:

To you, and to your colleagues of the Monumental Committee, I return my acknowledgments for the kind sentiments you have expressed towards me, and for the flattering terms in which they have been conveyed. I cannot but feel that I am indebted to your partiality, and not to any services of my own, for the warm hearted reception you have given me. On this occasion, as well as on many others, in the course of a life now drawing towards its close, I have found the confidence and attachment of my countrymen as far beyond my merits as my expectations.

We are assembled, fellow citizens, to witness and to assist in an interesting ceremony. More than a century has passed away, since she, to whom this tribute of respect is about to be paid, entered upon the active scenes of life. A century fertile in wonderful events, and in distinguished men who have participated in them. Of these events, our country has furnished her full share: and of these distinguished men, she has produced a Washington. If he was “first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen,” we may say, without the imputation of national vanity, that, if not the first, he was in the very front rank of those, too few indeed, upon whose career mankind can look back without regret, and whose memory and example will furnish themes of eulogy for the patriot, wherever free institutions are honored and maintained.1 His was no false glory, deriving its lustre from the glare of splendid and destructive actions, commencing in professions of attachment to his country, and terminating in the subversion of her freedom. Far different is the radiance which surrounds his name and fame. It shines mildly and equally, and guides the philanthropist and citizen in the path of duty—and it will guide them long
after those false lights, which have attracted too much attention, shall have been extinguished in darkness.

In the grave before us lie the remains of his mother. Long has it been unmarked by any monumental tablet, but not unhonored. You have undertaken the pious duty of erecting a column to her memory and of inscribing upon it the simple, but affecting words, “MARY, THE MOTHER OF WASHINGTON.” No eulogy could be higher, and it appeals to the heart of every American.

These memorials of affection and gratitude are consecrated by the practice of all ages and nations. They are tributes of respect to the dead, but they convey practical lessons of virtue and wisdom to the living. The mother and son are beyond the reach of human applause. But the bright example of parental and filial excellence, which their conduct furnishes, cannot but produce the most salutary effects upon our countrymen. Let their example be before us, from the first lesson which is taught the child, till the mother’s duties yield to the course of preparation and action, which nature prescribes for him.

The address which we have heard, portrays in just colors this most estimable woman. Tradition says, that the character of Washington was aided and strengthened, if not formed, by the care and precepts of his mother. She was remarkable for the vigor of her intellect and the firmness of her resolution. Left in early life, the sole parent of a young and numerous family, she devoted herself with exemplary fidelity to the task of guiding and educating them. With limited resources she was able, by care and economy, to provide for them, and to ensure them a respectable entrance upon the duties of life. A firm believer in the sacred truths of religion, she taught its principles to her children and inculcated an early obedience to its injunctions. It is said by those who knew her intimately that she acquired and maintained a wonderful ascendency over those around her. This true characteristic of genius attended her through life, and even in its decline, after her son had led his country to independence, and had been called to preside over her councils, he approached her with the same reverence she taught him to exhibit in early youth. This course of maternal discipline, no doubt restrained the natural ardor of his temperament and conferred upon him that power of self-command, which was one of the most remarkable traits of his character.

In tracing the few recollections, which can be gathered of her principles and conduct, it is impossible to avoid the conviction that these were closely interwoven with the destiny of her son. The great points of his character are before the world. He who runs may read them in his whole career, as a citizen, a soldier, a magistrate. He possessed an unerring judgment, if that term can be applied to human nature; great probity of purpose, high moral principles, perfect self-possession, untiring application, an enquiring mind, seeking information from every quarter, and arriving at its conclusions with a full knowledge of the subject: and he added to
these, an inflexibility of resolution which nothing could change but a conviction of error. Look back at the life and conduct of his mother, and at her domestic government, as they have been this day delineated by the chairman of the monumental committee, and as they were known to her cotemporaries and have been described by them, and they will be found admirably adapted to form and develop the elements of such a character. The power of greatness was there, but had it not been guided and directed by maternal solicitude and judgment, its possessor, instead of presenting to the world examples of virtue, patriotism and wisdom, which will be precious in all succeeding ages, might have added to the number of those master spirits, whose fame rests upon the faculties they have abused, and the injuries they have committed.

How important to the females of our country are these reminiscences of the early life of Washington, and of the maternal care of her upon whom its future course depended. Principles, less firm and just, and affection, less regulated by discretion, might have changed the character of the son, and with it the destinies of the nation. We have reason to be proud of the virtue and intelligence of our females. As mothers and sisters, and wives and daughters, their duties are performed with exemplary fidelity. They no doubt realize the great importance of the maternal character and the powerful influence it must exert upon the American youth. Happy is it for them and our country that they have before them this illustrious example of maternal devotion and this bright reward of filial success. The mother of a family who lives to witness the virtues of her children and their advancement in life, and who is known and honored because they are known and honored, should have no other wish, on this side the grave, to gratify. The seeds of virtue and of vice are early sown, and we may often anticipate the harvest that will be gathered. Changes no doubt occur, but let no one place his hope upon these. Impressions made in infancy, if not indelible, are effaced with difficulty and renewed with facility: and upon the mother therefore must frequently, if not generally, depend the fate of the son.

Fellow citizens—This district of country gave birth to Washington. The ancient Commonwealth, within whose borders we are assembled from every portion of this happy and flourishing Union, renowned as she is for her institutions, for her devotion to the cause of freedom and for her services and sacrifices to promote it, and for the eminent men she has sent forth to aid our country with heart and hand, in peace and war, presents a claim still stronger than these upon the gratitude of her sister States in the birth and life of Washington. Most of you, my friends, must speak of him from report. It is to me a source of high gratification that I can speak of him from personal knowledge and observation. Called by the partiality of my countrymen to the high station once so ably filled by him, and feeling, that in all but a desire to serve you, I am unworthy to occupy his seat; but sensible that to this position I owe the honor of an invitation to
unite with you in this work of affection and gratitude, I am unwilling the opportunity should pass away without bearing my testimony to his virtues and services. I do this in justice to my own feelings, being well aware, that his fame needs no feeble aid from me.

The living witnesses of his public and private life will soon follow him to the tomb. Already a second and a third generation are upon the theatre of action, and the men and the events of the Revolution, and of the interesting period between it and the firm establishment of the present Constitution, must ere long live only in the pages of history. I witnessed the public conduct and the private virtues of Washington, and I saw and participated in the confidence which he inspired, when probably the stability of our institutions depended upon his personal influence. Many years have passed over me since, but they have increased instead of diminishing my reverence for his character, and my confidence in his principles. His Farewell Address, that powerful and affecting appeal to his countrymen, that manual of wisdom for the American citizen, embodies his sentiments and feelings.\(^2\) May He who holds in his hands the fate of nations impress us all with the conviction of its truth and importance, and teach us to regard its lessons as the precious legacy he has bequeathed us. And if, in the instability of human affairs, our beloved country should ever be exposed to the disasters which have overwhelmed the other Republics that have preceded us in the world, may Providence, when it suffers the hour of trial to come, raise up a Washington to guide us in averting the danger.

Fellow citizens—at your request, and in your name, I now deposit this plate in the spot destined for it—and when the American pilgrim shall, in after ages, come up to this high and holy place, and lay his hand upon this sacred column, may he recall the virtues of her who sleeps beneath, and depart with his affections purified and his piety strengthened, while he invokes blessings upon the memory of the Mother of Washington.\(^3\)

Printed, Washington Globe, May 10, 1833 (22-1319). Draft by Louis McLane, DLC (73). McLane’s draft, much shorter than the delivered address, was similar in content though differently phrased.


2. Washington had issued a Farewell Address on September 17, 1796 (Richardson, 1:213–24).

3. The original monument was never finished, and was damaged during the Civil War. A new monument, which still stands, was begun in 1893 and completed in 1894.
From John Donelson (1807–1879)

Hermitage
May 8th. 1833—

My Dr. Uncle,

I have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of yours of the 22d. April last—in which you notify me of a remittance of the amount due me from the Government for Surveying Indian lands West of Mississippi.

I have received the draft and the money and I assure you it was with gladness it came to hand. Andrew has perhaps informed you how much disappointment I have had by not getting this money sooner; but perhaps all is for the best. I enclose you by request a duplicate of the receipt for the money.

Upon a settlement with Mr. McCoy before leaving Arkansaw there remained due me a balance of only $958.05. Unless therefore there are some extra allowances or increase of wages, I have received more than my due from Mr. McCoy, by about seventy five dollars. Upon information on this subject the mistake, if any, can be rectified. I shall write to Mr. McCoy immediately on the subject.¹

Your plantation looks very well. Cotton has come up most of it finely some of it, from the badness of the seed not quite so good, but with a good season may turn out well. Your negroes are healthy and in good spirits, well enough pleased with their overseer. I expect he is as humane and kind to them as the nature of slavery will admit. You never can expect to have your place and negroes attended to as it and they would be were you yourself present, but I believe Mr. Holtsclaw does about as well as any you could get. There will always be complaints. The sugar trees are most of them striped by the worms—the woods look naked. Hutchings is here, but speaks of leaving for Alabama in a few days, is well and sends his love. I have seen the Surveyor Genl. of the Chickisaw land, and am looking for a letter from him He has promised to give me work and the earliest information when my services will or shall be required. I am waiting in idleness and with impatience. All here are well. Accept for your health and happiness the best wishes of your affectionate nephew

Jno. Donelson jnr.

[Endorsed by AJ:] J. Donelson jnr. with a duplicate recpt. to be handed to the Dept. of war—A. J

The duplicate recpt. handed to the Sec. of War May 28th. 1833—A. J

ALS, Swann Galleries sale 2432, November 17, 2016, lot 272 (mAJs). “Junior” was often used as an informal appellation rather than a given name. John Donelson, son of Severn Donelson and birth brother of Andrew Jackson Jr., had begun styling himself “junior” in apparent distinction from his older first cousin John Donelson (1787–1840), just as that John had signed himself “junior” up to the 1830 death of his father, Rachel Jackson’s
brother John Donelson. Volumes IX and X of this series incorrectly identified the present Donelson as his older cousin, attributing the confusion to AJ.

1. In 1831–32 Donelson had worked as assistant surveyor under Isaac McCoy (1784–1846), a prominent Baptist missionary appointed by the War Department to mark out locations for emigrating Indian nations west of Arkansas Territory. Donelson wrote to McCoy about his apparent overpayment, and on May 23 McCoy wrote to Washington. On July 12, second auditor William B. Lewis replied that McCoy’s own vouchers had shown $1,034 altogether due to Donelson. With no record that McCoy himself had paid any of it, the War Department had remitted Donelson the entire sum (Isaac McCoy Papers, KHi).

From Amos Kendall

[Robert Beverley Randolph (1790–1869) had joined the Navy as a midshipman in 1810 and was a lieutenant aboard the frigate Constitution when its purser John Bowie Timberlake died, an apparent suicide, in April 1828. Randolph was put in charge of Timberlake’s effects and served as acting purser until the ship’s return to the U.S. Questions about Timberlake’s finances subsequently arose in connection with the controversy over his widow Margaret’s remarriage in January 1829 to Jackson’s friend and soon-to-be secretary of war John Henry Eaton. An initial Treasury review of Timberlake’s accounts showed him an apparent defaulter to the government for more than $14,000, and anonymous letters charged that before his death he had funneled large sums to Eaton. In May 1830 the House of Representatives ordered a report. Treasury fourth auditor Amos Kendall reported that Randolph had impeded and obstructed his investigation into Timberlake’s accounts, that Timberlake’s records, which had been in Randolph’s custody, were in disarray with important parts mutilated or missing, and that $11,750 in cash that Timberlake had held at his death was mysteriously unaccounted for. Kendall cleared Eaton of wrongdoing, cast doubt on Timberlake’s default, and all but directly accused Randolph of embezzlement and fraud (HRDoc 116, 21st Cong., 1st sess., Serial 198).

Randolph’s own account with the Treasury had already been closed back in October 1828. No action ensued from Kendall’s report, and in December 1830 Randolph requested a court of inquiry to clear his name (DNA-RG 45, M148-64; Globe, May 8, 1833). The court was finally organized and held hearings between June 1832 and January 1833. It determined that Randolph was in arrears to the government $4,303.11 and deemed his conduct “incorrect and censurable” for careless bookkeeping and for improperly mingling Timberlake’s accounts and property with his own. However, the court judged that Randolph’s “neglects” and “irregularities” “did not proceed from any intention to defraud the United States or Mr. Timberlake”; and it cleared him of other charges, aired by Kendall, of threatening Treasury officers and writing or prompting the anonymous letters against Timberlake and Eaton (ASP Naval Affairs, 4:348).
Navy secretary Woodbury informed Randolph of the court's decision on January 24, 1833, and called for him to settle the $4,303.11 balance. On March 9 he directed Randolph's “immediate attention” to the matter (DNA-RG 45, M149-22; Globe, May 8, 1833). Randolph instead submitted a summary accounting that showed a balance due him of $920.98. On April 11 Jackson requested the record of the court of inquiry, and on April 18 he ordered Randolph's dismissal from the Navy. Rejecting the court's exculpatory conclusions as “incompatible” with the facts, Jackson found Randolph “unworthy the Naval service of this Republic and an unfit associate for those sons of chivalry, integrity, and honor, who adorn our Navy” (Globe, May 8, 1833). Randolph replied with two publications, claiming honorable acquittal by the court and attributing his dismissal to “the malignity and conspiracy of John H. Eaton and Amos Kendall, worthy associates of their malicious and imbecile master.” Randolph charged that “the black avarice and cowardly resentment of Eaton” had led him to pursue Randolph to cover his own receipt from Timberlake of $7,000 or more in public funds (Richmond Enquirer, April 30, 1833; Globe, May 8, 1833).

Randolph's second exposition appeared on May 6. On that day, the steamboat carrying Jackson and his entourage to Fredericksburg for the Mary Washington monument ceremony stopped at Alexandria, D.C. (now Va.), and Jackson received visitors in a cabin. Randolph, whom Jackson did not know, approached him, grabbed and wrung his nose, and then escaped in the confusion. Jackson suffered a bloody nose but was otherwise unharmed.

Catskill N. Y. May 9th 1833

Dear Sir,

I have just heard of the daring outrage committed upon your person by R. B. Randolph at Alexandria. I thought it possible that he might attempt to wreak his vengeance upon me; but I could not conceive him mad enough to commit violence on you. It will put the seal upon his infamy. As you lately remarked to me, too much indulgence has been shown towards men in public station who indulge in wanton and causeless abuse of the public authorities. Had all clerks and men in subordinate stations who thus indulge their licentious tongues, been removed, and had every officer of the army and navy who thus violated the rules and articles of service been tried by a Court Martial and inflexibly broke, and had none but friends been placed in vacated stations, this assault would never have been made. But so much abuse has been tolerated &c so much violence overlooked, that one miscreant, having received countenance in heaping on you all sorts of epithets, has thought that he might go further, and yet escape unharmed. I hope this will induce our friends at the head of offices to see that they keep none around them who indulge in or countenance wanton abuse of those in power and take care with what sort of men they supply their places.
My health is improved, but not so much as it would have been, had I not taken cold on my journey.

I inclose herewith a letter from Mr. Yancey of Kentucky with a letter from Mr. Work accompanying it.¹ His situation is undoubtedly very unpleasant; but I know not what you can do for him. With the highest respect I am yours &c.

Amos Kendall

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr Kendall on hearing the outrage by R. B. Randolph—some clerks ought to be removed—file this  A. J

ALS, DLC (42).

1. These were probably former Kentucky congressman Joel Yancey (1773–1838) and Bowling Green attorney George Work (1801–1878).

From Martin Van Buren

Nyork May 9th 33

My dear Sir

It is I presume quite unnecessary that I should say that the insult offered to you by Randolph has excited the utmost abhorrence here. With but one infamous exception the press has, as far as my observation extends, spoken upon the subject in terms of unqualified reprobation.¹ In this, as in all previous attempts the malice of your enemies serves only to draw forth more distinctly the unfeigned & deep seated admiration & esteem of your Countrymen. I shall be impatient to hear of your return, & state of health. Do me the favor to snatch a moment from your business to drop me a line.

When at Philadelphia I saw Judge King & since I have been here I have been favored with a visit from Dr. Sutherland. I think I cannot deceive myself in believing that they & their friends are sincerely desirous of coming int cordially into the support of the administration. They think they have been hardly treated in being excluded from appointments whilst the favors of the Genl Govmmt have been bestowed, as the Dr. says, exclusively upon those whose strength in the State is very limited whatever their personal merits may be. I admitted that the fact was probably so but informed him that it was the natural result of the course pursued by themselves, & not of any desire, or intention on your part, to foster a separate interest in Pennsylvania—that you intended no such disposition but on the contrary looked upon all sincere friends of the Republican cause with the same feelings, and would always be ready to manifest that desire spirit whenever proper opportunities were presented.²
The Major has been deploring his bad fortune in not being with you, & desires to be affectionately remembered to you. Do the same thing for me to Mrs Donelson & all the family & believe me to be as ever yours truly

M. Van Buren

[Endorsed by AJ:] answered 12th 1833—A. J.

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (22-1326). AJ replied on May 12 (below).

1. On May 8 the New-York Commercial Advertiser deplored Randolph’s “lawless outrage” but observed that AJ was “the very individual who countenanced, to say the least of it, the appeal to brute force for the redress of injuries” by justifying Samuel Houston’s street assault on congressman William Stanbery in Washington in April 1832. Randolph’s grievance was presumably “as deep and well grounded” as Houston’s, and “in our republican government, where equality is the order of the day,” AJ’s person should be no “farther exempt by his official station from rudeness and insult” than Stanbery’s.

2. Edward King (1794–1873) was the presiding judge of Philadelphia’s Court of Common Pleas, and physician and lawyer Joel Barlow Sutherland (1792–1861) was a Philadelphia congressman. Philadelphia Jacksonians had divided over patronage and policy throughout AJ’s administration, and Sutherland’s loyalty had been questioned. He had voted for the BUS recharter and stood unsuccessfully for House speaker against Andrew Stevenson in 1831.

From “A Friend Truly”

Fredg May 9th. 1833

Sir,

You have it now in your power to do an act which will shed as much lustre on your character and raise it as high in the estimation of your fellow Citizens as any private act of your life. The violent and outrageous insult offered to your person by Robt. Randolph, which none can excuse places it in your power to shew that you are above revenge to a fallen enemy, & to exhibit those finer affections of the heart which are so highly appreciated by your Countrymen. It does more it gives you an opportunity of exhibiting the noblest revenge of a noble nature, of “doing good to those who dispitefully use you”!

If the offence of Mr Randolph has been personal to yourself & not involving his public character as an honourable and meritorious officer, reinstate him, I pray you. He is remarkable for honourable high minded & chivalrous feeling, his very errors, if analized will be found to proceed from these very feelings misdirected. He is also poor & by the unfortunate state of things which now exist is deprived, after 23 years devoted to the service of his Country, of the means of support. The writer is also informed that he has been for years engaged to be married to an interesting and deserving woman & had fondly anticipated the happiness which awaited him after clearing away the stain which had so long rested on his character & fame. Could you have been surprised if madness was the
consequence, of circumstances so well calculated to wither & blight every
prospect of temporal happiness? Reinstate him & you not only inflict the
severest punishment which can be inflicted on an honourable high minded
Gentleman but gain a friend, who, my life on it will, should circumstances
ever require it freely shed every drop of his blood in your cause. Let this
be done freely, voluntarily & the consequences which I have pointed out
in regard to public sentiment will assuredly follow & you will look back
with pleasure & delight to the noble & generous act through the remain-
der of your declining years.

a friend truly

[Endorsed by AJ:] Such a dastard never ought to have been in the Navy—
he that has rob the dead, a brother officer, ought not to associate with the
honest—he who was patronised by the gallant Decatur & after his death,
had the madness to traduce him,* is unworthy of the countenance of any
honest man—A. J.

*Commodore Ridgely—A. J.³

ALS, Heritage Auctions, April 7, 2014, sale, lot 34095 (mAJs).

1. Matthew 5:44.
2. In March 1834 Randolph married his cousin Eglantine Beverley (c1808–1886).
3. Famed naval hero Stephen Decatur (1779–1820) had patronized Randolph’s entrance
into the Navy and served as his commanding officer. Captain Charles Goodwin Ridgely
(1784–1848) had been Randolph’s commander aboard the frigate Constellation.

From Levi Woodbury

Augusta (Geo.)—10 May. 1833.

Dear Sir,

I am happy to inform you of my safe arrival at this place, having had
at NewOrleans, Mobile & Pensacola the pleasure of meeting with many
of your old personal acquaintances, anxious to be kindly remembered to
you.

The political aspect of affairs is flattering—though great efforts appear
to have been made from a few points in the South to get up and to per-
petuate groundless excitements. With caution and firmness on the part
of your numerous political supporters these mischievous designs will in
the end be defeated. Even now in Georgia the election of Judge Wayne,
as President of the Convention at Milledgeville by a vote of about 150
to 80, has proved a Waterloo victory to him & Forsyth. I saw him there
a moment & Mr. Forsyth on the way here & both feel confidence in the
decisive triumph of the true principles of the Constitution.¹

Gov. Lumpkin, whatever may have been his former views on any par-
ticular questions at particular times, is now entirely with the great Union
party of the general government & will probably be re-elected against any antagonist, whom any kind of a combination may bring upon the field.² Excuse these details as I believed they might have some interest. I leave here tomorrow morning for Savannah—and hope to reach Norfolk by the 20th. inst. and Washington some days before the 1st. of June—when I shall be happy to communicate more fully on many subjects & especially the condition of our naval depots in this quarter. Please to present my respects to your family & my brethren of the Cabinet & believe With high respect & esteem Your Ob. Ser.

Levi Woodbury

[Endorsed by AJ:] recd. 16th May 33. Govr. Woodbury dated 10th—will be at Norfolk by 20th. & Washington by the latter end of the month. Col. Wayne—chosen President contn. by a large majority &c A. J.

ALS, TNJ (22-1334).

1. Senator John Forsyth and congressman James Moore Wayne (1790–1867) had both been burnt in effigy in Georgia for their support of the Force Bill. A state constitutional convention to reapportion the legislature had convened on May 6. Wayne was elected its president over former Treasury secretary William H. Crawford by 151 to 88.

2. Georgia governor Wilson Lumpkin was reelected over Joel Crawford in October. His victory, like Wayne’s for convention president, was read by Jacksonians as a rebuke to the nullifiers.

To John Coffee

Washington May 11th. 1833—

My Dr. Genl.

I have just received your letter of the 29th. ultimo, with one enclosed from your amiable daughter Mary.

I sincerely regret the continuance of your disease, but rejoice to learn that Doctor Hogg is with you, and I am sure he will exercise his whole energy and judgment to speedily remove your complaint—and I trust to the kind interference of an all ruling providence, that Doctor Hogg will be made the instrument to restore you to perfect health.

The family at present are all in good health except little John, who is a little afflicted with an irruption about his mouth owing, as it is supposed, to his teething. My own health has not been good, nor is it now, but I think it improving.

Present me kindly to Mary, with my thanks to her for her kind letter, say to her that Sarah & the baby have quite recovered, and are now enjoying excellent health. Little Rachel growing finely and has become a very interesting child, and very sprightly. Say to Mary I shall answer her letter so soon as I have a lisure moment & my health will permit—and that in the mean time I shall rely on her goodness to keep me informed as to your health & that of the family.¹
you will have seen before this reaches you, the mean cowardly, and
dasterly attempt to insult me, & perhaps to assasinate me, by that base
villain the late Lt Randolph of the Navy.

I was sitting reading in the Cabin resting on my elbow in the berth,
and supporting my left arm on the table with a news paper, reading &
smoking my pipe, with Mrs. judge Thruston, on my right, Thus confined,
and thus situated, the assasin, who I did not know, or ever had seen,
approached, and in a plain & supplicating tone enquired if I was the
President, I looked up & replied I was, when he pressed forward between
Mrs. Thruston & the table, pulling off the glove on the right hand, the
left being without, believing that he had a wish to shake hands with me,
which is so common, I said to him, do not draw your Glove, when he in
a soft tone said you have injured me, I asked him how, he replied I had,
and dashed his hand in my face, I seised his hand and with my feet pushed
him from me, and sprung to my feet as soon as I could, seized my cane
which I had placed in the a distant berth on entering the cabin, when I
was immediately seised & held by my friends, and the villain permitted to
escape. Judge Thruston was present, and the Marshall of the District, who
at one time had hold of him—he is still at large, but I trust in god I may
lay my eyes upon him, you will hear the sequel.2

With all our kind salutations, and prayers for your recovery, to your
amiable family, your friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Coffee Family Papers (22-1341).
1. AJ wrote Mary Donelson Coffee on May 29 (below).
2. Buckner Thruston (1763–1845) was a U.S. circuit court judge for the District of
Columbia. His wife was Jeanette January Thruston (1773–1835). Henry Ashton (d. 1834)
was marshal of the District of Columbia, which at that time included Alexandria.

From John A. Bell et al.

New York May 11th. 1833

Sir

The undersigned Citizens of New York—and advocates of the prin-
ciples of your administration, beg leave respectfully to address you on the
subject of an evil tending to strike at the root of our free institutions and
to jeopardise the liberties of this Republic.

The subject of this memorial is the Bank of the United States which
institution while in the full enjoyment of the extensive patronage of the
Government is enabled to pay large dividends to the stockholders (a large
portion of whom are aliens an nonresidents) and to draw within the circle
of its operations a class of men as borrowers who become the advocates
and supporters of that Institution and who are hostile to many of the
most important measures of the General Government. The undersigned
are apprehensive that the continuance of the Government deposits in the Bank of the United States tends to promote the evils which the people endure, and which the Executives Veto on its recharter was calculated to prevent. The effect which this institution has produced is deeply to be lamented by the friends of our country. It has almost destroyed the political vitality of the land, and by concentrating its immense power is enabled to support the most dangerous monopolies, and to promote aristocratic measures, thereby endangering the privileges, and jeopardizing the most sacred rights of the People. The undersigned therefore respectfully solicit that the Executive will adopt such measures that the public funds may hereafter be deposited in the State Banks which will secure to the People an accommodation which the Bank of the United States is unable or unwilling to extend. It is upon the State Banks alone in time of need that the Government can place reliance, and in whom the people have confidence.

Jno A Bell
J D Beers &Co
A Sherman
Chas F Moulton
John Greenfield & Son

[Thirty-eight more signatures follow.]

From Thomas Hart Benton

New Orleans, May 11. 1833.

Dear Sir,

I have addressed a letter to the Secretary of State in favour of appointing Mr. Joel H. Haden to be Marshal of Missouri as successor to Mr. Jones, whose term will expire this summer. The reasons for this change are stated in that letter, which will be on file in the department, and in addition to those reasons, I have to state to you that Mr. Jones has forfeited all claim to our respect by a sudden & suspicious conversion to the B.U.S. and the zealous support to opposition candidates at the last August elections.

I am now on a visit to this place, but will return to Missouri in a few weeks, and have the pleasure to add that I found public sentiment entirely sound in my travel through the Western States, and that nullification & secession had hardly muster a corporals guard in any place I have been in.

Yours most truly & respectfully,

Thomas H. Benton
ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-10). Augustus Jones (1796–1887) had been marshal in Missouri since first receiving a recess appointment from AJ in 1829. Benton had written Livingston on May 3, complaining of Jones’s failure to discharge duties of his office and recommending Joel Harris Haden (1811–1888), an 1832 Jackson presidential elector, to replace him (DNA-RG 59, M639-10). AJ reappointed Jones as marshal when his present four-year commission expired in March 1834, and in June 1834 he appointed Haden as register of a new Missouri land office.

To Martin Van Buren

Washington May 12th. 1833—

My dear Sir,

I have recd. your letter of the 9th. It is creditable to the nation the general disgust & excration that the dastardly & cowardly insult offered me by the late disgraced, & degraded Lt. Randolph—and it is equally creditable to the public presses, that so much unanimity on this event, prevades their columns. Still you see that the National intelligencer, unites in paliating Randolph, as he did Watkins. I am now convinced he, Joe Gales, is as base a man as Duff Green.¹

It is much regretted by me, and ever will be, that no one who knew Randolph, when he was approaching me where I was confined, sitting, between the table & berths in all the humble attitude of a petitioner, that there were none to announce that it was Randolph; Mrs. judge Thruston was sitting at the corner of the table, who knew him, & the judge standing opposite to me the other side of the table, if this had been done, I would have been prepared & upon my feet, when, he never would have moved with life from his tracks he stood in—still more do I regret, that when I got to my feet, & extricated from the bunks, & table, that my friends interposed, closed the passage of the door, & held me, until I was oblige to tell them if they did not open a passage I would open it with my cane—in the mean time the villain surrounded with his friends had got him out of the boat, crying they were carrying him to the civil authority—thus again was I halted at the warf. Solomon says, “there is a time for all things under the sun,” and if the dastard, will only present himself to me, I will freely pardon him, after the interview, for every act or thing done to me, or he may thereafter do to me.²

I observe your remarks with regard to Doctor Southerland. My rule is to repose in all, but place confidence in none, until I find they are worthy of it. I mean to confide to none any thing that I do not wish to come before the public, until I know they are worthy to be confided in; and I am sure you will agree with me, that I have had sufficient cause for adopting this rule—it is a safe one, & one I would recommend to be adopted

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by you with our friend Doctor S. He is capable of doing much good, but I have such a contempt for Ingham that I am suspicious of all who have been his, & Calhouns satelites, & tools. Still I would extend to Doctor Southerlands District that equality of office, as I would to any other, and I would treat him with as much justice, as any other member in congress.3

My health has been bad since you left me, I have been labouring under a severe affliction from pain in my left side & breast for some weeks—it has changed to my left breast and is very painful to day. I may have got a former broken rib injured against the table in the struggle to get to my feet the other day, if this is the case, I hope it will pass off in a few days. Major Donelson has gone to the races at Baltimore, on his return I will determine whether I will attempt the travel East this summer, when I will write you.

All my Houshold join with me in kind salutations to you & your sons.

I write in much pain, yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (22-1353). Van Buren replied on May 16 (below).

1. On May 8 the National Intelligencer opined, “without the disposition to extenuate” Randolph’s assault, that he had “been hardly dealt with” and that “an officer of his standing, and gallant services” ought to have been granted a regular court-martial before being dismissed. Tobias Watkins (1780–1855) had been fourth auditor of the Treasury under Monroe and Adams. AJ had removed him for Kendall in March 1829. He was arrested that April and later convicted of embezzling public funds. The National Intelligencer upon his arrest had cautioned against prejudging his guilt, calling him a perhaps “injured and persecuted man” (May 9, 1829).

2. Ecclesiastes 3:1.

3. Sutherland, like Ingham, had first backed Calhoun for president in 1824 before switching to AJ.

From Susan Wheeler Decatur

George Town May 13th 1833

My Dear General,

I again trespass upon your kindness in requesting the favor of you to let me say a few words to you relative to my disastrous affairs! Mr Oliver has cut off what little means of subsistence I have hitherto had, and I am now totally destitute! I have two or three rich articles of furniture which I have so far sav’d from the general wreck, but which I now must now immediately dispose of for my daily bread! They are well suited to the President’s House; being extremely elegant and at the same time highly useful; and it wou’d be really an act of charity if you wou’d have the goodness to take them. I pray you, my dear Sir, to come and look at them. I am living in one of the small Houses opposite Cox’s row—and will be ready to see you on any day and at any hour you may have the goodness to name.1

Mr Oliver, although he lent me the money under the Mask of friendship, to settle my Husband’s Estate, has prov’d himself to be a rapacious

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Mr Oliver, although he lent me the money under the Mask of friendship, to settle my Husband’s Estate, has prov’d himself to be a rapacious
hard hearted Usurer! I beg you to believe me, My dear General, very sincerely & respectfully yours

S. Decatur

ALS, DLC (43). Decatur (c1776–1860) was the widow of naval hero Stephen Decatur. Baltimore merchant Robert Oliver (c1759–1834) had lent her $23,000 between 1820 and 1822, secured by a mortgage on rental property. In March 1833 he brought suit to foreclose the mortgage and seize the rents. Decatur had auctioned off furniture on May 2. She wrote AJ again on May 18 (below).

1. A row of townhouses on N Street in Georgetown was named for merchant John Cox (1775–1849).

Memorandum on Robert Beverley Randolph

[Editorials in the National Intelligencer on May 11 and May 13 defended Robert B. Randolph’s character as a naval officer and challenged the grounds of his dismissal. Jackson may have intended this sketch as the basis for a Globe rebuttal, but nothing resembling it was published.]

Notes, on Lt Randolphs conduct & Joe Gales comments—

The chivalrick Lt. Randolph. This man was taken by the hand in youth by the brave Decature, patronised by him, & the first man after his death, to traduce & sully his fame. This is true chivarly, as Mr. Gales would say—commodore Ridgley states this to be a fact.

The records of the Navy Department shew, that he was sent home from the pacific under an arrest and charges—that he was held under arrest for the arrival of his commander who, on the intimation of the Dept., drew out again the charges, against him & others where they remain to this day, as testimonials of his unworthy, unmilitary and ungentlemanly conduct, without this chivalrick brave officer ever calling upon the Department for a courtmartial;¹ would an honorable man, resting upon his innocence & integrity, rest under such charges, or would he not have had them wiped from the record, by an honorable acquittal by a courtmartial as to his dishonesty & baseness in the attempt to rob the dead, swindle the orphans of a deceased brother officer when the law placed in his hands the effects of the deceased as a safe depository, & his attempt to peculate upon the Treasury, all which have been made manifest by the Decison of the 4th. auditor, the 2nd. comptroler and the court of enquiry—and the following statement of his friend to whom he applied to investigate his accounts, shews that he did this act willfully & knowingly,² and a conclusive proof of his bravery & chivalry, Mr. Gales can produce from the cowardly & assassin manner which he approached the President sitting confined as he was by the table & berths of the Boat & who knew him not, and making the assault upon an old man without giving notice of his intent, and then running away to escape from that meritted chastisment which he was aware, as soon as the President got to his feet, he
would receive. Had not the President struck such a miscreant from the rolls of our gallant Navy then indeed, would the people have cause to mourn over the lost character of our country.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Notes on Randolph's case—A. J.

AD, DLC (73).

1. In March 1821, Captain Charles G. Ridgely of the frigate Constellation, operating off the west coast of South America, had arrested and sent home Randolph and two other lieutenants for their insubordination in defying his order not to consort with supply contractor Daniel S. Griswold at Valparaiso, a dishonest and disreputable character (said Ridgely) who had sown dissension among his officers while a passenger on the voyage out. Upon his own return to the U.S., Ridgely on December 20, 1822, preferred charges against Randolph of conniving at mutinous and seditious practices, treating a superior officer with contempt, using provoking and menacing words and gestures, and scandalous conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman (DNA-RG 45, M125-77). On February 2, 1823, Ridgely acceded to Navy secretary Smith Thompson's request to forego a court-martial and permit Randolph's return to active duty (DNA-RG 45, M125-80).

2. Isaac Hill (1789–1851) of New Hampshire had been second comptroller of the Treasury in early 1830 and had confirmed Kendall's report on Timberlake's and Randolph's accounts.

From William Berkeley Lewis

Nashville 16th. May 1833.

My dear Genl.

Your letter of the fourth has been received, and I am sorry to hear of your continued ill health. I am in hopes, however, when you commence travelling it will improve.

I forgot to say to you in my last letter that Dr. Hogg, during my trip to Pulaski, rode up to the Hermitage to see little Hannah. He thinks she was then mending, and, after a consultation with Dr. McCorkle, he concluded it would not be necessary to remove her to Nashville, for the present at least. She has not been heard from since he saw her, but as Col. Love and myself intend riding up to the Hermitage day after tomorrow, (Saturday,) I shall see her and ascertain her situation, and if it be deemed advisable by Mr. Love and myself to have her placed under the immediate care and superintendence of Hogg, I will direct that she be brought down and left with her Grand mother.

I have not much now to detain me here. I am making arrangements to lease out my Tavern, and shall, I am in hopes, dispose of it to day, or to morrow. I shall, I think, let a Mr. Ferguson have it, who is well recommended, and I have no doubt well qualified to take charge of such an establishment. He formerly resided in Fayetteville No. Carolina, and is at this time a resident of Brownsville in the Western District of this state. As soon as I make final disposition of this matter, I shall leave this for Washington. My present intention is to take the Stage on Monday morning
next (20th.) for Louisville—thence to Guyendot, and thro’ Virginia to Washington by Fredericksburgh. It is probable that Judge Campbell will accompany me, at least he talks of it. Without accident you may expect me, on or before the first of next month.²

Dr. Hogg informs me that he learns from Florence, Genl. Coffee’s health remains pretty much as it was when he left him. It had not improved any, or at least very little, if he were to judge from the reports of his attending Physician. He expected a letter by the mail of last night from him—and as the mail will not be closed for some time I will keep my letter open, until I can ascertain whether Dr. Hogg has recd. any additional information upon the subject, and if so, will advise you of its character.

Your old friend Parson Hume is quite sick—confined to his bed by an attack of billious fever. As I returned home last evening I called to see him, &c he told me he thought he was some little better, than he had been. I shall call again this morning as I go to town, and if there be much change in him, whether for the better or worse, I will advise you of it.³ Your other friends are generally well, and it is my sincere prayer that this may find your own health, if not entirely restored, much improved.

Please remember me kindly to all our friends, and believe me to be, sincerely yours.

W B Lewis

P. S. I understand Dr. Hogg recd. no letter from Florence last night—consequently nothing more has been heard from Genl. Coffee. We have just heard here of the outrage committed on you by that Blackguard Leut. Randolp. Every body regrets that he had not been put to instant death. It strikes every one all here with astonishment that he should have been suffered to make his escape. I hope he may yet be punished as he deserves.

WBL

ALS, DLC (43).

1. Lewis had inherited the Nashville Inn, established in 1796, through his late wife. James B. Ferguson (1789–1851) began operating it in June under a four-year lease.
2. Former congressman and senator George Washington Campbell (1769–1848) of Nashville was now a member of the French spoliation claims commission, set to reconvene in Washington on June 10.
3. William Hume died on May 23. His son Ebenezer wrote AJ on June 3 (below).

From Henry Toland

Philada. 16 May 1833

Dear Sir,

I have recd. your esteemed letter of yesterday, enclosing bill of lading for 3 Cases per Sloop Union, to be forwarded to the Hermitage via New
Orleans, which shall be attended to by the first packet, after their arrival here. I had the pleasure to write Andrew Yesterday enclosing him a bill of lading of sundries shipped by the Brig Falco, &c &c

Some of the articles were bulky, and the vendors desirous to get rid of them on account of the room they occupied in their stores, and as everything was ready, and the vessel a good one, I determined to ship them. There will be another packet up by the time the 3 Cases reach here. The President of the Leheigh Coal Comp’y, asked me yesterday in the street, for the order for your Coal. I would be glad to know how much you will require, and I would suggest to you to leave it to me to choose the time for forwarding it. In the course of a month or two, I may get a vessel on very cheap terms, and as the Coal contains nothing offensive, and their is abundant room for it in your cellars, I would suppose it could not arrive at any time to cause any inconvenience. The price will be lower this year, than the last, and the payment need not be made before the 1st of November.

The Silver will be ready in a few days, when I will have it neatly boxed, and put in a dry good box for Nashville. In this way it will go perfectly secure.

I would be very glad to hear from Mr Breathitt that his trip to Philadelphia had improved his health.

Our Citizens are anticipating a great deal of pleasure from your promised visit; and are taking the necessary steps to receive you kindly, and entertain you hospitably. Their is a great deal of honesty in the American people, however degraded and debased many of her politicians may be, and this honesty develops itself whenever you become the subject of discussion. The only thing I dread in your projected tour, is the necessity of shaking hands and talking to such myriads of people as will call on You. I hope the Journey may do you great good, and no one will take more pleasure in seeing you than myself. I remain very truly your friend

H: Toland

P.S. I mentioned in my letter to Andrew about insuring these goods. If You wish it done, please send me the cost of the articles or near it.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Henry Toland Esqr recd. 18th. May 1833—answered same day—directed to buy & have forwarded 60 tons antracite coal—& insure the packetts sent to orleans if he thinks proper—G. Breathits health &c &c—A. J  To be filed on private files  A. J.

ALS, DLC (43). AJ replied on May 18 (below).
1. Joseph Watson (c1784–1841) was president of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company.

From Martin Van Buren

Newyork May 16th. 1833

My dear Sir

I was made unhappy by your letter rcd. yesterday. I hope the unpromising state of health under which it was written has passed away, & that the pain in your breast has left you before this time. If you are too much engaged ask my friend Mr Earle to drop me a line on the subject. Be assured that nothing short of absolute incapacity will reconcile the people to the disappointment of not seeing you in this quarter. They have been so thoroughly impressed with that expectation that their gratification has become a sort of duty. You may have seen the proceedings of a meeting here to make arrangements for your reception.¹ I have impressed them, as far as I can with the propriety of respecting your known wishes, to proceed through the Country with as little parade as possible, & they will not be unreasonable upon the subject—but will have to be gratified to some extent. They have appointed a Committee to wait upon you at Washington but have deferred sending them down, & will I hope give it up altogether. They are prepared to have you decline a dinner, to omit addresses, but appear to have set their hearts upon an acquatic excursion. I have told them that after you were in the City I was apprehensive it would not be agreeable to you to go out for such a purpose, but that I hoped you would consent to meet them at Staten Island, or Elizabeth Town Point on a morning certain & accompany them into the City. This would enable them to make their desired display on the Water, & they might then take you directly to the City Hall, & go through with the presentations on the same day. This much I hope you will agree to, as to refuse it would mortify them greatly, & its compliance will not put you to any fatigue or inconvenience beyond what will be unavoidable. I learn that Mr Monroe met them at Staten Island, & all the Presidents who have been here have gone to the City Hall to see the Citizens.²

The views you express about Dr. S. are precisely those I entertain, & the course you propose to yourself is the very one I desire. There is a difference between reposing & confiding in the sense in which you use the terms. The former, & mere justice, is all that he has a right to expect from you. He professes to hold no relations with In., & says that the opposition to his last election came from that quarter. I have no doubt that there is a desire amongst that class of men with whom the Dr. acts to behave well in future—a desire which will be properly met by the course you propose.

I send you two letters which when you have read please to burn & if it comes in your way ask Judge have the goodness to ask Judge Hayward
about the writers & whether it is worth while to speak to Gov. Cass in behalf of Marshall.3

Remember me most kindly to all your Household & believe me Dr Sir yours truly

M. Van Buren

P. S. The last article in the Globe & Mr Rives statement is overwhelming. There, if I was in Mr Blairs place I would let the matter rest.4 The public mind is thoroughly made up upon the whole subject, but this last was not amiss. What has become of the rest of the Review.5

[Endorsed by AJ:] recd. & answered 19th. May 1833—The two letters refered to within not recd. A. J.

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (22-1382). AJ replied on May 19 (below).

1. On May 9, New York City mayor Gideon Lee had chaired a meeting of citizens “without distinction of party” to make arrangements for AJ’s reception (New York Evening Post, May 13, 1833).

2. President James Monroe stopped in Staten Island before entering New York City on his northern tour in June 1817.

3. Elijah Hayward (1786–1864), once an Ohio judge, was commissioner of the General Land Office.

4. After exonerating Robert B. Randolph of “intention to defraud” in his mishandling of funds and property as acting purser on the Constitution, the court of inquiry had further opined that the amount of money left in Randolph’s hands after later settling his accounts in Washington “was so large that it ought of itself to have excited doubts in his mind” about their accuracy, and should have prompted him to voluntarily request a further investigation previous to Kendall’s inquiry. On May 15 the Globe, claiming the authority of court of inquiry chair Captain Charles Morris, said that its opinion was being misread as exculpatory, and that this further finding, distinct from that about Randolph’s shipboard bookkeeping, was “expressly designed” to charge him with the “wilful and intentional wrong” of crediting Timberlake’s funds to himself so as to cast Timberlake as a defaulter. An accompanying letter from John Cook Rives (1795–1864), a former clerk in Kendall’s office who now worked at the Globe, confirmed that Randolph had credited himself for at least $9,000 in cash that he had paid out on the voyage whose source he had never explained, and which must have been left by Timberlake.

5. A second installment of “A Brief View of the Administration of Andrew Jackson” ran in the Globe on May 22. It discussed Indian relations, internal improvements, the tariff, and the public debt. The projected third article on AJ’s political principles did not appear.

From Susan Wheeler Decatur

George Town May 18th 1833—

My dear General,

I now enclose a list of the articles which I shew’d to you a day or two since. They cost me very near five hundred dollars, and I shou’d feel very much obli’d to you if you wou’d take the whole for three hundred and fifty. I am sure you wou’d find them useful; and if not, I have no doubt
that any new member coming into your Cabinet, wou’d be glad to take them off your hands. I therefore pray you to let me send them to you. These are the only articles I have left of all my comforts; and there are no persons in George Town who can afford to purchase them—and I am literally without a dollar to send to market, and am living upon the patience and kindness of my Butcher and Baker.

Amidst the dreadful wreck of friends and fortune which I have sustain’d, I feel very grateful to you my dear General, for the kind interest you have always taken in my misfortunes; and I beg you to believe that I shall ever remain most cordially, gratefully and respectfully, yours

S. Decatur

[Enclosure]

List of China & Plated dishes—

Eight Plated vegetable dishes, with solid silver edges and handles. They cost two hundred and fifty dollars in New York—

A desert sett of finest quality of French China—consisting of

4 dozen Plates—

1½ doz deep Plates—

Eight dishes—

3 Baskets—

2 Sauce Tureens—The sett cost two hundred dollars in Paris—

3½ doz of rich white and gold dinner Plates—These cost twelve dollars a dozen—

[Endorsed by AJ:] Inclosed to Mrs. S. Decatur a check for $350 for the within named china & plated ware May 18th. 1833—A. J. requested her to have them packed & sent to me & I will pay the expence A. J.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mrs. S. Decatur—Invoice of china & plated ware—sent her a check for $350 for them dated 18th. May 1833. & directed them to be packed & sent to me & I will pay the expence, & if a greater price can be had, will obtain it for her benefit. A J. May 18th. 1833—To be filed A. J

ALS, THer (22-1392). AJ replied below.

To Susan Wheeler Decatur

Washington May 18th. 1833—

Dear Madam

Your note of this day reached me late this evening, too late to inclose you a check for your china and plated ware in time to present it for pay-
ment at Bank to day. I inclose it, that you may early on monday have it cashed.

You will please direct your servant to have some carefull & experienced person to pack them for transportation safely by water to the Hermitage, and employ a drayman to bring them here, and I will pay for the package and all other expence.

I will endeavor to get a better price for them for you, from some of the heads of Departments, if I cannot I will send them to the Hermitage and there leave them for those who come after me.

I write in great pain in my side & breast this evening, I hope it will be better tomorrows[.] I am with great respect your friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, Raab Collection (mAJs). Boston Herald, November 19, 1882. Decatur replied on May 19 (below).

Memorandum on
Susan Wheeler Decatur’s China

Washington City May 18th. 1833.

Bought of Mrs. Decatur her china, and plated ware for $350. To be divided as follows. The china with the fruit basketts for Mrs. Emily Donelson—the plated ware to my daughter Sarah Jackson having china anough at for the Hermitage—to be sent round well boxed.

Andrew Jackson

This to be attended to  A. J.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Memorandom of the china & plated ware bought of Mrs. Decatur. May 18th. 1833—and how to be divided—checked for the amount. A. J.


To Henry Toland

Private—

Washington May 1833.

My Dr Sir

yours of the 16th. instant has this moment, reached me, and I present you a tender of my thanks for your attention to my note of the 15th.
instant. The three boxes contain a Table with marble top—and a clock, with a Glass cover—the Table sixty five dollars, & the clock, one hundred & Twenty; two pieces of my friend Mr Livingstons furniture which was not likely to meet with a fair sale—as to insurance for these, and my sons, I leave to your judgment, never having insured any thing myself, but if the silver ware goes by water, it may be well to obtain insurance for the whole. This for your decision.

The coal will be recd. here, at any time it may arrive—last year we suffered for the want of it, & had to purchase a few tons here at the high price of $14 pr ton before yrs. arrived; therefore it is, that I wish it early before the cold season approaches. I think sixty ton was ordered last year, and you will please order that quantity this year. your draft for the amount when presented will be honored & paid.¹

I will thank you as soon as the silver ware is finished to forward the bill for all articles furnished with whatever may have been paid for freight, and the amount will be remitted to you.

I feel truly grateful for the display of the kind feelings of your citizens towards me. If my health will permit I intend to take the eastern tour spoken of, but I dread the fatigue of the journey and I trust & hope, that my fellow citizens will let me pass in the good old republican stile, without any pomp & perade with a friendly shake by the hand. My health is not yet good, I think to day, I may venture to say it is somewhat improving, the pain in my side & breast abated, & the cough better, but I fear it is an affection of the heart.

I have just recd a letter from Dr Breathitt, brother of George, dated at Maysville Kentucky, in which he says “George’s health grew worse on the steam boat,” and his brother writing instead of him, is evidence of his inability to write himself—he has promised to write me at the first stage, overland, they may halt at. I am fearful he will never return. This I would sincerely regret, as he is a most amiable & correct young man.²

When I finally decide upon my travel, I will inform you. If I go I will pass in the peoples line from Baltimore—you can thus say to Mr. Horn with my kind regard³

My son & Sarah Joins me in kind salutations, as does my whole Household. yr friend

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I expect Major Lewis in Eight days, certainly.

ALS, NjMoHP (22-1388). AJ dated this reply at May 18 on Toland’s May 16 letter above. An inserted May 17 date on it is a later ascription.

1. Toland ordered 60 tons of coal for AJ from the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company between July 13 and September 28 for $332.50. AJ paid him on October 14.
2. George Breathitt died on May 23 at Russellville, Kentucky.
3. The new People’s Steam Navigation Company offered through service from Baltimore to Philadelphia via steamers connecting to opposite ends of the Chesapeake and Delaware
Canal. On June 8 AJ took the steamer Kentucky, a canal boat, and the steamer Ohio from Baltimore to Philadelphia. Congressman Henry Horn (1786–1862) chaired the Committee of Sixty that handled arrangements for his stay in Philadelphia.

To Felix Grundy

Copy to Felix Grundy

Washington May 19th. 1833

Dr. Sir,

Your letter of the 6th. of May with its enclosure has been received.

I am in some doubt whether I should reply to your interrogatories, as any answer I can give it will may not protect me from the charge of interfering in the choice of Senator soon to be made by the Legislature of Tennessee. But the fear of this imputation ought not to prevent an answer so far as my knowledge of the relation in which you stand to the questions proposed may be necessary to do you justice. Under this obligation therefore I feel at liberty to repeat now what I have often said before in conversation, that your conduct during the last session of congress in opposition to the absurd and wicked doctrines of Nullification and secession, was highly useful and energetic; and throughout, as far as I could judge from your votes and conversations, as well as your speeches, no one could have manifested a greater desire zeal to give effect to the measures of the administration.

In stating thus generally my opinion of your conduct in the Senate I trust that no one will infer that I have any other object in view but that of satisfying you that I am incapable of doing you injustice. With the choice which the Legislature are called upon to make I can have nothing to do.

Believe me very sincerely yr. obt. servant

Draft in AJ Donelson’s hand with amendments by AJ, DLC (43). Copy, THi; Copy, TKL; Copy, Don Campbell (22-1401). *Nashville Republican and State Gazette*, June 19, 1833. Grundy furnished the correspondence to the press.

To Martin Van Buren

Washington May 19th. 1833—

My Dr Sir,

yours of the 16th. instant has just reached me. I am still much afflicted with pain in my side shoulder & breast, which has removed higher in my breast. I have posponed answering the various committees of Newyork, Boston, Philadelphia &c &c until I could form some positive idea as to my ability to perform the trip, intending under probable hopes of being able to proceed, that I would announce in my replies, that I would set out, if not the first, early in june next. This is my intention and I will determine
in a day or two. I will proceed on the intended journey, if my strength promise to hold me out in performing part of it—and I do hope, my fellow citizens will let me pass with as little pomp, & perade as possible.

I have seen Doctor Southerland, he & Doctor Burden has been here on a visit, what speculation not known, unless the Potomac bridge.¹

The outrage attempted by that dastard Randolph, & his associates in the conspiracy, upon my person, receives but few advocates except the Fredericksburgh Arena. The Richmond Whig, the Intelligencer, & Duff Greens, but surely the attitude taken by the judiciary of Virginia, “that there is no law to arrest a fugitive from justice,” is a disgrace to the old Dominion, and well calculated to disgrace our institutions abroad, and will compel us here, to go armed, for our personal defence, and may lead to, what I would sincerely regret, & which never shall happen whilst I am in office, a military guard around the President. The only safety, now, for the officers of Government here is to be prepared & shoot down, or other-ways destroy those dastardly assasins whenever they approach us—should I ever meet this dastard, my enemies may tell, & boast, of the sequel. The grand jury I am told are investigating the conspiracy, & Mr Key thinks, will be able to unfold it. I have no doubt but Duff Green was knowing to it, more of this when we meet.²

you have inclosed me only one letter, (you say two) and that is Mr Edwards dated Hartford Connecticut, and which has no relation to the subject of Hayward, or Govr Cass, therefore, I infer that you have not inclosed them.

The Globe, I suppose, will let the subject of Randolphs default, & robbery of the dead, pass for the present—but the subject of the committee of Fredericksburgh inviting Duff Green “as a distinguished gest,” & as Duff say, intended to invite Randolph, will be followed up, until the committee either denies the insult intended me, or explains this matter.³ Duff Green intended as I now believe, to draw from me an invitation to the national Cadets as my life guard to Fredericksburgh. I knew nothing of them, the Capt. addressed a polite note tendering his, & companies service as my guard, which was politely refused, saying if they went to the ceremony it must be on the invitation of the committee, or their own free will. Since my return I find that the Capt is Duff Greens, foreman, and one third the men in his service, & the Ballance of such materials, & it is evident that it was intended to have these spirits present to witness the outrage as my body guard, and in it, and swear for Duff & his party as occasion might require, for we know, that fight, few of them will. We will ere long cleans the stable of some of those who have lately been smuggled into office, as well as those who are too old, to perform the duty.⁴

I have just seen the Major (yr son) he is in good health. My whole Houshold unite with me in kind salutations to you. yr friend

Andrew Jackson
This company was on board the boat selected for my conveyance. Duff had gone on before—

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (22-1409).
1. Jesse Roe Burden (c1797–1875) was a Philadelphia physician and state senator. On March 2 Congress had appropriated $200,000 to build a new Potomac bridge. On May 23 AJ directed awarding the construction contract to Riah Gilson & Co. of Pennsylvania.

2. On May 14 the Fredericksburg Political Arena condemned Randolph’s assault but found “palliating circumstances” in “the harsh, cruel and unrelenting persecution of which he was for years the victim, and his subsequent insulting and contemptuous dismissal.” A Richmond Whig account on May 13 said that Randolph had acted “with a coolness and grace, that might throw Wellington at Waterloo in the shade” (Lynchburg Virginian, May 20, 1833). A Baltimore Republican piece on May 17, reprobated in the Whig and in Duff Green’s May 21 US Telegraph, predicted that an armed presidential guard would be needed in future.

The Globe’s first report of Randolph’s assault on May 7 said that he had been “assisted, as is believed, by some ruffian confederates” in making his escape. District of Columbia marshal Henry Ashton, who had pursued Randolph off the boat, reported to Roger Taney (who showed his letter to AJ on May 16) that Randolph had had help getting away after the assault (CrY, 22-1370). An anonymous account sympathetic to Randolph in the May 8 Richmond Whig said that Randolph’s friends had pulled him off the boat and then extricated him from a gathering crowd onshore to prevent his being “murdered” by AJ’s attendants (Lynchburg Virginian, May 13, 1833).

On the day of the attack a District of Columbia grand jury was sitting nearby in Alexandria, directed by Francis Scott Key (1779–1843), U.S. attorney for the District and author of “The Star-Spangled Banner.” It immediately presented Randolph for “violently assaulting and beating” AJ, and a warrant was issued for his arrest. On May 8 the grand jury indicted him. Randolph had gone into Virginia directly after the assault. He refused to reenter federal jurisdiction, and Virginia courts declined to honor the District warrant for his arrest. Meanwhile the grand jury pursued the conspiracy. On June 4 it issued a subpoena to Richmond Whig editor John H. Pleasants to testify about the May 8 article. Pleasants refused to appear. Legal proceedings against Pleasants continued into the fall and against Randolph into 1834 and beyond, but neither man was brought to trial.

3. The Fredericksburg Political Arena’s May 10 account of the cornerstone ceremony listed Duff Green among the “distinguished visitors.” On May 9 the US Telegraph reported that sympathy for Randolph had run so high in Fredericksburg before the assault that it was “seriously agitated” to withdraw AJ’s invitation to the monument ceremony, and that, had invitations to it not already gone out, Randolph would have been invited and the barbecue afterwards used to honor him instead of AJ. In the May 14 Telegraph, Green clarified that a separate dinner had been contemplated for Randolph. Members of the Monumental Committee and Barbecue Committee replied in the Political Arena on May 17 that Green’s report was “not true.” Neither disinviting AJ nor inviting Randolph had ever been considered, and the barbecue had honored the occasion rather than a person. Green countered in the May 24 Telegraph that the denial’s evasive phrasing actually admitted that his statement was true.

4. William Walker Moore (1803–1886) was the foreman for Green’s Telegraph. As captain of the Washington National Cadets, he had offered AJ its escort to Fredericksburg. On April 27 AJ Donelson had declined the offer and referred him to the arrangements committee, saying that AJ wished to avoid ostentation (THer, 22-1190). Moore and a cadet company were on AJ’s steamboat to Fredericksburg.
From Susan Wheeler Decatur

George Town May 19th 1833

My dear General,

I have receiv’d your truly kind letter inclosing a check for three hundred and fifty dollars for the China and Plated ware which you are so as to take of my hands; and I beg you to accept my heartfelt gratitude, and my fervent prayers for your health and happiness!

I will take great pleasure in seeing the articles carefully pack’d up. I have the same cases in which they were imported and in which they have been frequently knock’d about from one part of the U. States to another without the slightest injury.

I cannot express to you what a relief the money will be to me!—for the fact of Mr Oliver having brought a suit against me, has frighten’d all the Trades people with whom I have any little dealings and makes them more pressing for payment than they wou’d otherwise have been and of course kept me much more anxious!

I beg you once more My dear General, to accept the assurance of my cordial gratitude and to believe me always, Most sincerely & respectfully

Yours

S. Decatur

[Endorsed by Aj:] Mrs. S. Decaturs note acknowledg.g the check &c &c &c &c & her gratitude for the same May 19th. 1833—A. J. to be preserved A. J.

ALS, THer (22-1398).

From Edward Everett

Charlestown, Massts.

20th May 1833

Sir,

I perceive from the public prints that you contemplate a journey to this part of the Country. As the representative in Congress of the good People of the District, I am sure that I act in conformity with their wishes in paying becoming respect to the Chief magistrate of the U. S. which I wish also to do as an individual citizen. In addition to this I am desirous as far as it is in my power to reciprocate the hospitable attention with which you have repeatedly honored myself & family at Washington. I am quite aware of the numerous calls which will be made upon your time of a public nature & how little of it you will be able to reserve for the attentions of Individuals, especially one so humble as myself. I presume, however, that the interesting public establishments here & the ever memorable heights
of Charlestown will lead you to visit this place. Living very near both to
the Navy Yard & Bunker Hill, I beg leave to invite you to make my house
your home, for yourself & the gentlemen of your suite, while you are in
the town. Should this be inconsistent with other arrangements; I would
respectfully ask the honor of your company at dinner, or in the Evening,
or in any other way, in which while you were in this vicinity, it would bet-
ter suit your convenience, to be the guest of Mrs. Everett & myself, & to
meet at our house your fellow citizens of Charlestown without distinction
of party. I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient humble Servant

LC, MHi (mAj). Everett (1794–1865), later governor, senator, diplomat, and Harvard
president, had been a Massachusetts congressman since 1825. His wife was Charlotte Gray
Brooks Everett (1800–1859). Everett gave the welcoming address at AJ’s June 26 visit to
Bunker Hill (below).

From Louis McLane

Treasury Department
May 20th. 1833.

Sir,

The President has been pleased to require the opinion, in writing, of the
Members of his cabinet upon the following points;—

1. “Whether any thing has occurred to lessen the expression at the
commencement of the late session of congress, as to the safety of the Bank
of the United States, so far as regards the public deposits?

2. “Whether the management of the Institution is such that the govern-
ment can rely upon it as an agent in carrying into effect the fiscal arrange-
ments of the Treasury, as well as whether it has been heretofore a faithful
agent in that respect?

3. “The propriety of acquiescing in the renewal of the charter of the
present Bank, under any circumstances, or with any modifications? And if
with any modifications, what ought they to be?

4. “The propriety of assenting to the establishment of a new Bank—
and if a new Bank, when and in what manner ought the suggestion to be
made of my views to be made on the subject—and upon what principles,
under what limitations, and with what privileges ought a new Institution
to be formed?

5. “What system ought to be established for the future disposition of
the public moneys, so far as relates to the places for their deposite, and
the manner of their distribution? And if the depositees are withdrawn from
the Bank of the U.S. would it be necessary to receive the public dues in the
notes of all the Banks, or to limit the payments to the notes of those Banks
that may be selected as the places of deposit, and the agents of the fiscal
concerns of the Government?”

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The President has, at the same time, been pleased to observe that the results of his own reflections are:

1. “That the Charter of the present Bank ought under no circumstances and upon no conditions whatever to be renewed.

2. “That the ground gained by the veto ought to be firmly maintained, and that my assent ought to be withheld from any bill authorizing a Bank out of the District of Columbia.

3. “That if my assent is given to the establishment of a new Bank, it ought to be one located in the District of Columbia, having the right to establish branches in the different states and in such places thereof only with the permission of the different states, upon the application of the Bank for that purpose, under such restrictions as the States may think proper to impose: and even with these restrictions that the Government shall have the right to appoint the President and as many Directors of the principal bank and the branches thereof, as will secure fidelity and a thorough knowledge by the proper officers of the government of its transactions: And also that congress should retain the right to repeal or modify the charter from time to time as it may deem proper, as a security against the corruptions and evils which are now apprehended or experienced from the uncontrollable authority of the present Bank.

4. “That such an institution ought not to be recommended until a free and fair experiment has been made to carry on the fiscal affairs of the Government without a National Bank of any description.

5. “If this last view of the subject be adopted it will be necessary now to devise and settle a system for the deposit and distribution of the public funds through the agency of the State Banks, to go into operation at such time as shall upon a careful consideration of the subject be thought most advisable.”

I The undersigned considers the intimations with which the President is pleased to accompany the questions as a frank explanation of his own prepossessions, for the purpose of free examination and discussion, and not to preclude or embarrass the investigation which is necessarily invited by the questions proposed.

In this view, I The undersigned has bestowed upon the whole subject that attention to which the respect which he owes to and which he entertains for the President no less than the importance of the subject entitles it: and, though he has to regret, that, in some of the opinions it becomes his duty to express, he may not coincide with the views entertained by the President, his duty will nevertheless be best performed by candidly submitting, for his the President’s enlightened consideration, the dictates of his undersigned’s own judgment.

Viewing the 1st. 2nd. & 5th. questions as relating to different views of the same matter, and involving the same considerations, I the undersigned proposes to consider them together; and that his observation may be
more intelligible, he reserves them to the last, and proceeds in the first place to express his opinion upon the 3rd. and 4th. questions, and in the order here mentioned.

On the 3rd. question he has to observe that recent developments of the management of the present Bank of the U.S., both in its general concerns, and in its relations with the government, have changed the opinion he formerly entertained in regard to its claims to a further extension of the monopoly conferred by the present charter; and he cannot advise the President to acquiesce in the renewal of the charter of the present bank under any circumstances, or with any modifications.

The 4th. question embraces a greater variety of considerations, and is involved in greater difficulties as to details, and cannot in the opinion of the undersigned, be at present satisfactorily disposed of.

Of the constitutionality of a bank of the U.S., the undersigned, while he sincerely respects the doubts of others, frankly confesses he himself entertains no doubt. Of the usefulness of such an institution, surrounded with proper safeguards, as well to the government as to the community he has as little doubt: and, upon both points his opinions have been long formed and publicly pronounced. He is free to confess that greater safeguards should be provided for the future than have been deemed necessary in past times; and though as to the details his opinions have undergone some change, they remain as to the general principles unshaken. The conclusion, as to such an institution in the general, to which his mind was brought by reasoning founded upon well established principles of political economy, as applicable to the circumstances of the United States have been fully sustained and strengthened by the experience of the Country, both with and without such an institution, and by the closer knowledge which his official station at the head of the Treasury has enabled him to acquire. The subject, however, under all its aspects, has been so ably discussed, from the time when it was first presented to the continental congress, during the revolution, until the present moment, as well in reports from the heads of this Department, as in Congress, in the courts and in the press; that it is unnecessary to enter upon it here. For the purposes of the present inquiry, it may be sufficient to state, as the conviction of the undersigned, that a bank, or some institution established upon similar principles to those which have already been incorporated, but with greater limitations upon the powers of the institution, and greater control in the government over its proceedings, affords, for the purpose of aiding the government in safely and conveniently collecting, keeping, and disbursing the public moneys throughout the United States, certainly the best, and of preserving both for the government and the people a currency of uniform value in which all payments may be made, and all dues collected throughout the United States, perhaps the only means. The undersigned does not wish to be understood as asserting that the first of these purposes
may not be accomplished, especially in time of peace, through the agency of the local banks established upon the same principles (if a national bank were not actually existing); which he not only admits, but if it were not so, would have cause to lament; but expresses his decided preference for the mode pointed out.

In reference to the object of securing a uniform currency, however, the undersigned begs to offer a few observations and explanations.

When the constitution was formed, the exclusive power conferred on Congress to coin money and regulate the value thereof, was sufficient for the maintenance of a general circulating medium of uniform value in all parts of the union. But the general introduction of Banks throughout the United States has rendered the power inoperative for that object; for the currency no longer consists of coin, but of bank notes which serve in lieu of money, and which are issued and regulated,—not by Congress; but by hundreds of different banks, acting without concert, almost without controul and responsibility of any kind, and totally without controul and responsibility to Congress.

In providing, at the same time, that all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States, the constitution also secured an uniform rate of contribution to the wants of the government by the people in all parts of the Union, so long as such contributions were paid in coin; because coin, being issued by Congress, and its value fixed by Congress, would be uniform throughout the United States. But the institution of bank-notes as a currency, and they not being of uniform value throughout the United States, has destroyed in fact the uniformity of value received by the government in duties imposts and excises throughout the United States.

In these two essential matters, therefore, matters deemed so essential as to be specially provided for in the fundamental law of the nation Union, the introduction and use of banks in the manner and to the extent in which they are carried on in the United States, may counteract the objects of the constitution. There is scarcely any duty which a government owes it more to the People to fulfil than that of preserving a uniform medium of circulation, a general standard, accessible to all, by which the value of all the labor and property of the people are to be estimated and regulated. The direct means of securing this important object have now passed out of the hands of the government; for it is impossible, without a degree of suffering which the people would not and could not bear, to go back to a currency composed wholly of coin; to reduce the money of the country, or what serves the purposes of money, though of unequal value in different parts, from thirty eighty six millions to twenty millions, and thus to diminish, in the same ratio, the ability of every debtor in the United States to fulfil his engagements. But if this uniformity can be otherwise maintained by the employment of means which are legitimately within the powers of the government, an object so important is justly entitled to

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be presented as one of the great advantages to be derived from the institution by which those means are afforded; and it is with this view that it has been associated, by the undersigned, in his examination of the subject, among those great objects in reference to which the present question is to be determined.

If these be not merely beneficial objects, but, as the undersigned believes them to be, essential to the Government and to the people, and if they can be best accomplished by means of a bank, it follows that in his opinion the assent of the Executive should be given to the establishment of a new bank.

It is to be observed, however, that having on several previous occasions communicated his views in relation as well to the present bank as to what he thought would be a proper substitute, the President, at the commencement of the first Session of the twenty second congress, again renewed the subject, and, after reinforcing the views previously submitted, referred the whole subject; and in the opinion of the undersigned with manifest propriety; to the investigation of the people & their Representatives. From this ground the President has not subsequently departed, and has only interposed to either to disapprove the measures presented for his consideration, where he could not consistently with his judgment give them his sanction, or to invite the attention of the legislature to new facts connected with the management of the present institution. Although the observations of the President in his message of the 6. of December 1832, are not to be considered as final, or as in any manner precluding the Executive from recurring to the subject when in his judgment the public interest calls for his interference, yet, on a full view of this part of the subject, the undersigned is not prepared to advise that any further suggestion should be made by the President, at least for the present.1

As it respects the last part of this question, the undersigned professes himself unable, at this time, to give an answer entirely definite and fully in detail. Upon the general principles, both as to the constitutionality and utility of a bank his opinion has been already stated. The details, however, and more especially the limitations upon the powers and privileges to be conferred, depend so much upon the state and circumstances of the Country and the wants of the Government at the time when such an institution is to be organized; and which cannot now be sufficiently foreseen; as to make it impracticable to present, with any certainty, a detailed scheme of such a bank as it would be judicious to recommend and establish.

The undersigned, however, is not entirely prepared to concur in the suggestion of establishing the principal bank in the District of Columbia, though his objections to that measure, if other schemes in his view more expedient, should from any cause be impracticable; would not be insuperable; and he does not doubt that an institution having its principal location at Washington, with branches properly distributed, might be constructed

1
so as to answer all the purposes contemplated. He is of opinion, however, that it would be inexpedient and unwise to make the authority of the government for the establishment of its branches in the several states dependent upon the consent of the state legislatures—especially in those parts in which the purposes of the government would most urgently require their agency. He thinks, moreover, without adverting to other objections, that the consequences to be apprehended from the perpetual dependence of such an institution upon the will of the legislature would make it inexpedient to retain in Congress the right to repeal or modify the charter from time to time as they may deem proper. Such a dependence would be too apt to offer temptations to an improper exertion of the power by the bank, dangerous equally to the legislature and the people, and render constant and active that proneness to abuse and those evils which can now only be apprehended towards the close of the charter.

It appears to the undersigned that equal security on the points suggested by the President might be attained by other means more secure in themselves; by granting the charter for a shorter period, and leaving Congress at liberty to grant a new charter to another bank during the same period; by more clearly defining its powers and duties and making the accountability in the management of the institution stricter & more rigid; by specifying and defining those acts, which, if proved may be deemed violations of the charter, and grounds for revoking or repealing the charter at any time by Congress; by vesting in the government the power of appointing the President of the principal bank and of each of the branches, and of appointing a proper number of the directors in the principal bank and the branches; and by better regulating the mode of conducting the business, ensuring for the government directors a more just and equal participation in the management of the institution.

In the opinion of the undersigned it might be practicable also, though he desires to be understood as not advising, but merely as suggesting it, to create an institution founded wholly upon the funds & capital of the Government, upon such principles and in such manner as to subserve all the main objects already indicated as necessary to be attained by a bank. This might be done by the creation of a stock of sufficient amount reimbursable at the pleasure of the Government at any time after a given number of years, and by a sale of the stock at the best price and for specie. The specie thus obtained would remain as the capital of the bank, and the business to be conducted by directors appointed by the government. It is proper to observe that this stock might and probably would, and with great advantage, be purchased by foreign capital and the specie, for the most part, be drawn from abroad.

On this part of the subject, however, the undersigned is constrained to confess his embarrassment in making any suggestion of a new bank, arising from the position occupied by the President in his veto message.
Although the undersigned deems it his duty to observe that he cannot concur in all the doctrines advocated in that document, he feels, nevertheless, too much respect as well for the sincere conviction & patriotic motives with which they were urged, as for the public commitment of the Executive which they involve, to do more than respectfully advise a revision of the subject at the proper time, in the hope, that, as far as may be compatible with the President’s constitutional scruples, they may be adapted to the exigencies of the public service.

On this and the other grounds intimated, the undersigned abstains, for the present, from any more detailed observations upon this branch of the subject.

The 1st. 2nd. and 5th. questions remain to be considered.

Each of these questions directly involves both the authority and expediency of directing the deposits of the money of the United States to be made in other places than in the Bank of the U.S. and in the branches thereof; and are, in the view of the undersigned, for the present at least, of greater magnitude, and, in relation to his own position, of greater delicacy, than any other part of the subject. It is proper to observe, and with a full sense of the kindness and confidence manifested by the President, that some time before the commencement of the last session of Congress, the undersigned had accepted the invitation of the President to become the Secretary of State, and that the final arrangements for that purpose have been delayed only by the state of public affairs in the interval. Circumstances of urgency, however, requiring the immediate departure of Mr. Livingston on his Mission to France, it is finally understood that the undersigned will enter upon the duties of the Department of State on or before the 1st. of June next. For all practical purposes, therefore, he is now to treat this subject as if he were, in fact, in that Department.

The order or direction, if any such shall at any time be given, for placing the money of the U.S. in other places than those designated by law, can be made only by the Secretary of the Treasury. For such order that officer alone is responsible; and while delicacy towards his colleagues might prevent him from involving them in his acts, his responsibility could not be lessened, but might be rendered more serious, by an attempt to divide it with others. It is certainly true, that, by the constitution the President is authorized to require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the Executive Departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; but, it is nevertheless presumed that a special authority, similar to that conferred by the bank charter upon the Secretary of the Treasury, can only be exercised in obedience to his sense of public duty, independently of the opinion of his colleagues, to whose offices the subject does not relate.2

It is from no insensibility to these relative duties, but with the most perfect respect for the wishes of the President, that the undersigned
proceeds to state, without reserve, his opinions of the matters involved in
these questions.

As the terms of the first question might imply, that, at the commence-
ment of the last session of Congress, there had been the expression of an
opinion that the bank was an unsafe depository of the public moneys,
it is necessary, in order that the following observations may be properly
appreciated, to inquire into the precise import of that expression.

In his message, at the commencement of the last Session, the President
observed—“It is my duty to acquaint you with an arrangement made by
the bank of the United States with a portion of the holders of the 3 per
cent stock, by which the government will be deprived of the use of the
public funds longer than was anticipated. By this arrangement, which will
be particularly explained by the Secretary of the Treasury, a surrender of
the certificates of this stock may be postponed until October 1833; and
thus the liability of the government, after its ability to discharge the debt,
may be continued by the failure of the Bank to perform its duties.”

“Such measures as are within the reach of the Secretary of the Treasury
have been taken, to enable him to judge whether the public deposits in
that institution may be regarded as entirely safe; but, as his limited
power may prove inadequate for this object, I recommend the subject to
the attention of Congress, under the firm belief that it is worthy of their
serious investigation. An inquiry into the transactions of the institution,
embracing the branches as well as the principal bank, seems called for
by the credit which is given throughout the country to many serious
charges impeaching its character, and which if true, may justly excite the
apprehension that it is no longer a safe depository of the money of the
people.”

It will not escape observation that the message recognizes the want
of safety in the Bank as the only ground upon which the money of the
United States could be placed elsewhere, under the order of the Secretary
of the Treasury. It does not, however, positively express the opinion that
the bank is unsafe; but referring to its improper transactions in Europe
in regard to the three per cents, and the serious charges impeaching the
character of the institution, observes merely, that these, if true, might
justly excite an apprehension that it is no longer a safe depository of
the money of the people. It neither asserts that the charges are true, nor
that the mere apprehension which they and the three per cent transac-
tion might justly excite, would of itself be sufficient to incur the hazard
of changing the place of deposite. But, it is respectfully submitted, the
message on the contrary distinctly implies that such apprehension would
be insufficient, unless the inquiry directed by the Secretary or that which
Congress was invited to make, should result in shewing that it was well
founded. The course of the Executive in abstaining from any change in
the place of deposite without inquiry is in all respects consistent with
this interpretation of the message, if indeed it can be reconciled with any other.

With the views expressed in the message those in the annual report are in all respects coincident. In that document it is stated that “it is apparent, however, that the apprehensions arising out of the three per cent arrangement, as it is understood to have been concluded by the Agent of the Bank, and of the consequences to which it might lead, more especially should the parties in Europe insist upon its fulfilment; not less than the great amount of the Bank’s transactions, especially in its Western branches, together with other matters connected with its dealings, which have occupied the attention of one branch of the legislature since the last annual report from this Department, have tended to disturb the public confidence in the management of the institution; and these taken in connection with the necessary arrangements in anticipation of finally closing its business have suggested an inquiry into the security of the Bank as the depository of the public funds." The report further asserted that a change in the deposits would be inexpedient without such an examination into the actual condition of the Bank as justice to the institution not less than to the community at large required.

In addition to the causes suggested in the message, as implying doubts of the safety of the Bank, and as enforcing the expediency of changing the deposits, the report adverted to the necessary arrangements in anticipation of finally closing its business. This consideration, however, though it must and will be imperative at the proper time, can have no influence on any immediate step, and need not, therefore, be now considered.

If the views here presented of the true import of the expression at the commencement of the last Session be correct, then it is believed that occurrences which have subsequently taken place lessen the weight of that expression so far as regards the change of the public deposits.

The grounds on which the apprehension alluded to in the message was founded are,—

1. The serious charges in regard to the management of the institution.
2. The arrangement in Europe in respect to the three per cts, and
3. The amount and condition of the Western debt.

Neither these grounds nor the apprehensions arising from them were sustained by the report of the agent appointed by the Treasury to make the investigation. That agent, on the contrary, expressly reports that neither the security of the public moneys nor the solvency of the Bank can in his opinion admit of a doubt; and in regard to the debt due to the Bank in the Western Country, though he professes not to give an opinion that can be relied on with certainty, referring to the information obtained, and adding thereto his own knowledge of the business in the Western Country, he considers the debt in a safe and wholesome state. It is proper to observe, however, that the investigation made by the agent was not
as minute and extensive as it ought to have been, and is on that account unsatisfactory and inconclusive. It is, nevertheless, entitled to the respect due to the opinion of a man of considerable knowledge and experience in business, and of unquestioned integrity.5

It is believed, therefore, that a Secretary of the Treasury would be required to present sufficient facts, not founded in conjecture, to impeach either the accuracy of the report or fidelity of the agent, in order to warrant a measure expressly discountenanced by the official investigation and decided opinion of his own officer. In this instance it does not appear to the undersigned that any such grounds exist.

The proceedings in Congress are, however, of greater importance, and, in the opinion of the undersigned, must have a greater influence in lessening the force of the expression at the commencement of the last Session.

It is true that Congress did not deem it proper to institute the investigation into the management of the Bank suggested by the Executive, nor thoroughly to investigate the state of the Western debt; and it may, therefore, be admitted that the proceedings in the House of representatives are not conclusive as to the facts of the case. It must be observed, however, that such investigation may not have been directed, because, in the opinion of Congress, such inquiry was not necessary to the formation of their judgment; and it is certainly true that with the facts connected with all the points suggested in the message the members of the last Congress possessed a general acquaintance, and were in the possession of the same information as that upon which the Executive made his suggestions. The most, if not all the charges of mismanagement had been developed at the previous session, in the report of the committee appointed by the House of Representatives, and must have been understood. The nature and consequences of the three per cent transaction were fully investigated and unequivocally and unanimously condemned by the committee of Ways & Means; and in respect to the Western debt, it is to be presumed that as much was known to the members of the House of Representatives as can be accurately known to any other Department.

However this may be, after these investigations, and with the information in their possession, the House of Representatives by a vote of one hundred and nine members to forty six passed a resolution declaring “that the government deposits may, in the opinion of the House, be safely continued in the Bank of the United States.” It is a circumstance in no small degree calculated to increase the influence of this large majority, that it is made up in part of those members who are known to be opposed to the present Bank, as well on constitutional grounds as on those of expediency.

It is to be presumed that those grounds of apprehension as to the safety of the Bank, which, before this vote, were merely doubtful, and so doubtful as not to authorize the removal of the deposits without a full investigation into their truth, cannot be less free from doubt now, after a partial inquiry only has been made, and after one hundred and nine members of
the House of Representatives have deliberately declared that they do not affect the safety of the Bank.

The measure of the Executive, which, at the commencement of the Session, would have been in opposition only to the interests of the Bank, must now be opposed also to the declared opinions of the Government agent, and of a large majority of the house of representatives: and a measure which would not then have been warranted because the grounds were doubtful, would have now to depend, for its justification, upon grounds still less probable.

The influence which such a vote ought to have upon the future conduct of the Treasury cannot be sufficiently appreciated without considering the spirit and object of the charter. The power conferred on the Secretary to change the deposits is not absolute, but is possessed by him in common with Congress and subject to its control. It is the law of the land and a part of the contract with the bank, that, in consideration of the duties it is obliged to perform, the public money shall be placed in it, unless the Secretary of the Treasury shall otherwise order and direct. It is only because circumstances may arise in which the safety of the public funds will not admit of delay, that this authority can be properly exercised; and, to guard against any arbitrary order for this purpose, the grounds of the proceeding must be immediately reported to Congress. But, as this obligation to report to Congress would be altogether unnecessary, unless the order should be liable by them to be revoked, the inference appears to be irresistible, that, in case Congress should disapprove the order of the Secretary, he would be bound, if not by the law, certainly by out of proper respect for the legislature to rescind his direction. And, although the decision of one branch of Congress might not be sufficient for this purpose, yet it appears to the undersigned, that, after so decided an expression by the House of Representatives of their opinion of the safety of the public deposits, an order to change them without the development of any new facts or of such as could not have been known, would be such an arbitrary exercise of authority as would not be warranted by the charter.

It is presumed, moreover, that the principal, if not the only justification of the Secretary of the Treasury in making this order is his just sense of responsibility for the safety of the public money; and it must therefore be admitted that where the House of Representatives by so large a vote have declared the money to be safe in the Bank of the United States, no such responsibility could well exist.

In connection with this part of the subject, it becomes important to consider the character & import of the report of the minority of the committee of Ways and Means to whom this subject was referred in the House of Representatives.

The ability of that document will be conceded, and the labor and knowledge of the subject it displays are entitled to great respect. Even that report, however, does not assert the insecurity of the Bank, or recommend
a change of the deposits. It asserts only that there is ground to doubt the entire safety of the funds in the bank, and declares expressly that to solve these doubts would require time and means which are not at the disposition of the committee, and that nothing short of a personal, impartial and thorough examination of the books and affairs of the principal bank and many of its branches can develop its policy and management, the security of its debts and soundness of its condition. It is therefore, clear from this declaration of the report, that, to change the deposits without such examination and a resort to the means recommended would be to proceed upon grounds of doubt and conjecture merely. The report, moreover, refrains either from denying the correctness of the conclusion of the report of the majority or itself expressing the opinion that the funds are unsafe and ought to be changed. It concurs only in the doubts previously expressed by the Executive, and states that "whether existing facts are sufficient to justify the Executive in taking any step against the bank, authorized by the charter, is a matter for the decision of the proper officers, acting upon their own views & responsibility." In the opinion even of the minority of the committee, therefore, there existed only ground to doubt the entire safety of the public funds, and that doubt could only be solved by an investigation which there was then no time to make.

In the opinion of the undersigned those grounds of doubt are not sufficient to justify the proper officers, at least without the proper inquiry for the purpose of solving them, to issue the order authorized by the charter, in opposition to the opinion of so large a majority of the House of Representatives that the government deposits may be safely continued in the Bank of the United States. And he owes it to himself to say that this opinion of the majority, taken in connection with the failure of the minority of the committee to express in their report any opinion on the subject, and with the silence of the other branch of the legislature, has materially lessened, in his mind, the weight which previously to the last Session of Congress he had attached to the circumstances then existing.

If, however, these considerations and those which will be offered in answer to the 4th. question should fail to convince the mind of the President, and it should be deemed expedient to change the place of the public deposits earlier than may be required by the expiration of the charter of the present bank, the undersigned respectfully suggests that previously to an order for that purpose measures should be taken to prosecute such an inquiry as is alluded to in the report of the minority of the committee; or, which in his opinion would be better, to recommend such an inquiry to Congress at the commencement of the next Session; accompanied with a distinct annunciation that unless such an inquiry be speedily granted and prosecuted, the Executive should feel it to be his duty, from a proper regard for the safety of the public funds, to direct them to be deposited in other places than in the bank of the United States. This would present the issue, with the Bank in a manner more favorable
to the government than any other, and with proper respect to each of the other Departments. In the mean time the necessary steps might be taken to ascertain the condition of the several local Banks, and the facilities they would have in their power to afford the government in the management of its fiscal operations.

In the foregoing observations the undersigned has confined his remarks to the 1st. question, and to the effect which official proceedings subsequent to the commencement of the last Session of Congress should have upon the Executive action. Some of these observations, however, are also applicable to the 2nd. & 5th. questions, which embrace, also, a wide scope; and he feels it his duty at the hazard of some repetition and even of tediousness, to present, in his answer to these questions, the grounds of his opinions upon the several matters which are involved in them.

The undersigned has already observed that he cannot advise that the present Bank should be rechartered. The institution, however, is existing under the sanction of law, with rights as well as duties: and it would seem to the undersigned to be his duty, so far as the public well fare is confided to his hands, to take care, that, as long as the Bank exists, the government and the People shall be deprived of none of the advantages they are entitled to derive from it; unless incompatible with some greater good.

It is moreover, to be borne in mind that the act chartering the bank is a part of the law of the land: and that so far as the undersigned is charged with the administration of the laws, he is bound by his duty to advise that as all the other laws should be executed in good faith, in such a manner as to give full effect to all its provisions so as to promote the objects for which it was enacted.

It is by this double sense of duty,—moral & political,—that in the opinion of the undersigned, the action of the government towards the bank should be regulated.

In further explanation of his views on this branch of the subject inquiry, the undersigned would add, that regarding the Bank as an institution not formed for the benefit of the stockholders, but as intended for the accomplishment of high public objects, in which the association of private stockholders was only designed to be auxiliary, he does not consider the idea of punishing the bank, by withholding the public deposites or in any other way withholding or lessening the means which the Charter intended the Bank to use as instrumental to those objects, as an idea proper to be entertained by him in considering the policy of the government in its action towards the Bank.

Among the chief means which the charter has provided as necessary to the purposes for which the Bank was established, is the possession of the public deposites. To this the Bank has an exclusive right in all places where it has a branch, unless the Secretary of the Treasury should otherwise order and direct. But this controul of the Secretary, as has been already remarked, is to be exercised under a direct responsibility
to Congress. It is made his duty to state the reason of any such order and direction which he may give, immediately if Congress be in Session, and if not immediately on its assembling. It is, therefore, under a high responsibility that the Secretary of the Treasury would act in withholding the public deposits; and he must take care that it be done on sufficient cause, and with a view to the public good. For it is not to be doubted that, if it should turn out that this measure would frustrate, in great part, the important objects for which the Bank was instituted, that it would incommode the public service, and embarrass the community; and, as may also be apprehended, that it would produce serious disorders in the currency and in the business of the Country, neither Congress nor his fellow citizens would excuse him for risking those consequences without some strong necessity affecting the public welfare.

The principle question to examine, then, is whether such necessity exists.

1. As it regards the safety of the public money, after what has been already observed in regard to the proceedings of Congress and the report of the special agent, it does not comport with the relation in which the undersigned stands towards that body nor with the respect he bears it, to treat the acts of either branch as proceeding from unworthy motives, or as adopted without a proper understanding, and in the face of these acts to assert that the public moneys are insecure without stronger proofs than actually exist.

2. Has the Bank been a faithful agent in carrying into effect the fiscal arrangements of the Treasury?

The undersigned is constrained from a proper regard to truth to remark that, with one single exception of its conduct in relation to the three per cents, it has fulfilled its obligations in this respect. The public moneys have been safely kept, and out of 440 millions which have been deposited with it, nothing has been lost. By the aid of its numerous branches and the circulation it maintains, the government is enabled to collect and disburse the public moneys in all the principal parts of the U. S. in a currency everywhere equal to gold & silver, and with a degree of great convenience, never before experienced, to all who have moneys to pay to or receive from the government. The funds collected at places where they are not required are promptly transferred to those where they are needed; and, that upon the mere call of the government, without waiting for the time required to make the actual transfer.

In a single transaction the instances of the exception adverted to the Bank has not done its duty. Its conduct in relation to the postponement of the 3 per cents is too well known to need any detail here. It is sufficient to say that in disapproving of that transaction the President and the Department have been sustained by the House of Representatives and, as it is believed, by the People. In connection with the removal of the public
deposites, however, it is to be observed that the fault is one, which, from the nature of things, cannot occur again; and that there is no ill consequence to flow from it, which a withholding of the deposits is necessary to prevent or to remedy.

If, however, this subject should be seen in a different aspect, and if it be decided that it is necessary to withhold the public deposits, necessary for the public good,—then, whatever may be the consequences, they must be met; and it would be useful to inquire what they may be, only for the purpose of being prepared for them. But, if no such necessity exists, and if it be merely decided that sufficient cause exists for withholding the deposits provided that measure be deemed expedient, the probable consequences of such a proceeding are to be examined, to see whether the good or evil predominate, or whether the evil be not, in fact, of such magnitude as altogether to discourage the attempt. To this inquiry the undersigned proposes to direct his observations:

It may be true that the permanent injury which the credit of the Bank has hitherto suffered from the supposed disfavor of the government has not been great, but it may well be supposed that it would be much more seriously affected by this new and decisive manifestation of the hostility or want of confidence on the part of the government, accompanied as it would be with such an unquestionable diminution of its means of carrying on its business to advantage. In foreign countries, where much of the stock is held, this would most probably be the consequence: those who do not fully understand the nature of our institutions and the relation in which the bank stand towards the government, would be alarmed for the value of their stock; and those who look upon the bank as the great connecting link between all the money affairs of the country would see the danger to be apprehended from all the other investments of capital from a measure which might interrupt or embarrass its operations. Hence the injury of the credit of the Bank abroad would be followed by a diminution of the pecuniary credit of the Country abroad, and by a general depreciation in the value of all other American stocks held abroad. The consequence would be a return of those stocks, not only bank stock but others, to this Country. A demand to such an extent for payment would produce an extraordinary demand for foreign remittances. An unfavorable rate of exchange would necessarily follow; and, to that, would immediately succeed a demand for silver for exportation. The banks would endeavour to provide against this by a general curtail of their business; which, if met on the part of the borrowers, would lead to great embarrassments and numerous bankruptcies, and, if not, would be followed by a suspension of specie payments by the banks. For, such is the extension of the business of the banks beyond their specie means, that, taken as a body, independently of the Bank of the United States, they could not sustain themselves under any unusual and considerable foreign demand for specie.
Such an effect upon the credit of the Bank at home, as is here antici-
pated abroad, may also be apprehended from this measure. In that case
the first and immediate consequence would be, in a greater or less degree,
a call on the bank for the payment of its notes and deposites,—in other
words a run upon the bank. This would be met by a corresponding call
by the bank upon its debtors, for payment of their loans; and, in propor-
tion as this call was either too great or too sudden, would be the distress
to them and the loss to the bank. This would produce a general want of
confidence in regard to private credits, as well among banks as individu-
als. At a time of pressure upon the bank of the United States the local
banks could not venture to interpose any effectual relief. So far as they
increased their accommodations to the public, they would relieve the
bank; but the debts which would thereby have been paid to the bank will
be due to them, and they, without any adequate increase of means, would
have to meet the general pressure which the shock given to the credit of
the bank will have produced. The local banks, however, could not be
expected, at such a moment, to enlarge their accommodations. On the
contrary, already too much exposed by the extension of their business
beyond their specie resources, and conscious as they must be of their
hazardous condition, they would find themselves compelled by a regard
for their own safety, to meet such a pressure by a corresponding reduction
of their present loans. So far, therefore, from affording relief, they would
suffer with the Bank. If the bank fell under the pressure, they would fall
with it,—if indeed, as is more probable, they were not, from their greater
weakness, the first victims. For, although it would be possible for the bank
to sustain itself, amidst a considerable overthrow of the local banks, the
latter would inevitably be overwhelmed by the failure of the bank of the
United States. What would become of the public deposites, and what of
those benefits which the government and the people now enjoy in regard
to the currency and exchanges of the Country, amidst the general destruc-
tion of credit, distress, bankruptcies and suspension of specie payment, it
is unnecessary to inquire.

But, although the credit of the bank should sustain no injury either
abroad or at home, from the proposed measure, still it could not fail to
produce to the public service great inconvenience, and to the community
many disadvantages, and perhaps the most disastrous consequences.

To the government the disadvantage would be twofold. 1. the loss of a
circulating medium of equal value throughout the U.S. in which the pub-
lic dues might be collected and the public payments made in funds that
are every where equal to gold & silver; and 2. the want of the facilities
necessary in transferring the public moneys to the points where the public
service might require. To these must, also, be added the risk of loss in the
deposites.

The first of these losses it must be admitted the local banks cannot
supply. Their credit is necessarily limited; whatever may be their solidity,
and within this limit, not only the public opinion, but the interests of other local banks confine them: since no local bank can circulate its notes out of its own proper sphere without encroaching upon that of some other. If this be so, payments to the U.S. made within any particular district will be made chiefly, if not wholly, in the notes of the banks within that district; and if payments are to be made by the U.S. within that district they will also be made in the same notes. Though the nominal value of these notes will be the same as gold or silver, within that district yet their exchangeable value without the district will vary according to the prudence or the improvidence with which they may have been issued: and in addition to the difference of value to the government as a general medium of receipts & payments of the Bank notes of different districts resulting from the state of trade between those districts, there will be another resulting from the good or ill management of the banks by which they were issued. From these causes, payments to be made by the U.S. even to persons within certain districts, will be often, if not generally asked for in other districts, and the government must, in such cases, either decline a compliance, or incur the expense of transferring the funds from the least to the most favorable district. At present, the Treasury pays at almost any branch of the U.S. bank which the party may desire; which it is enabled to do, not merely out of the public moneys collected there, but by means of the transfers which the bank is obliged at all times to make upon its request from the public funds in its possession elsewhere. But, though the government may, at present, not happen to have funds where the party wishes to receive payment, yet as payment, wherever made, is made in notes of the bank of the U.S. which circulate everywhere, the party sustains no possible inconvenience. Without the bank this could not be so. If the Government had not funds where the party desired them, payment must be made where it had them. Such payment being in local bank notes would not be available to the party elsewhere; and, to make it so, he must either pay those notes subject to the discount at which they would be received at the desired place of payment, or he must incur the expense of remitting them by exchange, where exchange can be had, which, however, is not always the case.

In illustration of this branch of the subject, it may be mentioned that before the establishment of the Bank, it was not unfrequent for parties making contracts with the U.S. to stipulate as to the kinds of funds to be received; and in proportion as funds at particular points were desirable to them, the receiving of them was one of the considerations which entered into the contract, and of which the U.S. desired the benefit. It frequently happened, too, that funds required for disbursement at different points could not be had there; and warrants have remained in the Treasury partially satisfied, waiting their final payment, until funds which could be used at the desired points were under the control of the Treasury. And payments of warrants to individuals, have also been paid
partly at one place, & partly at others, as the wants of the party and the means of the Treasury could be best reconciled. It is a fact, which all must recollect, that, before the establishment of the Bank, the notes of the local banks of different parts of the Union varied greatly in value; so much so, that, even between the cities of Washington & Boston, the loss was 25 per cent. The government, then, transferred its business as it best might; providing for the most necessary objects in such funds as were required, and dealing with the others as it could.

It becomes necessary, therefore, to inquire whether the local banks which might be selected as depositories of the public moneys, could by any arrangement among themselves obviate this inconvenience?

The first mode that might suggest itself is a system of mutual credits, by which those banks would agree to receive & issue each others notes whenever desired and honoring each others drafts whenever drawn, in receipts or payments on public accounts. This, however, if practicable, would only afford a partial remedy. But it is believed to be impracticable. If an association of local banks were to be formed,—they selecting their associates and agents,—a sufficient number might, perhaps, be united, who would to a limited extent, and under many restrictions, place this confidence in each other. But the government could, by no possibility, give up the right, and the exclusive right, of selection, with safety to itself. To do so, would be to build up a power which would control it, and voluntarily to surrender itself to its enemy. Even with the entire power of selection, the government might apprehend some difficulty from the association of those Banks. If they could be brought to act together among themselves, they might, on occasions, offer serious embarrassment to the Treasury: and, though the government might & could, promptly, free itself from such a connection, yet it might not be until after some inconvenience had been experienced both in the public service and in the community.

It would not, therefore be the policy of the government to connect so formidable a body, too closely by motives of common and exclusive interest, especially if there were no national bank to present a counterpoise. It is certain, also, that, no arrangement among the selected banks, limited as the government should desire, would be sufficient to remedy the inconveniences resulting from the want of a general circulating medium.

It may be supposed that the government might attempt a remedy by authorizing the selected banks to receive in payments to the government, the notes of all banks in good credit, without regard to the place of issue, and to place to a special account, such of them as the banks of deposit would not credit as cash; the government taking upon itself the transfer of them to the places where they may be made available. The consequence of such a plan would be that the government would receive, every where, the worst funds in circulation in such place. Banks would issue notes for the purpose, and even upon the condition, that they should be put in circulation at a distance: & they might do so with success, since, under such
a plan, those notes would always find currency in payments to the U.S. Such an arrangement, however, would of necessity be soon abandoned; for in all probability, the government would not, with the exception perhaps of a few principal places, receive funds available at any given place of sufficient amount for the public payments at such place. And, as there would, in such case, be but little money that could be used until it was transferred to the places where it would be available, the government would be subjected to serious risk & expense in making the transfer, and, unless there was a great surplus in the Treasury, might be exposed to serious inconvenience for the want of its funds in the meantime.

Another course which might be suggested is to designate the notes of certain banks,—the banks of deposit for example,—which should be received in payment generally to the U.S. This, however, though it would lessen the inconvenience to which the last mentioned mode would be subject, would be liable, in a great degree, to the same objection. For those designated notes, though freely received by the United States, would be received in payment from the U.S. only where they could be made available. This course would, also, be liable to the additional objection that it could not fail to be ill received by all banks whose notes were not on the favored list, and would therefore excite their resentment both against the selected banks and the government.

It would seem, then, that whether the notes only of the place or district were received, or the notes of the selected banks, or the notes of all the banks in good credit, still a great portion of the public receipts would probably have to be transferred before they could be made available; and, hence while the government would be deprived of the facilities afforded by the Bank in making the transfers, it would have increased occasion for them.

The ability of the Bank to make transfers for the government and exchanges for the community depends upon the employment of all the means which such an institution possesses, in the distribution of its branches at all the great points of business throughout the country, in the universality of its circulation, in the extent of its credit, and in its power to direct and controul and shape the business of all the branches, in such a manner as may best accomplish its purposes. All its branches are but parts of a whole; and if the general policy should impose burthens or require sacrifices of any; as may occasionally be necessary; yet as it would be for some greater good to the whole, the interests of the stockholders at the place where such branch may be, are not affected, since they are common stockholders in the whole establishment. With the local banks, however, all is different. All their interests are separate and distinct; and each will naturally adopt that course which best promotes them. If they were disposed to act together for the purpose of making transfers and effecting exchanges, they are without the necessary means. And if with all the disadvantages to which they would necessarily be subjected, they were to make the attempt,
it is most probable, that, whenever the time arrived for adjusting, equalizing, and distributing the loss or gain of the transaction, their conflicting interests and pretensions would terminate the arrangement.

But, if the local banks should be able to make the transfers required by the government, it would necessarily be at the expense of the government. The banks themselves could have no direct interest in it; and as it would be for the convenience or advantage of the government, alone, the government would be expected to bear the burthen. *There being at present no appropriation out of which such a charge could be defrayed the banks must be indemnified by some indirect means.* These would probably be, and none other is now perceived, as they have formerly been, the certain use of the moneys transferred, or to be transferred, for so long a time as would enable the bank making the transfer to pay itself for the risk & expense incurred in doing so, by lending out the money on interest. For such an arrangement, however, it would be necessary, that there should be a considerable surplus revenue, to be used while the sums to be transferred were thus unavailable to the Treasury. The present policy of the government, however, does not admit of large surpluses; it being intended to bring down the revenue to the expenditure. During the present year, at all events, no surplus is looked for. And to place out of reach, any considerable amount of public moneys, during the time necessary for transferring them, would necessarily embarrass the operations of the sinking fund. *There being no debt redeemable before the 1. January next,* the sinking fund can be applied in the mean time only in the purchase of stock; and, to do that to advantage, the public moneys should be in a situation to be promptly available, so that advantage might be taken of any favorable changes which from time to time may occur in the stock market. This, such an arrangement would defeat.

The extent to which transfers of public moneys have been found necessary, or convenient for the public service, is probably greater than would be supposed, in as much as it would seem that the great bulk of payments would be made in the great commercial cities, where, also, the great bulk of revenue is collected. Within the last four years, however, the transfers of public moneys have exceeded *fifty one millions of dollars.* (This will appear by a statement from the Register) The payment of the public debt, will no doubt remove the occasion for many transfers which otherwise would be necessary. But, on the other hand, as all payments will probably be made in local notes—from causes which will presently be stated (the diminution of the circulation)—if the agency of the bank be dispensed with, a new occasion for transfers will thereby be created, which will probably make up for the cessation of the other.

It may be supposed, that in regard to the Western receipts, which would be the most difficult to transfer, no transfer need be made; as they might be absorbed in payment to the indians and for the troops. It is believed, however, that the funds required for the indian service have hith-
erto consisted chiefly of specie: If the notes of the Western banks only are to be received in payments to the U.S. in the West, the Western banks will of course have to furnish the required specie; if other notes are received, it must be supplied by a double transfer—first, of the notes received, to the place where they were issued, and next of the specie to the places where it is to be disbursed. For the military expenditures it has been found that Western notes alone will not suffice; contractors require others; and it probably comes to the same result as to cost, whether the contractors receive payment at a diminished price, at the places where they desire, or at an increased price, where they do not want payment. In one case the U.S. pay more for supplies, and in the other they pay for the expense of the transfer of the funds. It will scarcely be proposed that the officers and soldiers who are exposed to the hardships and dangers of frontier service, should receive their pay in any other than the best funds in the possession of the government.

To the government, however, the inconveniences and disadvantages resulting from the want of a general circulating medium and of the facilities of transfer, will be but small compared with those which the people at large will experience. Indeed it is but reasonable to suppose that there will be the same disproportion between them as there is between the extent of the business of the government and that of the community. Every traveller, every person in extensive business, in short every one who has money to pay or to receive elsewhere than at where he may happen to be, will find the want of those accommodations. Having notes of uniform currency, a traveller may pass from one extremity of the Union to the other with money which is equally current everywhere. An individual having occasion to transmit money to a distance encloses such a note by mail, and the party who receives it, wherever he may be, has money which is as good where he is as it was at the place from which it was sent. For larger transactions, the man of business is able for a small commission to transmit any amount, in safety, by means of a post note, or bill of exchange to any of the principal parts of the union: and, by the agency of a general institution, he is able to receive payments at the same places, and transfer them to the place of his business. Of the extent of the accommodation afforded by such a circulating medium, every man may judge by his own case. And the extent of that afforded by transfers is shewn by the fact stated in the bank report to the last triennial meeting of the stockholders, that the amount of drafts drawn by the bank of the U.S. and its branches upon one another within the year ending on the thirtieth of June 1831 exceeded forty two millions; and this exclusive of the notes and drafts sent by through it for collection.8

These accommodations the local banks are unable to furnish. The universal circulating medium they cannot supply at all, and the transfers, remittances and exchanges but partially, and at such disadvantages as will subject the parties to a serious charge.
Until it can be conveniently supplied from other sources, both the government and the community might desire that the bank should keep up its circulation. If it looked for nothing but amicable dealings with other banks, & meant nothing else, it might do so with great profit to itself. But it is scarcely to be expected, under the circumstances, that such a relation should long be kept up: and though they set out with no hostile dispositions towards each other, they would probably be soon brought into collision. It might, therefore, become a part of the policy of the bank to reduce its circulation. A portion of its notes would, however, remain even against its wish to call them in. Persons in extensive business, and those who deal in exchange would find it to their interest to make special deposits of them to be returned in kind; and even the government and its disbursing officers might find it convenient to adopt a similar course. The bank, however, though already safe and stronger in specie in relation to its circulation than the local banks, might deem this measure proper for the purpose of placing itself entirely beyond the reach of any hostile combination; and the curtails, which, without too great a pressure on its debtors, it might make in the course of a few months, would reduce its circulation to that point.

The undersigned deems it necessary now to consider the question of the safety of the public deposits if placed in the local banks.

It is the opinion of some who have good means of information, and who have studied the subject closely, both in theory and practice, that the local banks have extended their credits and issues so far beyond their specie resources, as to be constantly exposed to hazard, and indeed unable to meet any extraordinary pressure arising either from foreign or domestic demand. From data furnished by the testimony taken before the Committee of Ways and Means in the late inquiry into the affairs of the bank, it appears that while the amount of the specie of the Bank of the U.S. is more than half the amount of its circulation, that of all the other banks throughout the U.S. taken aggregately is less than one 1/6th. In the state of Massachusetts it is less than 1/7th. In the state of New York has little more it is less than 1/8th., in the state of Pennsylvania but little more it is less than 1/4th. 1/3rd and, even in the city of Philadelphia, where the pressure of the Bank of the U.S. is constantly felt by the local banks, their specie is less but little more than 1/3rd. of their circulation.9

To afford the same accommodation throughout the U.S. to those who have moneys to receive of or pay to the government, in regard to the places of deposit; and to distribute the public deposits among the banks in the large cities, in such a manner as to prevent too great an accumulation in any, it will probably be found necessary to employ twenty or thirty banks, or perhaps a much larger number. If these banks are selected exclusively with a view to their pecuniary safety the greater part of them will doubtless be safe banks. When compared with the bank of the U.S. as depositories of the public moneys, however, the whole must be taken
together as one bank. With the bank of the U.S. it cannot happen that a loss will be sustained at any branch, because the bank is answerable as a whole. But, the local banks would each necessarily be separately and individually responsible for the deposits placed with it & no more. Though generally safe, it might happen, and the experience of the Treasury well justifies the apprehension, that some one of them would prove otherwise. Indeed, it is not to be expected, that, with the temptations to extend their business which the possession of the deposits would create, with the chance of mismanagement to which such institutions are always liable, and with the hazard of loss to which they are ordinarily exposed, and their inability to withstand any extraordinary pressure, a loss should not occur in some one of all the selected banks, during the three years that remain unexpired of the bank charter, in which time not less than fifty millions may pass into their possession.

In connection with this part of the subject, it may be proper to remark, that by a statement published by Mr. Gallatin, it appears, that of the banks, which were in operation at different periods between the 1st of January 1811 and the 1st. July 1830, 165 failed or discontinued their business; and of 129 of those, the aggregate capital exceeded 24 millions of dollars.10

There is, however, another danger, which, in contemplating the consequences of the proposed measure, is to be taken into view. It is but too probable that the Bank of the U.S., viewing this measure as an act of hostility towards itself, would be excited to meet it in a similar spirit. This it could only effect through the local banks selected by the government to supply its place: The comparative strength of the bank of the U.S. & of the local banks, which has been already exhibited, shews which is less able to maintain a conflict. It is even apparent that if the bank of the U.S. were to pay over the whole of the public moneys in its possession,—as well those of the Treasurer & other public officers as those for the public debt,—amounting in the whole to 8 or 9 millions,—by increasing its circulation, it would still be stronger than the banks of any of the commercial cities, even than those of Philadelphia. Its probable course, however, would be to reduce its business by the amount of the public moneys withdrawn from it. Even this would to a certain degree embarrass the other banks, as it would produce a pressure upon the community, which would react upon them. Those who were not so fortunate as to procure a portion of the deposits, would also curtail their business, in proportion as they were weak or cautious. The selected banks might think themselves protected from the necessity of a corresponding curtail by the possession of the deposits; if they were prudent, however, they would not extend their business; for it is evident, from the exhibition above presented, that even the possession of these deposits would not do more than place their present business in a safe condition. As they could not relieve the pressure which these curtails on the part of the Bank of the U.S. and the other local
banks would produce, they would of course be subjected to individual losses, resulting from the pressure in common with other banks. If they attempted to relieve it, even to the extent of the public deposits, they would be in a worse situation than the other banks; because their other business, which, but for the possession of the deposits they would have reduced in common with the other local banks, will remain subject to all the hazards resulting from its undue extension. So far, however, these embarrassments will not have been produced by any hostile exertion of the Bank of the U.S.; they will have been merely those incident to the proposed change.

The business of the bank reduced so far as it may deem necessary and perhaps its circulation withdrawn to the same degree, the bank is then wholly out of the reach of danger from the selected banks, even if combined for that purpose. On the contrary, it will then stand in the relation of a great creditor to them all; its curtails and all its receipts will be in specie or in notes of the local banks, which will give it the power to call on those banks for specie; and by postponing for a time the object of immediate gain, and using its means with a view to resent what it would allege to be the hostility of the government, upon the selected banks, it would soon drive them to curtail and finally to suspend their business.

In looking to the consequences of a contest between the bank of the U.S. and the selected banks, it is proper to take into view the advantages it has in its great capital, distributed at all the principal points throughout the Union, but controuled by one head, and able to be concentrated and brought into activity to a tremendous degree, either for offence or defence at any given point. If a pressure exists upon any particular point, it relieves itself by means drawn from other points, extending its calls throughout all the strong points of its establishment until it has relieved the particular pressure by distributing it throughout its whole establishment. So, on the other hand, where it is disposed to make a pressure upon any local banks, by concentrating its means at a favorable moment, it would have it in its power to overwhelm almost any bank whose business is extended as that of the local banks is shewn to be. Those banks, too, have no external resource. Each must depend on its own means; for others would be afraid to risk their own safety by attempting to sustain it against such a pressure; and if the pressure were general each would be obliged to look to its own safety.

To the community the consequences of such a conflict could not be otherwise than embarrassing, bringing distress to many and ruin to others. The curtailment of their business, which the banks would be obliged to make, would deprive the community of their accustomed accommodations. The weak would be the first to sink under it, but in proportion as it was extensive,—& extensive it would probably become,—would be the embarrassment, until it would be found to affect as well the payments of the duty bonds as the fulfilment of individual engagements.

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In such a conflict, where the credit and the very existence of the local banks would be in jeopardy, and in such a state of commercial distress as would follow, it would be in vain to consider the public depositees as safe. Against any such abuse of its power, the bank would under ordinary circumstances be restrained by the public opinion. Indeed its interests, which are best promoted by recommending itself to the country for its usefulness & for that only, would forbid it. But, if a pretence was afforded it for deeming its prosperity and safety aimed at by the measures of the government, and could be able to persuade the country that it was persecuted, the public opinion, or at least a great portion of it, would not be apt to condemn the bank for the consequences of any measures necessary to an effective self defence. Besides, the embarrassments which are here alluded to would soon be felt, and those sufferers who traced them to the measures of the government, might would not merely sympathise with the bank, but entertain, with it, a common feeling of resentment.

It is not probable, however, that these embarrassments would be of long continuance or that they would be permitted, where both the banks and their debtors had a common interest in preventing it, to proceed to that extremity which would involve so many in ruin and produce great suffering to the community. The debtors being unable to make the required payments to the banks, the banks would be without the means of discharging their obligations, and a common necessity would not only sanction but call for a suspension of specie payment as the remedy against the dangers to which all were exposed. Though a resort to this would postpone the evils for a time, it would be only to give them greater extent for a future period. It is not to be supposed that the national pride or the national interests will long submit to a depreciated currency of bank paper irredeemable with specie. This has already been tried, and abandoned; but at what cost! The sufferings experienced by this community in returning to a specie currency, after the general suspension during the War, are too well remembered to be more than alluded to here. Any measure which would probably lead to a similar state of things could only be justified by some strong necessity affecting the public safety.

The responsibility of the proposed measure, arising out of the proceedings in congress has already been adverted to; but that responsibility would also be increased by the probable state of the public opinion, at the time when the Secretary of the Treasury would have to present account to Congress for its exercise. The inconveniences, or evils which it is calculated to produce, will then have begun to be felt: and, in all countries, public measures are judged more by their results than by the reasoning which may have recommended them.

But that responsibility would be increased vastly more, if, in addition to the inconveniences to the service and the mischiefs to the community, which the undersigned apprehends from it, it should have happened, that, before the meeting of Congress, some one of the many banks selected for

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the public depositories should have proved unfaithful or insecure, and a portion of the public moneys thereby lost. The undersigned is free to confess, that, amidst all the hazards to which they would be exposed, he fully apprehends such a result.

In the views hitherto presented on this subject, the undersigned has not adverted to the interests of the U.S. as a stockholder, which may be affected by this measure. As the U.S. own one fifth of the whole stock, whatever diminishes the business of the bank takes so far from the public revenue, and whatever subjects it to losses that break in upon its capital, diminishes in the same degree the public property of the nation. The care of those interests is, therefore, among the duties of those to whom the people have confided the care of their other interests; and for the faithful discharge of that duty they are accountable to the Country. This stock was the contribution which the people were willing to make risk to secure themselves against the evils which they experienced as well in their public as in their private business, for the want of a circulating medium of universal credit throughout the Union and every where equal to gold & silver, and for the want of a safe and convenient agent for receiving, and keeping, and transmitting the funds of the government and those of the public at large wherever their interests might require. This capital, however, of 7 millions of dollars, was paid out of the industry of the Country, and now yields nearly half a million of dollars annually to the public revenue; thus relieving the people from taxation to that amount. Though mere pecuniary interests are not to be put in competition with the public safety, yet where no such paramount necessity puts them aside, so large a capital, & an income derived from it sufficient for defraying the compensation of all the public officers at the seat of government and more than double the amount of the expenditure on account of the intercourse between the U.S. and foreign nations, are of sufficient importance to justify the people in requiring a proper regard for their preservation.

If it be hoped by transferring the deposits from the bank of the U.S. to find agents, who, though less able to serve the government, will be better disposed to do, is it probable, when the organization of these institutions is considered, that the local banks will prove so? The bank of the U.S. is created by and dependant upon the federal authorities. Giving the fullest weight to the hostility imputed to it in regard to any branch of those authorities, such hostility has not been particularly manifested by it in its official transactions with the government. Giving the fullest weight to the hostility imputed to it in regard to any branch of those authorities, such hostility has not been particularly manifested by it in its official transactions with the government. In addition to all the means of control over it which the law has placed in the hands of the government,—in the appointment of directors, the examination into its affairs by the Secretary of the Treasury, and still more by Congress, and finally the proceedings in the Courts,—the government has also the same means of control over that bank which it would have over the local banks,—the removal of the deposits; and it is to be remembered, this is the only control it could have over the local banks. Whatever facilities in the
way of business the government might require of them, it must obtain by a previous bargain: if at any time the public service required funds of a particular kind or at a particular place, unless it was previously stipulated for them, it must ask them as a favor. It is certainly not for a government voluntarily to put itself in a situation to ask any thing: and if it obtains them otherwise, it will be for an equivalent which, perhaps, may not be adjusted without a bargaining which the government can have no desire to engage in. On the other hand, the relation of the government to the Bank of the U.S. in all such matters is settled by law.

It is necessary to inquire, however, whether the government could rely upon the continued good disposition of the local banks? If the selection be made entirely with a view to their safety as places of deposite, it may well happen that some will not be under the management of persons not politically friendly to the administration. Putting aside the danger there is that the local banks might use the increased means which the public depositories would give, of gratifying private or political partialities or resentments, or of pressing upon other & less favored institutions,—since these are evils to be expected whatever may be the political preference of the directors,—is there no danger to be apprehended from the occasional prevalence of misguided feelings in particular portions of the Union? Would it be safe for the United States to trust their funds exclusively to local institutions, which of course are subject to the control of the state authorities from which they derive their existence, and to the influence of the communities in which they are placed and by which they are supported? The embarrassments which might result from an unfriendly feeling of this kind may well be imagined; and after the experience the government has had, it should require a greater necessity than is believed to exist, to justify it in subjecting its pecuniary interests to such a hazard.

In considering the proposed measure merely on the ground of expediency, it may not be amiss, among other and more important matters, to speak of the difficulties to which the Department might be subjected in the transaction of its business with the local banks. With the bank of the U.S. the principles and conditions on which the public business is to be carried on are settled by law; the details have in the course of long experience received the best practical arrangement. With the local banks the adjustment of the terms must be a matter of bargain, varying necessarily in some degree according to particular situations & circumstances, and differing in other matters according as the banks might be liberally or otherwise disposed; and even in the manner of transacting the business among them it would not be easy to establish the necessary uniformity. Their separate interests would necessarily produce jealousies, ill will and even contentions among them; complaints would sometimes be made that some enjoyed too much while others had too small a share of the benefits of the depositories; mutual discontents would also arise from the transfer of funds; and the Treasury would have no little and no very agreeable
occupation in explaining its own course and preventing misunderstanding
and bickerings among them. In respect to all these matters, and to many
others which may be anticipated, if the banks did not act with perfect
good faith towards the Treasury, and towards the receivers and deposi-
tors of public money, as well as towards each other, the Department is
not without some experience, which encreases the apprehension of these
& similar difficulties. The Department would also have to encounter the
care, which the present facilities now render light, of providing for the
proper distribution and constant supply of funds for the public service,
at all the points throughout the union where they may be required: a task
which, without a surplus of revenue, and with an expenditure at no place
fixed would not be without its difficulties. Burthened as the Department
is with extensive & heavy duties, the prompt performance of which is
essential to so many private as well as public interests, it has need of all
the facilities that can properly be afforded.

It has been urged against a national bank that it would be an instru-
ment of power in the hands of Government, to be used for political pur-
poses; and in adjusting the charter of the present bank it was endeavoured
to guard against such abuses. The danger of improper influence is, how-
ever, as much to be apprehended from the employment of the local banks.
Those to whom the power of selection would be confided, could not of
themselves possess that particular knowledge of distant or of any local
banks which would be necessary to guide them. And in listening to the
representations and recommendations of others, it would be difficult, if
not impossible to escape error & mischief.

It is possible that the ill consequences which are herein set forth as
among those that may be apprehended from the proposed measure may
not be realised. All experience shews that the laws which govern human
events are not sufficiently known to enable us to trace with certainty the
consequences of any measure. Counteracting principles which do not
appear to us may be in activity, and may disappoint the results which the
best reasoning may deduce from any event. In looking to the future, there-
fore, we can look only at probabilities; and in judging of the effects of any
measure, we must sometimes find sufficient grounds for deciding for or
against its adoption if we can be satisfied whether the public good or evil
will predominate. Viewing the subject, therefore, in this general aspect,
the undersigned, though he may be mistaken as to the extent of the evil,
entertains no doubt that the ill consequences to be expected outweigh all
the good to be hoped from it.

It has been already observed that the bank enjoys a portion of the pub-
lic confidence. Many of the President’s best friends are among those who
desire its continuance with such modifications as shall be found necessary:
and among those of them who do not, it is believed there are a number
who do not desire to see any interruption in its offered by the government
to the safe winding up of its affairs. Hence it is that it has been found that, with the exception of the tariff, the bank question is the only distracting question that has been presented among the friends of the administration. Essential, and as it would seem irreconcilable, differences exist on this point among those who agree on all others; and while this question is unnecessarily agitated, the opportunity always exists for those who hope, to profit by these divisions. So far from seeking the adoption of measures which would serve to widen those differences, it cannot be doubted that if the opinion of those who have so many honorable motives to act together for the public good could be heard on this occasion, it would enjoin upon us to let that spirit of mutual and liberal concession which lies at the foundation of all our institutions and which regulates our policy on all other matters, be exercised also on this subject. To restore harmony throughout the country seems now all that is left to complete the President’s patriotic labors. His civil administration has been marked with a success worthy of the brilliancy of his military career; under his guidance, the pure principles of the Constitution have been restored to their paramount influence in the conduct of all our public affairs: In our foreign relations, the justice which was so long withheld, has been finally accorded to us, and with all the bonds of amity have been strengthened: and finally in our domestic system, those sacred principles of Union, upon which the prosperity and liberty of the whole American people depend, have been by him not merely asserted and maintained, but more firmly & permanently established. The undersigned would respectfully observe that it remains for the President still further to carry out those noble and just principles of public policy, which his own patriotism & wisdom have suggested, and, in support of that union which he so deeply cherishes, to bind still closer in patriotic concord, the people of this great republic who owe him so much for his services, and to whom he owes so much for their confidence and affection.

Entertaining these views of the whole subject the undersigned submits as his opinion that no step system should be taken to change the places of deposite of the established for the future disposition of the public deposites nor any change in the places of deposite of the public money sooner, than the expiration of the charter of the present bank may render necessary; and that in the mean time no measure be taken to change the relation which the present bank stands towards the government by interfering with its privileges or duties except for the purpose of investigating its transactions & detecting abuses; and that, unless upon such investigation the bank should prove to be unsafe it be suffered to proceed in its business in the manner authorized by the charter. The winding up of its concerns without embarrassment to the Country, is under the most favorable circumstances, rather to be hoped than expected. It is not for the Government to add to the inherent difficulties of the task, but rather to aid in obviating them;—not for the sake of the bank, but that of the...
community—who, at least can tell the difference. I have the honor to be, Sir, with the highest respect, your obedient Servant,

Louis McLane
Secretary of the Treasury.

[Endorsed by AJ:] There are some strong points in this view—all ably discussed. A. J.

ALS, DLC (42).
1. AJ had directed Congress’s attention to the BUS in his annual message of December 4, 1832, not December 6 (Richardson, 2:599–600).
2. Article 16 of the BUS charter gave the secretary of the Treasury exclusive authority to remove federal deposits, requiring him to report his reasons to Congress (Statutes, 3:274). Article 2, Section 2 of the constitution, quoted verbatim by McLane, authorized the president to require written opinions from Cabinet officers.
3. McLane quoted AJ’s December 4, 1832, message to Congress (Richardson, 2:599–600). The emphasis is McLane’s.
4. This passage quotes McLane’s own December 5, 1832, annual Treasury report to Congress (HRDoc 3, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 13–14, Serial 233). The “attention of one branch of the legislature” was the House investigation of the Bank in the preceding congressional session (HRRep 460, 22d Cong., 1st sess., Serial 227).
5. This was Henry Toland’s report (HRDoc 8, 22d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 233).
6. From here forward, this sentence quotes from the concluding paragraph of the House Ways and Means minority report (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 42, Serial 236).
7. Thomas Lilly Smith (1789–1871) was Register of the Treasury.
8. The BUS had reported to stockholders on September 1, 1831, that its main office and branches had issued drafts on each other for $42,123,161.23 in the year ending June 30, 1831 (Report of the Proceedings of the Triennial Meeting of the Stockholders of the Bank of the United States [Philadelphia, 1831], p. 20).
9. These figures derived from a statement submitted to the House committee by Bank director Manuel Eyre (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 88, Serial 236).

From Katherine Duane Morgan

Washington. May 27th. 1833

My dear and respected sir,

I cannot forbear addressing a few words to you, enclosing a copy of an address of mine to some lads, to whom I had suggested the utility and enjoyment of establishing a uniform company among themselves, and the opportunity it would afford them of publicly evincing their gratitude for your services, and their admiration and reverence for your virtues. Their number is small at present, but I doubt not (if rumor has been true, that you intend passing through our Borough this summer) that we shall have
quite a handsome little band of boys, to display their joy a la Militaire, at your arrival. I feel encouraged the more to persevere, as I feel almost certain you will agree with Mr Morgan and myself, that it is calculated to do good. My dear sir, I cannot describe the emotions I felt, on Mr M’s reading to me your address, at the tomb of Mrs Washington. Sir, my fear is, that very many of our countrymen entertain too light, trifling, and I had almost said contemptuous an opinion of the responsibilities, earthly and divine, and of the rights and duties of mothers. And truly, I think, where mothers are only viewed in the light of nurses mantuamakers, milliners and sempstresses, little general patriotism, philanthropy or real enlargement of mind can be expected in the Male Creation. Confident I am, the and all history testifies it, the most durable and the deepest love of Natale Solum1 and of Liberty, is infused into by the patriot mother into the minds of her sons—and surely, the proudest and dearest occupation, is to assist in forming the minds and establishing the principles of Freemen in embryo. As to the mother who cherished from the fountain of heart, her idolized sons, who can doubt her zeal and devotion in the cause? If she possesses not political knowlege in the minutia, or be not conversant with the dead languages, you esteemed sir, will not doubt the entire devotion of every faculty of her soul, and the principle being embodied in her religion, which will impel to make them noble & virtuous citizens; men, that peril will not make shrink, nor temptation cause to hesitate or falter. Gen’l Jackson, permit me from the inmost recesses of an Irish heart, at the same time to thank you, for your kindness to my own dear brother, & to congratulate you sir, in having near you, the son of an Irish mother. In the absence of our father in India; that noble, excellent woman made W. J. D. what he is. And now sir, I believe your mother and his mother, in a world (God be thanked) beyond the reach of British oppression and persecution, rejoice in the act, virtue and justice sanctioned.2

I must return to the subject of “The Future Defenders of American Liberty. I have proposed for the flag, a white silk ground, a spread Eagle (if we can have it executed here) with a scroll issuing from its beak, with the words, you spoke to my little Jackson, “Never desert your Country’s Eagle”—and beneath its feet “The Future Defenders of American Liberty.” The Eagle shall be surmounted with the Stars 3

Will you have the goodness sir, to apprise us of your route, and of the time at which [we] may expect the pleasure of seeing you and Mr Van Buren. Excuse me dear Gen’l for taking up so much of your precious time. May the Almighty bless & guard you, is the prayer, respected sir, of your sincere friend

K. D. Morgan

I am reminded to tender the best & most grateful regards, of Mr M. & our young host, to whom you have been so kind
[Endorsed by A/J:] Mrs. Morgans letter inclosing her address to the military youths of Washington P.a. To be kept on my private files, for the historian—a. J.

ALS, Harlan Crow Library (mAJs). Morgan (c1787–1863) was the daughter of famed Philadelphia Aurora editor William Duane (1760–1835) and the sister of AJ's incoming Treasury secretary William J. Duane. Her husband was lawyer Thomas Morgan (1784–1855), whom AJ had appointed postmaster at Washington, Pa., in 1829.

1. Native soil.
2. William Duane had spent about seven years as a printer in Calcutta before emigrating to the U.S. in 1796. Morgan's mother was Catherine Corcoran Duane (c1761–1798). AJ's mother was Elizabeth Hutchinson Jackson (d. 1781).
3. When the Marquis de Lafayette visited Washington, Pa., in May 1825, he was welcomed by a company of boys in uniform dubbed “The Future Defenders of American Liberty.” Thomas Morgan was on the reception committee. The National Intelligencer had reported on December 18, 1823, that AJ, recently passing through Fredericksburg, Va., was introduced to an eight-year-old boy named for him after the Battle of New Orleans. AJ gave him a fifty-cent coin, saying, “Here is the Eagle of your country—never desert it!”

To Mary Donelson Coffee

Washington May 29th. 1833—

My Dear Mary,

your kind & very interesting letter of the 29th. of April was duly received and has remained without answer until now—with barely an acknowledgement of its receipt, in my letter to your dear father. To you my dear Mary, who know how little time is permitted to me for friendship, my delay in not answering requires no apology—but I should have snatched a moment from my constant public demands, but I have been much indisposed since you left us, and more than usual pressed with public concerns.

My mind has been constantly filled with anxiety with regard to your fathers health. My enquiries are unceasing, and I have been indebted to Major Lewis, at Nashville for the only information lately received, and that was consoling, as it was from Doctor Hogg, and gave us assurance of his speedy restoration to perfect health, for which my prayers have been, & are unceasing.

In my letter to which you allude I did complain of you & Mary McLamores neglect in not writing me—you have both leisure, and when you reflect how much interest I feel in your, & your respective families welfare, it must occur to you how much pleasure I feel on the receipt of a letter from any branch of either, giving me intelligence of their health happiness & prosperity—therefore it was that I enjoined on you both to write me, believing you had not only leisure, but the disposition. I have been much gratified by one from you, but Mary McLamore, has, as yet been silent, from you I have the promise that you will be a better correspondent for the future. I can only add how much pleasure it will afford me at all
times to receive a letter from you—and I am sure you would write often, if you really knew how much I have your happiness & that of every branch of your dear family at heart.

I have said my health has been bad since you left us—it is better, & I will soon travel to the east to try to improve it. This tho, is doubtful whether the fatigue of the journey, & the crouds of people thro which I have to pass may not prove more injurious to my health, than the benefit arising from change of air & climate—my health & life is in the hands of my creator, in him will I trust, & freely resign to his will—our great duty my dear Mary, is to live, & in our lives to learn how to die & insure our happiness beyond the Grave. your aunt Emily is preparing to visit Tennessee—she says she will set out on next tuesday. Major Donelson goes with me & will join her in Tennessee, seperating from me in the west—she goes to Lexington with Mrs. & Major Barry, where she expects to meet her brother Stockly.1

We are all well here, Sarah has quite recovered, & her dear little Rachel is growing finely, in her & John, we have two very interesting Pets. Jackson & Mary Rachel are growing finely, Jackson learning his book well, reads very correctly; Mr Earle enjoys excellent health—and all join in kind salutations to you, your father mother & every branch of your family, & unite in prayers for your fathers speedy recovery & long continued health—and believe me your affectionate Uncle2

Andrew Jackson

ALS, TMM (22-1495).

1. William T. Barry’s wife was Catherine Armistead Mason Barry (1793–1873). Emily T. Donelson’s brother was Stockley Donelson (1805–1888).

2. Andrew Jackson Donelson (1826–1859), Mary Rachel Donelson (1829–1905), later called Mary Emily, and John Samuel Donelson were Emily and AJ Donelson’s children.

From Edward Livingston

Department of State,
Washington, 29 May, 1833.

Sir:

I beg leave to resign the high office which, by your appointment, sanctioned by the approbation of the Senate, I have for two years exercised. I do so with the sincerest gratitude for the confidence you have reposed in me; for the uniform support I have received in the exercise of my official duties; and for the continuance of that kindness and friendship with which you have been pleased to honor me ever since the perilous period in which it was my good fortune to serve under your orders, and witness the triumphant success of your military operations.1

I have, honestly and industriously, endeavoured, Sir, to merit the confidence reposed in me by the constituted authorities of the country, to

•  May 1833  •
justify your countenance and support, and to continue worthy of a friendship which I shall always feel a pride to have possessed. I have the honor to be, Very respectfully, Your most obedient servant,

Edw Livingston


1. Livingston had served as a volunteer aide-de-camp to AJ at New Orleans.

To Edward Livingston

Washington May 29th. 1833

Sir,

In accepting the resignation of the office of Secretary of State which you have this day tendered to me, allow me to assure you that I do so with a deep sense of the very important aid which you have rendered in conducting the administration. As I shall still, however, have the benefit of your experience and talents in the branch of the public service with which you have been particularly charged during the last two years, the regret which I would otherwise feel at your retirement from this station is greatly diminished

It gives me pleasure to add on this occasion that, throughout our long acquaintance, in military as well as civil life, I have ever found your eminent talents employed in advancing the good of your country; and that wherever we have cooperated in the public service you have left the evidence of exalted patriotism and unshaken integrity

That your future days may be blessed with prosperity and happiness is the sincere wish of your friend and very obt. sert

Andrew Jackson

LS in AJ Donelson’s hand and Copy, NjP-Livingston Papers (mAJs). Draft in AJ Donelson’s hand, DLC (73). On this same day, AJ commissioned Livingston as minister to France, Livingston’s son-in-law Thomas Pennant Barton to be his secretary of legation, Louis McLane to replace Livingston as secretary of state, and William John Duane to replace McLane as secretary of the Treasury.

From James Buchanan

St. Petersburg 29 May 1833. N. S.

Dear General,

I had the pleasure of receiving, by Mr. Clay, your kind letter of the 21 March. And here allow me to tender you my grateful thanks for the permission which you have granted me to return home. Indeed, for some time, I had scarcely indulged the hope that I should be allowed to leave St. Petersburg before the next Spring: this permission therefore was a most agreeable surprise, & adds another to the many obligations which I owe
to your kindness. I hope I may yet have an opportunity of displaying my gratitude by my actions.

Although I shall leave St. Petersburg with pleasure, yet I shall always gratefully remember the kindness with which I have been treated here. My great objection to the country is the extreme jealousy & suspicion of the Government. A public minister, in order successfully to discharge his duty & avoid giving offence, must conceal the most ennobling sentiments of his soul. We are continually surrounded by spies both of high & low degree. You can scarcely have a servant who is not a secret agent of the police.

There is one mitigating circumstance in Russian Despotism. In other portions of Europe, we behold nations prepared & anxious for the enjoyment of liberty, & yet compelled to groan beneath the yoke. No such spectacle is presented in this country. The most ardent republican, after having resided here for one year, would be clearly convinced that the mass of the people, composed as it is of ignorant & superstitious barbarians who are also slaves, is not fit for political freedom. Besides they are perfectly contented. The Emperor is the very beau ideal of a sovcreign for Russia; & in my opinion, notwithstanding his conduct towards Poland, he is an able & a better man than any of those by whom he is surrounded.\(^1\) I flatter myself that a favorable change has been effected in his feelings towards the United States since my arrival. Indeed, at the first, I was treated with great neglect, as Mr. Clay had always been. I was glad he returned. It would be difficult to find a more agreeable Secretary of Legation. I also entertain a very high opinion of Mr. Vail.

I sincerely rejoice that our domestic difficulties seem almost to have ended. Independently of their fatal influence at home, they had greatly injured the character of the Country abroad. The advocates of despotism throughout Europe beheld our dissentions with delight; whilst the friends of freedom sickened at the spectacle. God grant that the restless spirits which have kindled the flame in South Carolina may neither be able nor willing to promote disunion, by rendering the Southern States disaffected toward the best of Governments!

Whilst these dissentions are ever to be deplored in themselves, they have been most propitious for your fame. We generally find but few extracts from American papers in the European Journals; but whilst the South Carolina question was pending, your proclamation, as well as every material fact necessary to elucidate its history, was published on this side of the Atlantic. I have a hundred times heard, with pride & with pleasure, the warmest commendations bestowed upon your conduct; & have never met with a single dissenting voice. I was obliged, the other day, to laugh heartily, at the sentiment expressed by a Russian Nobleman which he considered the highest commendation. He said it was a pity that such a man as you had not been king of England instead of William the fourth: for then Ireland would have been kept in good order, & O’Connell would have

\(^1\) I flatter myself that a favorable change has been effected in his feelings towards the United States since my arrival. Indeed, at the first, I was treated with great neglect, as Mr. Clay had always been. I was glad he returned. It would be difficult to find a more agreeable Secretary of Legation. I also entertain a very high opinion of Mr. Vail.
long since been punished as he deserved.² I might have told him you were not of the stuff of which kings are made, & that if you had possessed the power, Ireland would have had her grievances removed & received justice. That then there might have been no occasion for the exercise of severity.

I fear, I will not be able to conclude the Treaty concerning Maritime rights, though I shall use my best exertions. My late attempt to introduce the subject was not very successful, as you will have seen from my last Despatch.³

I have now, after much reflection, determined on my plan of operations. It would not be consistent with the high character of our Government, & with what I feel confident would be your wishes, that I should make another direct official proposition to conclude this Treaty, without a previous intimation that it would be well received. We might thus be subjected to another direct refusal, & incur the charge of importunity. It is, therefore, my intention to present my views of the subject in the form of an unofficial note, & to express them with as much clearness & force as I am capable. I shall not in this note ask a renewal of the negotiation, though I shall leave it clearly to be inferred that such is my desire, neither shall I solicit an answer. Afterwards if they should not move in the business within a reasonable time, nor give me any intimations on the subject, it would neither be proper nor dignified to press them further.⁴

I am convinced they are endeavoring to manage England at present, & that this is an unpropitious moment to urge them to adopt principles of public law which would give offence to that nation. Besides Russia has now a large navy,—& but a small commercial marine: and it is not for such a Power as she now believes herself to be to desire to change the law of nations in such a manner as to abridge her belligerent rights. The principle “that free ships shall make free goods” will always be most popular with nations who possess a large commercial marine & but a small navy to protect it & whose policy is peaceful. But I shall do my best.

I hope this question may be determined by the beginning of August, as I should then have an opportunity of seeing something more of Europe, & yet reach the United States about the end of November. By the last accounts my mothers health was decidedly better, so that on that account I need not so much hasten my return.

I have received many letters which give me strong assurances I shall be elected to the Senate. I confess, however, I feel very doubtful of success. The men in Pennsylvania who have risen to power, by the popularity of your name, whilst in heart they are opposed to you, will do every thing they can to prevent my election. The present Governor is greatly much influenced by their counsels, & his patronage is very great & very powerful. Besides the nullifiers & their organ the Telegraph will shew me no quarter. Thank God! I know how to be content in a private station; and I shall leave the Legislature to do just as they please. His Honor Judge Sutherland will, I have no doubt, be early in the field against me.⁵
Our excellent consul here is in very bad health from the severity of the climate. His physician says that he must travel & that immediately; but I entertain some doubts whether he has sufficient strength left for this purpose. It is said however that he was restored once before by a change of climate, when in an equally weak condition. He proposes to set off in a few weeks, & Mr. Clay who will have little else to attend to will do his business cheerfully during his absence. I sincerely wish he could obtain a situation in a milder climate. It would be a most happy circumstance for the commerce of the United States, if all our consuls were like Mr. Gibson.6

After sending my note to Count Nesselrode I intend to visit Moscow for a few days; as he is to be absent himself.

Please to remember me kindly to the members of your family—& to Major Barry, Mr. Taney, Mr. M.Lane & Mr. Woodberry & believe me ever to be sincerely & respectfully your friend

James Buchanan


1. Nicholas I (1796–1855) was Emperor of Russia. He had crushed a Polish rebellion against Russian rule in 1830–31.

2. William IV (1765–1837) was King of Great Britain. Irish nationalist Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847) was a leading advocate of Catholic emancipation and repeal of the Act of Union with Britain.

3. Buchanan had reported to Livingston on May 22 that “the auspicious moment, if ever it existed,” for a treaty on maritime rights had likely passed. A war-threatening crisis between Turkey and Egypt, which might have inclined the Russians to treat, had been settled; and Russia was now eager to propitiate Britain, whose views on neutral rights at sea in wartime were opposed to those of the U.S. Buchanan said that when he had raised the issue in a May 20 interview with Russian foreign minister Karl Robert Nesselrode (1780–1862), Nesselrode had shown no interest and quickly changed the subject (DNA-RG 59, M35-12; Works of James Buchanan, 2:335–38).

4. Buchanan wrote Nesselrode on May 30, not proposing a negotiation but stating the benefits to both countries of putting neutral and belligerent rights at sea on a treaty footing (HRExdoc 111, 33d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 66–68, Serial 726; Works of James Buchanan, 2:342–45).

5. In December 1833 the Pennsylvania legislature elected Samuel McKean to succeed George M. Dallas in the Senate, with Buchanan not seriously contesting the seat. In 1834 AJ appointed Pennsylvania’s other senator, William Wilkins, as minister to Russia, and Buchanan was elected to the vacancy with support of governor George Wolf. Joel B. Sutherland was a candidate against him.

6. Abraham Priest Gibson (1791–1852) had been U.S. consul at St. Petersburg since 1819. He left for southern Europe in the summer and returned in May 1834, remaining as consul until 1850 (DNA-RG 59, M81-3).

Memorandum on the Bank of the United States

May 1833—

proposition—A system to be arranged with the State Banks for the deposits of the United State funds, to take effect at some future day as a substitute for the U. States Bank—a change of the Deposits the only
measure that can be adopted to counteract its largess to the presses and its other attempts to corrupt the people, at elections to secure by two thirds the recharter of the Bank.

The Government Directors to be instructed to examine into their profit & loss accounts—and their expense account to see whether the statements made of their expending large amounts to corrupt the press & to effect the elections has been made—how much expended in 1831–2–& 3—for printing and circulating printed Documents in favour of the Bank & to whom paid—whether notes under protest have been discounted without additional Security &c &c &c—wh

AN, DLC (64; 22-1247). This memorandum is in AJ’s memorandum book. AJ wrote to government directors John T. Sullivan, Henry D. Gilpin, and Peter Wager on August 3 (below).

From Francis Preston Blair

[This undated critique of Louis McLane’s May 20 paper on removing the deposits (above) was probably written in late May or early June.]

Notes on Treasury Opinion

page 6. Condemns the Bank in toto. His opinion is changed & is against rechartering on any terms—yet for the present deems it safe, notwithstanding the “recent developments” by which in his estimation it forfeits all claim to a charter.¹

page 10. The power “to coin money & regulate the value thereof” given by the constitution, cannot be converted into a power to create a Bank & issue a paper currency, because the use of a Bank note currency has been subsequently introduced by a change of circumstances. It is an argument for a change of the constitution, but not tend to prove that the constitution is the creature of circumstances & is altered because the times have changed.²

page 11. The President “with manifest propriety” referred the whole subject to the people & their representatives. In reelecting General Jackson to represent them in the Executive Department after the Veto, they elected him to carry out the principles of that Veto, as their Representative.³

18th. page. Some of the means proposed to limit the power of the Bank, are calculated to make it more dangerous to the liberties of the people. By giving power to appoint the president of the Bank or in other words, giving the power to the Executive to preside himself by Deputy, the monied prerogative would be in effect transferred to the Chief Magistrate, to perpetuate his authority & render it irresistible. We should never again have an Executive opposed to the abuses of the Bank—and of course never have a Bank opposed to an administration Executive.⁴
page 25. The question of the removal of the Deposits is here taken up. The opinion of the Secretary at the threshold puts the premises for the basis of his argument.

1st. The application to congress is on the part of the Executive is not to obtain the opinion of that body as to the safety of the Deposits, but to make an Enquiry into certain charges which the "limited power" of the Secretary of the Treasury was inadequate to make.

2ndly. The Executive does not express the opinion that "if the many serious charges impeaching the character of the Bank" are true, it would not justify the withholding the Deposits. From the declaration in the message that "if true, (the facts) may justly excite the apprehension that it, (the Bank) is no longer a safe Depository of the money of the people," the inference is clear, that the Executive meant to intimate to Congress, that an a state of case showing exciting a well just apprehensions for the safety of the Deposits would be good reason for their removal. It seems a perversion of the message on the part of the Secretary to say that "the message on the contrary distinctly implies that such an apprehension would be insufficient" to justify the removal. To wait until events proved the apprehension to "well founded" would be to lose the opportunity to make safe, that which the facts alluded to in the message, if true, satisfied the Executive, was put in jeopardy—and which it is his duty to secure.

3rdly. The application on the part of the Executive to Congress, was not to exert its concurrent power to withdraw the Deposits, & relieve the Executive Department from the responsibility of doing what it might deem its duty in that respect—but it was to obtain the aid of the Legislative body in prosecuting an enquiry into the charges, which if true found to be true, the Executive meant to make the ground of the movement in relation to the Deposits. The Secretary is in error in supposing that "the power to chan conferred on the Secretary to change the deposits is not absolute" but "subject to the control" of Congress. The Deposits are to be placed in the Bank "unless the Secretary of the Treasury shall otherwise order & direct." There is no authority anywhere given in the charter to control or set aside that order. Nor is there any other check upon the arbitrary use or abuse of the power conferred upon the Executive Department, but the necessity of reporting the reasons for the act, and the power of impeachment & removal given to Congress, if the Officer shall be deemed guilty of acting from improper or corrupt motives.

4th. The secretary is not consistent with himself in saying putting the removal of the Deposits upon the mere point of their probable safety. In his Report to Congress he indicates as the basis of the then contemplated movement, "apprehensions arising out of the 3. per. cent. arrangement"—"the great amount of the Banks transactions especially in the Western Branches."—"Other matters connected with its (the Banks) dealings, &c. which have tended to disturb public confidence" Here the secretary distinctly suggests, that the great & leading points alluded to tending
“to disturb public confidence,” would be relied upon by him to justify if established, his withdrawal of his confidence as an officer from the Bank. But he brings into view, another & very important ground which should have decisive weight with an Executive who had put a Veto upon a law rechartering the Bank. It is the suggestion of “the necessary arrangements in anticipation of finally closing its (the Banks) business.” The general inquiry has been, why does not the Bank prepare for the close of Charter & prepare the Country for it? Why does not the Bank curtail its loans instead of extending them? Why does it multiply its Branches? Have not the people an equal right to inquire, why a president who has vetoed the Bank, does not make “the necessary arrangements in anticipation of finally closing its business” for to have some other system in operation to supply its place in the management of the fiscal concerns of the Government?

5thly. The secretary says, that the action of the last congress upon the points suggestions of the message & Treasury Report, with regard to an inquiry into as to the circumstances pointed out affecting the credit of confidence reposed in the Bank, “has materially lessened in his mind, the weight, which previously to the last session of congress, he had attached to the circumstances, then existing.” With deference to the secretary, the whole exposition he makes in connexion with the Report of the minority as well as the majority of the Committee is at war the conclusion to which he comes. He admits that the 3 per cent transaction is as bad condemned by both Reports—& facts elicited show that the managers of the Bank not only acted in bad faith & without authority in reference to this matter, but attempted to palm a deception on congress to obtain a color for their conduct at the expence of the Treasury Department. The Western Debt was shewn to be enormous, and to be founded on the most doubtful of all securities viz race Horse Bills. And “the other matters connected with its dealings” were rendered still more doubtful & suspicious—and in every respect more of a character “to disturb the public confidence” by the refusal of the friends of the Institution to assent to the demands of the president & permit an investigation into its concerns generally—or even an investigation into the state of the principal Bank, beyond the 3 per cent transaction & the Western debt as exhibited on the Books of the principal Bank.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Notes on the view of Mc.L. Bank, & Deposits—


1. Blair cited the numbered pages of McLane’s 90-page manuscript. This text appears on page 327 above.
2. Page 328 above.
3. Actually McLane’s page 13; page 329 above.
5. McLane’s pages 24–26; pages 332–33 above.
6. McLane’s pages 33–34; page 335 above.
7. McLane’s page 27, page 333 above, quoting his own December 5, 1832, annual Treasury report to Congress (HRDoc 3, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 13–14, Serial 233).
8. McLane’s pages 37–38; pages 335–36 above.
9. The March 1 House Ways and Means minority report charged that at least $7 million in domestic bills discounted at the western BUS branches was “secured by paper called race-horse bills, which is running from branch to branch, waiting for crops to be raised to meet them, and running the drawers with interest, exchange, commissions for endorsement and acceptance, and other expenses.” It warned that the present system of overextended credit and overtrading in domestic exchange would prove “desolating and fatal to the trading and planting community of the west” (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 49, Serial 236).
June

From Willie Blount

You can read this, when at leisure—it contains my honest sentiments, at least

June 1833

Dear Sir,

yours of the 4th. of March covering a copy of your inaugural address I rec’d. when sick abed. If those who make such noise and splutter about State sovereignty and state rights would demonstrate their knowledge of and fixed unwavering support of them, in conduct, as fully, largely, sincerely, and usefully as you do and have done all your life, they might spare themselves the trouble of making their empty declamations about your Proclamation, & save themselves from the exposure incurred by their ignorant fault-findings & vituperation against others, not excepting from that class, the writer of the 13 numbers, by “A Virginian,” whose style is handsome enough in the old school-master manner of Dilworth’s spelling book, but with less utility to the public; for the fact is, his commentaries are disingenuous, much more so, than he, as a declared lover of fair truth, seems to have been aware of.¹

I think the letters of Stephenson, the Speech of Rives in the U.S. Senate, and that of Rives, of the Senate of Virginia, and even the ultra federal speech of Webster in reply to Calhoun, knock the doctrine of Nullification and secession on the head, in handsome, forcible and perspicuous terms.²

The Nullifiers of South Carolina will never, again, run as near the brink of their destruction, as they did, in their Ordinances, and in their legislating the Courts of the U. S. out of their state: but in order to save appearances and to try to get back, again, in public estimation, or to keep from continuing blanks therein (for the fact is, they are fallen in the estimation of patriots), they will, for a time, continue to make a noise—the population of that state I have ever thought, and still think, a valuable one, endowed with much talent: but some of the selfish leaders are too ambitious to go on in a correct straight forward, moderate and true statesman-like commendable course in greatest usefulness; and perhaps, they lack the necessary large talent to enable them to attain to a most desirable point in such usefulness; this lack, they have not yet discovered, as others have for them: when they do, if ever, they will surely see and acknowledge their
errors. Wm. Smith’s letter has given them a hard knock—but public sentiment, expressed by the Congress against them, is a much harder knock.  

The force Bill, or rather the Bill to preserve the Union, without force, is the best and most important bill passed at the last session; particularly, as explained, in its mild object, in one of the late numbers of the Globe; who can read and understand its object, to preserve the Union, & doubt its useful & mild character?  

The Bill to reduce the Tariff, still needs much alteration and amendment to make it most right and most productive of the greater good your valuable and timely recommendation had in view—if that recommendation had been carried out, in the bill, its value would soon be felt throughout the Union.  

The Pieces, ‘a Word for Union,’ are well and opportunely written, & should be long continued, and well remembered by the American people, lovers of invaluable Union, without secession.  

The 1st. & 2d. division of ‘an outline of your 4 years administration,’ the only numbers I have yet seen of them, am well pleased with; and particularly, with the laudable design of such: but should prefer to see more full details than can be, by the People, inferred from the numbers I have seen; and I hope, the same writter, after publication of his third number, will give ample details.  

Summaries are sufficient for men of intelligence, who read them; but details can, alone, best edify a community. A faithful outline of executive proceedings, together with a full and correct copy of executive messages, recommendations of measures & results, with a favorable notice of proper points connected with the details, would, if given, constitute the Key Stone of the Arch of valuable executive character and standing; and such, without fail, should be given by some friend, of talent & integrity, of every executive administration, as I have thought would be proper, for many years past: an executive officer feels too much delicacy, as to himself, to give such, himself. Such a memento of your executive proceedings & results, for the benefit of the community, given in continuation of the fair republican course set forth and known in the useful administrations of Jefferson & Madison, enlarged on by yours, and aimed to have been supported by the honest intentioned administration of the less fortunate, but not less zealous, Monroe, would be interesting. And such a memento of your administration, past, and to come, given from authentic data, placed in order, by the side of a like memento of those of Jefferson, Madison, & Monroe, if such should ever be given of them, and all to be connected, in like order, by the side of the valuable and ever deservedly to be remembered most judicious & timely full Organization of our general government of Union & permanent usefulness, during the beloved Washington’s faithful administration, and these, to be contrasted, the whole of them, fairly, with the probably honestly intended, but certainly the more than useless administrations of the Senior, & Junior aristocratic Adams’s, if faithfully given, should make part of the State
paper selection of every Statesman’s library in the U.S., and should be in the hands of the People of every State, well preserved and often read, without partial bias, as the best commentaries on our republican political fabrics & State polity: and those, of the two Adams’s, should likewise be preserved, read, and held in remembrance, as beacons of error, anathematised by a virtuous and enlightened people uninfluenced, however, by personal ill-will towards the actors in those unfortunate administrations, which, have worked more evils, than better administrations, with faithful labors ever since, could efface—those two administrations, doubtless, will be given an account of, at some day, by the Junior Adams, when, perhaps, he may have become ashamed of his foolery, as John Rhea would call it, shewn in his attacks on Masonry, manifest in his recent letters to Livingston, & when he may have become tired of his attempts to change the mode of the religion of the roman Catholics, in Mexico, and in South America!! strange notions indeed, on his part—delusively monstrous, ultra modestly vain notions, truly, in any man to attempt in thought, & more so, to hope to realize, as if Masons, & roman catholics had not a right to judge for themselves, like other men, in what concerns themselves without injuring others—we will turn to other matters.

In addition to your useful efforts to settle the boundaries, by demarkation, between the Indian tribes recently removed to and settled on lands West of the Mississippi, too much attention cannot be further given in enforcing the humane and laudable policy of the U.S. Govt. for civilizing those tribes, and for keeping them, not only free from baneful foreign influence, but for attaching them more, & more, to the U.S., as well as for preserving peace with each other; to do these, is a great work to effect, but important to be done, and that too, in a mild and even handed manner, & will require great consistency and energy on the part of our Govt. under a well digested plan of operation. I have been and am never without high coloured feelings and anxieties both towards the U.S. & towards those tribes on these heads of interest—and am not less anxious about a judicious regulation & disposal, in the order, of U.S. Territory West of Mississippi, & East of it, as provided for in the Constitution of the U.S. requiring it to be regulated without prejudice to any claims of the U.S. or of any particular State, (old, or new); on both which subjects, am not without my fixed opinions, founded on due examination of correct data: but I do not think that either Mr. Clay’s land bill, or the proposal of the Secy of the treasury, best calculated to effect the most desireable regulation and disposal of that Territory: and I think, the Indian tribes might be enabled to support themselves, or at least, with much less expense to our Govt. and further, as to regulation & disposal of U.S. Territory, that as soon as possible & practicable, after an organization of a territorial Govt. East of Mississippi & West of Michigan may have been effected, I am of opinion, that it would be good policy, as soon as practicable, to erect a territorial Govt. on the opposite & western side of the Mississippi, to be
bounded on the South, by the State, Missouri, and North, by Canada, & New Britain; to the end, that the whole navigation of the great and important river Mississippi shall be, as soon as possible, regulated to be within the limits of well organized State Govts, so necessary for the growth & prosperity of the great West—and then, a military road, from New Britain, to the Gulf of Mexico, on the West, and parallel with the West boundary of the those new States; and a cordon of military Posts thereon, in due time.

And again: too much watchfulness, on the part of our Govt., cannot be given over the Country between the Rocky Mountains & the shore of the Pacific Ocean, for obvious reasons: nor too much vigilance cannot be used towards the tract of Country, beyond our limits, however, bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, & that between the Sabine, & Bay of St. Bernard; as tho’ that Bay, (a good habor for fleets,) an enemy to the U.S. might, by landing a force, greatly annoy our extreme S.W. frontier settlers, in a state of war or approaching war, at any time: concerning all these, in point of importance to the U.S, I have high coloured anxities and desire for such watchfulness & vigilance; and am glad to believe, that these will engage your attention, for the general good of the U.S., & particularly, of the growing W. as well as S.W. & N. West sections of our Union.

I am an advocate of State sovereignty, & of State rights founded on the Declaration of Independence, July 4th. 1776; & so are you. Am an advocate of the Constitution of the U.S. of 1787, and of our Govt. of Union under it. Am an advocate of the tenor & spirit of the Virginia resolutions, 1798, 99, the work of able heads, & so are you. Am an advocate of your able Proclamation, which, is in accord with those Resolutions, & with the Declaration of Independence, with the Constitution of the U.S. & with the best support of State rights, as well as with the best support of the rights of Union; but those Resolutions are not the Constitution, nor is either the Declaration of Independence, or your Proclamation the Constitution of the U.S. or of the several State Constitutions, founded, all of them, on the Sovereignty of the People both of the States, and of the U.S., and of their territorial Govts.—and your Proclamation is in support of the whole of them, and most ably and patriotically, as well as honestly and perspicuously expressed; & for which, you have my most cordial thanks from my heart. I never, in 1798, 99, nor since, ever heard the doctrine of secession, by the action of a state, broached prior to the movements, the hated movements, of the Hartford Convention, nor of that of the childish spoutings of Nullification, until South Carolina belched them forth.10 if we don’t like the present provisions of the Constitution of our Govt. of Union, very well, let them be changed, without Nullification and without any single State secession: the Constitution provides for neither of the two latter, worse than childish, courses: but it provides a mode for its wholesome amendment, even, to an entire alteration of it, if a majority of the Peoples so will it, without any partial resort to the evils of Nullification, of secession, of
civil war, or blood-shed—the enlightened framers of our Constitution had abundant reason to guard against such evils, & have happily done so.

The restless spirit, the disorganizing, destroying tendency of the movements of the Hartford Convention, if it were possible to realize them, to the annihilation of our beloved political fabric, then, determined me, when much engaged in giving my mite of assistance in a state of war, to the support of our political fabrics & valuable institutions under them, to examine, for myself, when more at leisure into the provisions of our Several State, and U.S. Constitutions, and into those of the Articles of old Confederation, to the end, that I, as an American citizen, for good reasons attached to our State, & U.S. Governments, the works of our forefathers, for the support of Independence, and of the rights of republican self-government, founded in the sovereignty of a free People, determined to be & remain free and independent in firm Union, agreeably to the desire of our forefathers, & to that of ourselves, yes, these considerations, then, determined me to examine into those provisions afforded us by our Declaration of Independence, whereby, and from such data, I might acquire fixed and firm opinions of the general tenor and admirable spirit and tendency of those provisions; and of the whole of which, I had recently, before the late new and alarmingly startling doctrines of worse than useless South Carolina Nullification Convention memory, made a full written Digest of, in common-place order of arrangement, carrying out, in that Digest, every specific object, power, & authority, either declared, delegated or reserved, permitted or prohibited to the State, or to the Genl. Govt. of Union, and of each and of all, in their several orders, together with a written summary of the whole & all indexed, with notes of referrence from the one to the other in their order, containing my own fixed opinions thereon thus expressed and completed on my part just about the time your Proclamation on the South Carolina question bears date and as our opinions on all the above alluded to heads fully accord & jump together in unison, you can judge of the degree of my gratification felt on reading your Proclamation so instrumental of a timely saving of our beloved political fabricks, and of our happy & useful Govt. & Union—a Union so constituted, as to give it a portion of Sovereignty, & a Govt. so framed, as to guard against absolute state veto on its laws. Since our Constitutions are as we find them to be, I could not think otherwise of them than as herein expressed, if I would, and would not, if I could: some amendments, which I have not the vanity to propose, might be made, as I think, but better qualified men to judge, than I am, have not yet effected them, and as to myself, I am sensible of my own incompetency even to undertake to point out such as a Convention might think necessary; but, I want no Convention as long as the Constitution points out its own practicable mode of amendment. Conventions are useful, if well conducted, but are productive inlets, without the greatest care, to many evils, which, we may now avoid by the Constitution remaining as it now is, until it can be amended, short of a Convention.
The leading and more selfish gang of the opponents of your administra-
tion, right or wrong, and opposed to the sober sound sense of the great
majority of the People, its supporters, thro’ good, & thro’ evil report, I
have sometimes thought, are useful beacons of error in their attempts at
unconstitutional measures, which, they might generally stumble on, &
sometimes carry, one way or another, carry thro’ each House of Congress;
and they are, if they did but know it, indirectly, tho’ unintentionally, your
friends too, as shewn by their affording you opportunities of exercising
your Veto on such their bills; for I have noticed, and have often heard it
remarked, by many, that thro’ the good sense and force of your objec-
tions, pointing out the unconstitutionality of such their bills, and joint
resolutions, & orders, you invariably knock them as flat as a flounder,
and heighten yourself among the great body of the more enlightened part
of the American people: I always look to such results: & as yet, have not
been disappointed: they chuckeled, thought, & indeed said, that they had
you fast, on the U.S. bank question, hoping that the monied influence of
that Institution would aid them in putting you down: poor ignorants;
miserable calculatiors; they were never more wide of the mark—money
influence acts injuriously only on the evil disposed.

Your Proclamation on the South Carolina question has given you more,
or a greater increase of permanently good standing, for the future, both at
home and abroad, than any other single act of your eventful life—at home,
it has awakened the people, generally, & they pour forth their blessings
on you, for saving the Union, without bloodshed, and for enabling them
properly to appreciate the value of Union, and of your worth, as well as
for your enabling them, for the future, to keep the Union safe from the
unhallowed touch of restless, would be great men, without merit; who,
would sacrifice Union, or any thing else to be uppermost themselves in
high places; but instead of them, fortunately for all, you, the confidence in
you, & your patriotic virtue exercised are the idol of the people. The effect
abroad, is, to enliven the hopes and prospects of all lovers of the rights of
self-government and of equal privileges of should be, free people, every-
where; an event, pleasing, should it happen, to all good people, of every
nation; an event, however, which aristocratic rule, in Europe, has, alone,
prevented, as yet, from happening there; but sooner or later, in the order of
events, time will bring it about, even there; and now, the political fabrics
of the U.S. will, henceforward, be looked to, as the polar star of republican
self-government, & of free Institutions, shining brightly, and more & more
brightly, for the edification and comfort of man, & for the advancement
and permanent security of his every interest—and that these may be so,
throughout the Globe, I pray, and in private station put forth my mite.

The noise of some discontented spirits in favor of a, by them, hoped
for Southern Convention, as a leading string to their obtaining a seperate
Southern Confederacy, to the destruction of the Union, is a baldfaced out-
rage on the good sense of the people of the U.S: however, I hope that that
bait will never attract a nibble from the people: what! secession from useful & prosperous Union!! monstrous; the thought, is madness, sickened even more deeply—nor will the baits thrown, & throwing out by the bank of the U.S., to gain a renewal of charter, get a nibble—not a legal one.

I hope no serious obstacle or insurmountable difficulty is, by our Govt., expected to grow out of the French protest of our draft for the installment due under Rives’s treaty: the fact of protest, at all, creates, however, surprise with those, who, like myself, are unacquainted with the circumstances which occasioned it, in the absence of any known cause, to us, therefor.11 Europe is shortly to be in blaze of war, as I think. your friend

Willie Blount

ALS, THi (22-1540).

1. Former Virginia U.S. senator Littleton Waller Tazewell (1774–1860) had published thirteen essays criticizing AJ’s proclamation over the signature “A Virginian.” They first appeared in the Norfolk Herald from December 1832 to February 1833 and were widely reprinted. Englishman Thomas Dilworth (d. 1780) was the author of a popular schoolbook, A New Guide to the English Tongue.

2. The Richmond Enquirer had printed Andrew Stevenson’s two letters against nullification on February 5 and 7. William Cabell Rives (1793–1868), AJ’s former minister to France and now U.S. senator from Virginia, had spoken in defense of the Force Bill and against nullification on February 14 (Register of Debates, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 492–517). Francis Everod Rives (1792–1861) of Prince George County spoke against nullification in the Virginia state senate on January 24 (Richmond Enquirer, March 19 and 22, 1833).

3. William Smith (c1762–1840) was a former U.S. senator from South Carolina. In February he had addressed a public letter “To the Union and State Rights Party of South Carolina” savaging Calhoun, James Hamilton Jr., Hayne, McDuffie, and “their wild and delusive schemes of nullification” (Richmond Enquirer, April 19, 1833).

4. The Globe “Bloody Bill” editorial defending the revenue collection Act had run on April 1.

5. AJ had urged “a reduction of our revenue to the wants of the Government” in his third annual message to Congress in December 1831. His fourth message in December 1832 recommended gradually reducing protective duties toward a “revenue standard” to avoid harming existing industrial establishments (Richardson, 2:556, 597–99).

6. Five pieces headed “One Word for the Union” had run in the Richmond Enquirer from March 26 to April 16. AJ had asked Blair to reprint the first two on April 1 (above), and the entire series ran in the Globe from April 3 to 19.

7. Two numbers of “A Brief View of the Administration of Andrew Jackson” had run in the Globe on May 4 and May 22. An announced third installment did not appear.

8. John Adams (1735–1826) and his son John Quincy Adams (1767–1848) had been the second and sixth U.S. presidents. In 1832 John Q. Adams, now a Massachusetts congressman, had published a series of attacks on the Order of Freemasonry, collected as Letters Addressed to William L. Stone . . . upon the Subject of Masonry and Anti-Masonry. On April 10 Adams followed up with an open letter to Edward Livingston in his capacity as a high Masonic official. Calling the Order “one of the greatest moral and political evils” in the Union, Adams accused Masons of murdering apostate member William Morgan in New York state in 1826 and demanded abolition of their oaths of secrecy which sheltered criminal atrocities from exposure and prosecution (Nat. Intelligencer, April 11, 1833). Adams addressed Livingston again on April 15 and May 1 (US Telegraph, May 16, 1833). As president, Adams had been assailed for branding the Catholic establishment in Latin America as the “last badge of religious bigotry and oppression” in an 1825 message to the Senate (Richardson, 2:319).
9. Article 4, Section 3 of the constitution gives Congress “Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.” In his December 7, 1831, annual report to Congress, McLane had proposed selling “all the public lands, in the aggregate, to those States within whose territorial limits they lie, at a fair price,” with the proceeds to be apportioned among all the states (HRDoc 3, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 12–13, Serial 216).

10. The Hartford Convention, attended by delegates from the five New England states, met in December 1814 during the War of 1812. It condemned the Madison administration’s conduct of the war, propounded a series of constitutional amendments, and proposed another convention if its demands were not met. With the end of the war, its name became synonymous with near-treasonous extreme Federalism and disunionism.

11. The French government had failed to pay the first installment due the United States under the claims convention negotiated by William C. Rives in 1831. AJ wrote new Treasury secretary William J. Duane about it on June 26 (below).

To Andrew Jackson Hutchings

Washington June 2nd. 1833—

My Dear Hutchings

I have this morning receeived your letter dated, Florence, 20th. of May 1833, with Doctor Hoggs letter to you, of the 17th. of May, inclosed, which as you have requested, you will find herewith returned.1

I am happy to find that the Doctor speaks so confidently of his ability to pay that debt, as he remarks, it is one that ought, I have no doubt, to be first paid, & I have no doubt of the candeur of the Doctor in his professions with regard to it—and from the assurance of the Doctor that he will, and is able to pay, I think you will be right to indulge him by his paying the interest, or renewing the note, and including the interest to the time you have taken possession of your estate, & including it as principle. This is only just, that from that date, all sums ought to be viewed as due, and if not paid, as principle, & interest payable thereon and I suppose no one will hesitate to renew their notes on this principle, and in this way alone can you convert the interest into principle but by renewing the notes, and I am sure none will refuse thus to renew their notes, on an indulgence of time for the payment, or think hard to include the interest as principle, from the day you have taken possession of your estate, and on this terms I would renew the notes & indulge all those who can secure the final payment of the debt. Genl Coffee will advise you in all things as a father, & you will always do well by adhering to it, and on all occasions of doubt, or difficulty, I advise you to consult the Genl, whose health I rejoice to learn from your letter, is fast improving, & I trust will soon be restored.

I regret to hear of the loss you have met with in the death of one of your negro wiman—but in these times of extensive calamity by disease, and from the number of your family you ought to be thankful, that you have been passed over with the loss of only one—and that you have been
shielded from this malignant disease. your family being restored to health
I trust, your overseer will be able to clean your crop and that you will be
blessed with an abundant crop & a usual good markett for it.

I have only time to add one word more by the way of paternal advice.
You are young & inexperienced, have no knowledge how difficult it is
to make a fortune, and what great care & proper oeconomy it requires,
when you have a fortune, to retain it. Therefore it becomes you now to act
for yourself. steer clear of parsimony, but upon all occasions use a proper
oeconomy, go in debt for nothing that is not absolutely necessary to be
had, and on the first of every year settle all your accounts, by which you
will know your real situation, and your means, and to go independently
thro’ life, you have only to keep your wants, & expenditures within your
means—that will you pass thro life free from debt or incumberance, &
enjoy all the happiness of a freeman—he who is in debt is a slave, there-
fore, shun it.

I thank you for the information you have given me of my family &
concerns, it has dispelled many anxious thoughts. I could not bear the
idea of inhumanity to my poor negroes—yours has dispelled my anxiety
on this score, & other accounts state my crop is promising. If I succeed
in a good crop this, it will be the only one in the last four years—the last
crop has left me in debt. I regret to learn that my oscar fillys, Citizen, year
old has got hurt I hope not so bad as you represent. When you see him
again, examine him with care & inform me of the real injury. I calculated
on that colt to run my stud horse citizen into credit, but if hip shot, that
hope must be abandoned—when you return to the Hermitage examine &
write me.

Present me kindly to Genl Coffee and all his amiable family, say to Miss
Mary I had great confidence that during her fathers illness she would have
kept me advised of the prospect of his health—but I have only recd. one
letter from her since she left us. I have written often.

My health has not been good of late, will set out soon on an Eastern
tour, it is improving. My household are all in health but Emlys little John—
she with the children intends setting out in a few days to Tennessee—the
Major goes with me & will join her in Tenness, and Andrew and Sarah
with their little pet will remain here, & at Philadelphia, until I return, the
baby grows finely and is a very interesting child. Write me on the receipt
of this how you are getting on in collecting the debts due your fathers
estate, now in your possession, I am anxious that it should be closed
fully, so far as my guardianship is concerned, and that by commissioners
appointed by the court. I trust you will find that I have done you justice
on all occasions, & as far as I had the power have carried into effect the
dying injunctions of your father with regard to yourself, & the estate.
Believe me to be your affectionate Uncle

Andrew Jackson
P.S. you have seen the account of the cowardly attack upon me, by that Swindler & rober of the dead, Lt Randolph—if I ever see him and know him, history will record the sequel—he must be from his mode & sly manner of attack, be the greatest poltroon on earth—he has been running & hiding ever since. A. J.

My whole Household join in love to you—why do you not write to A. Jackson jnr. he has written A. J

ALS, THi (22-1552).

1. Hogg had written Hutchings on May 17, assuring him of his ability and intent to pay the debt, “one of the highest magnitude & of all others (being money loaned) one which I ought & must pay as soon as possible” (Coffee Papers, THi).

From Ebenezer James Hume

Georgetown Heights, 3rd June, 1833.

My Father’s friend,

My heart is too full to talk; I can only use my pen. If the President should deem me worthy to receive a larger salary, and could make it convenient and proper to promote me and procure Alfred a place, our widowed mother and family could live in Washington with us. They must shortly be destitute if I cannot effect this object. We would all be happier, if my plan meets with your approbation. If it should I pledge you my word and honor and all I hold dearest that I will do all that lies in my poor abilities to render myself worthy of your favor and of acting in the stead of so good and kind a Father.

My wife sends her love to you. I have the honor to be your devoted servant & cordial Admirer & friend

E. J. Hume

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. Hume—to be seen. I could not advise Mrs. Hume to come to Washington—it would be the most ruinous course she could adopt for herself & family. A. J

ALS, DLC (43). Hume (1806–1842) was a clerk in the fifth auditor’s office. He remained there at his present $1,000 salary until 1836. His father, William Hume, had died on May 23. William’s widow was Rebecca Andrew Hume (c1788–1861). Ebenezer’s brother Alfred Hume (1808–1853) began work as a clerk in the second comptroller’s office on October 30.
To Cora Livingston Barton

Washington June 4th. 1833—

My dear Cora,

Your kind letter with that of your dear husbands were duly received. I have postponed a reply, until by the hand of your father, I could inclose to you, his commission as Secretary to the French legation, which I now do, & request that you present it to him with your own hand, and with it a tender of my high regard.

My health is not good, nor has it since you left us. I leave here for the east on the morning of the 6th. to endeavour to improve it by change of air & relaxation from business, and hope to have the pleasure of seeing you & Mr Barton before you sail for France. Should I be disappointed in this, permit me to assure you & Mr Barton, that wheresoever you may travel, or what may be your destiny, you take with you my kind wishes, & prayers, for your health, prosperity, and happiness, and remain with great respect yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, NjP-Livingston Papers (mAJs; 22-1561). Cora Livingston (1806–1873), daughter of Edward Livingston, had married Thomas Pennant Barton (1803–1869) of Philadelphia on April 25 in Washington. On May 6 Barton had written AJ asking “some small portion of your regard,” giving “assurance of my personal esteem for your character, and gratitude for your service to our common country” and for “your very kind intimations towards me” (DLC-42). On May 29 AJ had commissioned Livingston as minister to France and Barton as his secretary of legation.

To Charles Jones Love

[This letter is extant only in a later printed version.]

Washington, June 5th 1833.

Dear Col.

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22d ultimo, expressing yours and that of your lady indignation at the cowardly insult attempted by, the late disgraced and disgracefull, Lt. Randolph upon me in the Boat at alexandria. It was cowardly in the extreme, and had any one who saw his approach only announced his name, I should placed myself upon my feet, and had he then made the attempt when I was on my feet, I pledge myself to my friends he never would have troubled the civil authority. His approach deceived every one, it was in a very humble suppleant tone and attitude, and with the insult, only apprised me of his intention. I had been reading with my double
glasses what enables me to read I cannot distinguish fases with, as he was an entire stranger to me. I was confined with a table on one side set for dinner and on the other, by the berths of the steam Boat. I had removed from the berth where my hat and cane was, by giving to Mrs. Thurston the chair at the corner of the Table in which she was sitting, and the judge was on the opposite side of the table. Thus situated in the presence of the judge, and his lady, who both knew him, Randolph must have been assured as others were that I could not be guarded against an insult from any one, and it was the dastards security. I have always thought it strange that Mrs. Thurston who was sitting near me, and has since said she expected he intended something, and when he thurst himself, between her and the table which occasioned her to rise, had not said to me, that is Randolph, had she, he never would got alive out of his tracts, because I could have siezed a fork and plunged it into his brains on the attempt of his insult, which I was deprived of by the table being upset the moment the assault was made, being deprived of its furniture, threw every thing out of my reach until I got to my feet, when I was held, and prevented from pursuit, until the villian was out of the Boat and when I got to the side of the Boat the crowd was great, Randolph out of view, and I was assured he was in the hands of the civil authority. I replied, I knew better, that he was in the care of his co-conspirators, but recollecting who I was, I desisted from following him, in this, one minutes reflection convinced me I was wrong, but the Boat had left the wharf, and as I anticipated the villain had escaped. One thing has been unaccountable to me, it is this, the judge was present, knew Randolph, saw the insult, and never opened his mouth, did not even order his seizure, or arrest. It may happen I may meet the villain even in the presence of the judge and if I do, I hope he will practise equal comety to me, for if ever I lay my eyes on him, the world will tell the sequel.

Present my kindest feelings to your dear Mrs. Love and all your amiable family. Sarah with my son enjoins it upon me to present you and your lady with their kind salutations, and their grateful feeling for your and Mrs. Loves kind attention when Sarah was confined and to assure you that their gratitude for such kindness can never cease. The dear little Rachael grows finely and is very interesting as well.

Major Lewis has returned in good health and has given me a full and satisfactory account of the Hermitage.

I set out to-morrow on my tour to the east, my health is not good, but I hope it will improve with the trip.

Emily Donelson was to have set out on to-morrow for Tennessee but the information of the colera at Wheeling and Maysville Ky. has caused her to postpone the trip—say so to her friends, if you see them. Your friend,

Andrew Jackson.
Col. Love must excuse this hasty scroll, it is wrote in haste and interruption, by a crowd.

A. J.

Printed, The Vicksburg Daily Herald, May 24, 1870 (mAJs).

To Martin Van Buren

[On June 6, Jackson left Washington for Baltimore to begin his northeastern tour. He traveled mainly by steamboat and by coach. The tour became a triumphal progress, attended by cheering crowds and by a nearly constant round of official welcomes, civic ceremonies, addresses, receptions, dinners, parades, processions, artillery salutes, and military reviews. After stops at Philadelphia, New York, Hartford, Providence, Boston, and other cities, he reached Concord, N.H., on June 28. There he suspended the tour from ill health and on July 1 left directly for Washington, arriving July 4.]

—Private—

Washington June 6th. 1833

My Dr. Sir,

I leave this at 9 o'clock this morning intend to reach Philadelphia on Saturday evening, tary there until Tuesday morning, and if possible reach N.york on Tuesday evening. I will be accompanied by Mr. Mc.Lane, Governor Cass, Donelson & Earle, Govr. Cass leaves me there goes on to Detroit, and Mr McLane will return to this place, after going with us to New-Haven. Woodbury will join us at Newyork & go with us to New Hampshire. I hope your health is good and I will find you prepared to proceed on with me as far as I may be able to travel.

My own health is not good, I want relaxation from business and rest—but where can I get rest—I fear not on this earth. When I see you I have much to say to you. The Bank and change of deposits, have engrossed my mind very much, is a perplexing subject, and I wish your opinion before I finally act. This is the only difficulty I see now in our way. I must meet it fearlessly, as soon as I can digest a System that will insure a solvent currency, and a sure system for the fiscal operations of the Government—reflect upon it, & be prepared to give me your views upon it.

My household salute you kindly. I write this in great haste just as I am stepping into the stage—yr friend

Andrew Jackson

[Endorsed by Van Buren:] Departure on the Eastern Journey—wishes me to reflect upon the Deposite question & be prepared to advise

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (22-1602).
To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Baltimore June 6th. 1833—

Dr Andrew,

We arrived here half after 2 oclock P.M. without fatigue or injury, met by a number of the Citizen with the Steam carrs 12 miles in advance of the City which took us into Baltimore in a few minutes, where we were met by a numerous crowd. I have just retired from dinner, with an increased head ache, but trust that a nights rest will dispel it.

I shall leave here on Saturday morning at 6 oclock & endeavour to reach, Philadephia on Saturday evening where I shall remain until Tuesday morning, and expect to receive a letter from you before I leave that city telling me how you all are.

Give my love to Sarah & Emily, & kiss my little pet for me & believe me to be yr affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P.S. present me kindly to Major Lewis & tell him to write to reach me at Philadelphia

ALS, DLC (43). AJ rode the last miles into town on the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road, the first presidential travel by train.

Address to Black Hawk et al.

[In April 1832, a band of about 1,000 mainly Sac and Fox Indian men, women, and children led by the Sac warrior Black Hawk (1767–1838) crossed the Mississippi from present Iowa to their former lands in the vicinity of Rock Island, Ill., which had been ceded to the U.S. in a disputed treaty in 1804. What became known as the Black Hawk War began with a skirmish with Illinois militia on May 14 and ended with the Indians’ defeat by militia and U.S. Army regulars near the mouth of the Bad Axe River in present Wisconsin on August 2, a battle that turned into a massacre of the Indians as they attempted to escape back across the Mississippi. Many of the scattered survivors were captured or killed in ensuing weeks. Black Hawk surrendered to U.S. authorities on August 27.

On September 21, 1832, Sacs and Foxes led by Sac principal chief Keokuk (d. 1848), who had remained neutral during the war, signed a treaty at Fort Armstrong at Rock Island with General Winfield Scott and Illinois governor John Reynolds. Among other provisions, including a new cession of land, it stipulated that twelve Indians including Black Hawk, his two sons, and the Sac chief Wabokieshiek, called the Prophet, would “be held as hostages for the future good conduct of the late hostile bands, during the pleasure of the President of the United States” (Indian
Treaties, 2:350). In April 1833, six of the hostages were transferred for safekeeping from Jefferson Barracks near St. Louis to Fort Monroe in Virginia. On their way they met Jackson at the White House on April 26. As reported the next day, the Prophet and Black Hawk disclaimed fault for the war and asked to return home. Jackson replied that it was now “unnecessary” to look into the war’s causes, and that their release and return would depend on the Indians’ compliance with the treaty and observance of peace (Globe, April 27, 1833).

On March 26 Keokuk and thirty other Sac and Fox “Chiefs and Braves” had petitioned Army Brevet Brigadier General Henry Atkinson (1782–1842), commanding at Jefferson Barracks, to ask Jackson to release the hostages, pledging responsibility for their future conduct (DNA-RG 94, M567-78). On April 25, while the hostages were in Washington, the War Department asked the advice of Atkinson and of William Clark (1770–1838), late co-leader of the Lewis and Clark expedition and now Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, on releasing them (DNA-RG 75, M21-10). Atkinson approved it on May 20 and Clark on May 14, observing that “the Sacs & Foxes are fully impressed with the utter folly & hopelessness of contending against the arms of the U States” (DNA-RG 75, M234-728).

On June 4 the hostages began their journey home under escort of Army Brevet Major John Garland (1793–1861). Secretary Cass’s May 30 orders to Garland instructed him to route their return through major eastern cities “in order that they may see and be impressed with the extent of the population and the strength of the Country” (DNA-RG 75, M21-10). Their itinerary coincided closely with Jackson’s eastern tour. On June 7 they met him at Baltimore, and Jackson delivered this address.

MY CHILDREN,—

When I saw you in Washington, I told you that you had behaved very badly, in raising the tomahawk against the white people, and killing men, women and children upon the frontier. Your conduct last year compelled me to send my warriors against you, and your people were defeated, with great loss, and your men surrendered, to be kept until I should be satisfied, that you would not try to do any more injury. I told you I would inquire whether your people wished you should return, and whether, if you did return, there would be any danger to the frontier. Gen. Clark, and Gen. Atkinson, whom you know, have informed me that Shekkak, your principal Chief, and the rest of your people are anxious you should return, and Keokah has asked me to send you back. Your Chiefs have pledged themselves for your good conduct, and I have given directions, that you should be taken to your own country.

Maj. Garland, who is with you, will conduct you through some of our towns. You will see the strength of the white people. You will see, that our young men are as numerous, as the leaves in the woods. What can you
do against us? You may kill a few women and children, but such a force would be soon sent against you, as would destroy your whole tribe. Let the red men hunt and take care of their families, but I hope they will not again raise their hands against their white brethren. We do not wish to injure you. We desire your prosperity and improvement. But if you again plunge your knives into the breasts of our people, I shall send a force, which will severely punish you for all your cruelties.

When you go back, listen to the councils of Ko-e-kuk and the other friendly Chiefs. Bury the tomahawk, and live in peace with the frontiers. And I pray the Great Spirit to give you a smooth path and fair sky to return.

Printed, *Baltimore Republican and Commercial Advertiser*, June 8, 1833 (mAjS). The Prophet reportedly replied: “My father,—My ears are open to your words. I am glad to hear them. I am glad to go back to my people. I want to see my family. I did not behave well last Summer. I ought not to have taken up the tomahawk. But my people have suffered a great deal. When I get back, I will remember your words. I won’t go to war again. I will live in peace. I shall hold you by the hand.”

**To Thomas Jefferson Grotjan**

[Traveling by canal boat and two river steamers, Jackson left Baltimore on June 8 and reached Philadelphia the same day. He remained until departing for New York on June 11.

One of the Committee of Sixty who attended him in Philadelphia was merchant and publisher Peter Adolph Grotjan (1774–1850). In 1823, Peter and his wife Sarah Fenimore Grotjan had named their fifth child Thomas Jefferson Grotjan (1823–1891), and on January 1, 1824, Sarah had written Thomas Jefferson asking him, “as the chosen godfather of my child,” to write him a letter, “acknowledging the behest made by me, if it contains but two lines, signed by your ever revered name.” Jefferson wrote the boy on January 10: “Your affectionate mother requests that I would address to you, as a namesake something which might have a favorable influence on the course of life you have to run. Few words are necessary, with good dispositions on your part. Adore God. reverence and cherish your parents. love your neighbor as yourself; and your country more than life. be just. be true. murmure not at the ways of Providence, and the life into which you have entered will be the passage to one of eternal and ineffable bliss. and if to the dead it is permitted to care for the things of this world, every action of your life will be under my regard. farewell” (DLC-43).

On June 9, Peter Grotjan introduced Jackson to his son, who presented Jefferson’s letter and asked him to append his own sentiments, which Jackson did. The text of Jefferson’s letter with Jackson’s addition was printed in the Philadelphia Pennsylvanian on August 10. On September 5,
New York City printer Benjamin Owen Tyler asked Jackson to recopy his inscription, which had run over to the back side of the letter, for use in producing a one-page facsimile edition (NjP, 23-0657). In 1834 Tyler issued “A Fac-Simile of Jefferson and Jackson’s Letters.” It included a statement certifying its fidelity to the originals. The text here, nearly identical to that published in the Pennsylvanian, is from the facsimile.

Philadelphia June 9th. 1833—

Although requested by Mr. Grotjan, yet I can add nothing to the admirable advice given to his son by that virtuous patriot and enlightened statesman, Thomas Jefferson. The precious relic which he sent to the young child, contains the purest morality, and inculcates the noblest sentiments. I can only recommend a rigid adherence to them. They will carry him through life safely and respectably; and what is far better, they will carry him through death triumphantly; and we may humbly trust they will secure to all, who in principle and practice adopt them, that crown of immortality described in the Holy scriptures.

Andrew Jackson

ANS facsimile, DLC (43).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Philadelphia June 10th. 1833—

My son

It is now candlelight, and the business of the day has just closed, and dinner is just Eaten. I shall not attempt to describe the feelings of the people, suffice it to say that it surpassed any thing I ever witnessed.¹

I have seen Mr Weatherall, Mrs. Farquier, & Emma; they are all well & enquiring very kindly after your health, & that of Sarah, & my dear little Rachel.²

I shall leave here tomorrow at 9 a.m. I have seen Doctor Phisic who encourages me, & says my heart is not effected in any way, and the pain in the side can be removed by cupping. I sincerely wish my trip was over—except to my Hermitage, or to the watering places; I think it is the last journey, I shall ever undertake. I can say no more at present—write me occasionally & request Major Lewis to do so likewise—shew him this letter.

Present me kindly, to Sarah, & kiss my little Rachel for me—present me kindly to Emly & the children, and believe me affectionately yours

Andrew Jackson
P.S. Mr. Toland will forwards the Invoices for Plate &c &c &c furnished, get Major Lewis to get you a check on Philadelphia for the amount & enclose it to him as soon as it reaches you A. J.3

ALS, DLC (43).

1. AJ had received citizens at Independence Hall in the morning and then rode in a four-hour “military and civic procession” through the city, both events attended by large crowds (Philadelphia Pennsylvania, June 10 and 11).

2. Philadelphia widow Eliza Yorke Farquhar (1767–1848) was the mother of Emma Yorke Farquhar Donelson and the aunt of Sarah Yorke Jackson.

3. Toland wrote AJ Jr. on June 28 acknowledging his check for $1390.04 to cover $1,180.52 to Louis Veron & Co. for silver and furnishings, $52.75 to John Smith for furnishings, $40.92 to Thomas W. Morgan for sperm oil, and $115.85 to himself for matting and freight (DLC-43).

Address by Jacob Morton

[Traveling by steamboat and coach, Jackson departed Philadelphia on Tuesday, June 11, spent the night at Princeton, N.J., and reached New York City on June 12. Mayor Gideon Lee greeted him and Jacob Morton delivered this address. Morton (1761–1836) was a major general of New York militia and clerk to New York City’s Common Council. Jackson inspected Morton’s troops and then was escorted to City Hall, where he met New York governor William L. Marcy.]

GENERAL—

While you are receiving expressions of warm and heartfelt wellcome from various parts of the community, it will not, we presume, be unaccept-able to you that we should add our voice of congratulation to you on your visit to our city.

Devoted by our profession to the service of our country when military duties are required, it is with pride we look up to you as the Commander who is to head and direct us when our country’s rights are invaded from abroad or endangered at home. It is with a proud reminiscence that we look up to you as the Chief, who once freed our land from invasion and placed a wreath of military honor and renown upon our country’s brow, which can never fade.

With feelings of deeper interest we also see in you one, who under Providence has been the means of preserving the Union of these States—a Union upon which depends the permanency of our free Institutions, the peace and prosperity of our country, and upon which are placed the hopes and wishes of the virtuous and good, and the friends of freedom through-out the world.

With such feelings we bid you cordially welcome, and it is we assure you, our sincere wish that it may please a gracious Providence long to
preserve your life, precious to our country’s interests, and that it may be cheered by the enjoyment of health, and the grateful affections of your fellow-citizens.

Printed, Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer, June 15, 1833 (mAJs).

To Benjamin Toppan Pickman and Abel Cushing

New-York, June 13, 1833.

Gentlemen—

I received in due time your communication in behalf of the Legislature of Massachusetts, presenting me with a copy of the resolves adopted by that body in anticipation of my visit to New-England.

It gives me pleasure now to inform you, that it will be in my power to visit your city, and that I shall avail myself of the earliest opportunity, after my arrival, to acknowledge in person the very grateful sense I entertain of the honor conferred upon me by the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts.

I shall expect to pass through Newport and Providence on the 20th inst. and reach Boston on the evening of the 21st.

Had not the state of my health made it doubtful whether I could take so extensive a tour, an answer to your communication would have been made before my departure from Washington.

I am, gentlemen, with great respect, your ob’t serv’t,

ANDREW JACKSON.

Printed, Boston Daily Advertiser and Patriot, June 15, 1833 (mAJs). On March 27, the Massachusetts legislature had passed resolutions that requested Governor Levi Lincoln to welcome AJ to the state and named state senate president Pickman (1790–1835) and house member Cushing (1785–1866) to a thirteen-member arrangements committee (Resolves of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1833 session, pp. 446–47). AJ reached Boston on June 21, and Lincoln welcomed him on June 22 (below).

Andrew Jackson Donelson to Washington Irving

[As Jackson approached Manhattan on June 12 aboard the steamboat North American, nearby vessels fired salutes. Seaman James Bryant Folsom (1804–1870) was reloading a cannon on the U.S. revenue cutter Alert when it burst, severely injuring him. Witnessing the accident, three passengers on Jackson’s boat, British consul James Buchanan, New York politician Myndert Van Schaick, and celebrated author Washington Irving, immediately took up a collection for Folsom. They quickly raised a reported $426.25 and delivered it to New York City mayor Gideon Lee.]
New-York, June 13th, 1833.

Dear Sir,—

Understanding that you have under your direction the funds raised by subscription for the relief of the unfortunate seaman who lost his hands whilst assisting in firing the salute to the President as he approached the city yesterday, I hereby enclose to you, in conformity with instructions from the President, the sum of fifty dollars, which he requests that you will apply to the same object.

Your obedient servant,

A. J. DONELSON.

Printed, New York Evening Post, June 14, 1833 (mAj$s; 23-0019). Irving (1783–1859) had been U.S. secretary of legation at London from 1829 to 1831. Folsom lost his right arm below the elbow, most of his left hand, all the sight in his right eye, and nearly all in his left. Not being eligible for a military pension, he petitioned Congress for relief in December 1833 (HRRep 81, 23d Cong., 1st sess., Serial 260). In 1836 Congress awarded him $8 a month from the day of the accident (Statutes, 6:631–32).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

—Private—

Newyork June 14th. 1833

My Son

I have to day received your kind letter of the 12th. instant, yours of a former date was duly received.

It is now past ten, and I have just returned to my lodgings, after visiting three towns in New jersy, Newark, Paulus Hook, and Elisabeth Town, and passing over in procession three fourths of the city of Newyork, castle garden, a party at the Mayors, at Genl Mortons, and the garden, & having taken a warm bath feel no injury from the fatigues of the day & will leave here at six o'clock to morrow morning. I have witnessed enthusiasms before, but never before have I witnessed such a scene of personal regard as I have to day, & ever since I left Washington. I have bowed to upwards of two hundred thousand people to day—never has there been such affection of the people before I am sure been evinced—party has not been seen here.¹

My health is improving, but my head being exposed to the sun at Philadelphia for five hours my faice has been compleatly blistered—it is healing. You have heard of the providential escape we made on our landing at castle Garden. Mr McLane will have informed, you, before this reaches you, of all the circumstances.²

I rejoice to hear of yours, Sarahs, & my dear little Rachels good health, with Emilys & the her dear little childrens good health to all, present me affectionately, & kiss my sweet little Pet for me. Tell Sarah I will be happy to hear from her in the promised letter, & I hope little Rachel will
not forget me until I return, need not say to you & her to take care of her, my fears are that we all doat upon her too much, I hope not so much as to forget, that we owe her to a kind providence, and to him our first love is due, next we may justly place upon her our affections as his best gift. It is late I am fatigued, & can only add my prayers for your healths & safety until I return, and resign you & Sarah with, my dear little Rachel, Emily, Jackson, Mary Rachel, & John, to his holy keeping—to all whom present my blessing. To Major Lewis, and Mr Kendall, & the heads of Department present my kind salutations, & believe me your affectionate father—this hasty scrawl is for your own eye

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (43).

1. On June 14, Van Buren, McLane, Cass, and Woodbury accompanied AJ on an excursion into New Jersey. Later, AJ visited Castle Garden at the southern tip of Manhattan and took a carriage tour through the city streets. He passed the evening at Niblo's Garden, a pleasure ground operated by William Niblo (1790–1878), and at the homes of Gideon Lee and Jacob Morton.

2. On AJ's arrival at New York on June 12, a bridge connecting Castle Garden with the Battery had given way as AJ's procession crossed it, precipitating some of the crowd into shallow water. AJ, who was on horseback, crossed just before the collapse. AJ Donelson, Ralph Earl, and Lewis Cass fell with the bridge but escaped serious injury.

Address by Henry Waggaman Edwards

[Jackson and his party left New York City on the morning of June 15 and reached New Haven, then co-capital of Connecticut, in early afternoon. They were escorted to the State House, where governor Henry Waggaman Edwards (1779–1847) delivered this address.]

SIR,—

In behalf of the Representatives of the people of this State, and in compliance with their request, I congratulate you on your arrival among us, and tender you their sentiments of high consideration, and assure you that to me, individually, nothing could be more agreeable than the duty with which I am charged of communicating these sentiments.

The distinguished services you have rendered our country in the field and in the cabinet, will cause your person to be dear to us while you live, and your name and memory to be cherished by the latest of our posterity.

In visiting our State, you furnish us with an opportunity of presenting to your view, whatever of interest we may possess. You will find among us many things of which we are proud, and we hope, when you have passed them in review, you may not deem our pride without foundation.

As the cherished objects of our regard, we present our agricultural improvements, our manufacturing establishments, our commercial
arrangements and facilities, our roads and canals, our colleges and schools, our public edifices, our private habitations, our industrious, intelligent and efficient population, our civil, religious and military institutions. In these, and all things which exhibit man as he is, and tend to make him what he should be, we at all times present ourselves for candid and impartial examination.

Ours is an older State than many others of the Union; but we hope the advantages derived from this circumstance have not been unimproved—that our advancement bears a just proportion to our age, and that we may realize all reasonable expectations.

The circuit of the Chief Magistrate through our country, is an event we at all times hail with pleasure. It gives him an opportunity of knowing us, and us an opportunity of knowing him, in particulars which personal intercourse alone can present. The results from this cannot but be beneficial.

We greet you, not only as our Chief Magistrate, but as an individual to whom our country is greatly indebted, and in bidding you, in behalf of the Representatives of the people, a most cordial and hearty welcome, I express not only their and my individual sentiments, but sentiments to which you will find a full and ready response in every class of our community, and in every section of our State.

The citizens present request that you would give them, individually, an opportunity of presenting their congratulations; and the fair daughters of our land request that you would give them an opportunity of presenting their congratulations, and testifying their respect for one who has most signally shewn himself their protector and preserver.

Printed, New Haven Columbian Register, June 22, 1833 (mAJs). AJ reportedly made “a short, but appropriate and feeling reply.” A ladies’ reception, a visit to Yale, and a military review followed.

From Henry Martin et al.

[The Providence Anti-Slavery Society organized in Providence, R.I., on June 7. This address, composed on June 16, was submitted to the Society board, which approved it and designated president Josiah Cady and recording secretary Henry Egbert Benson to present it to Jackson on his visit to the city. Jackson reached Providence on June 20 and left for Boston on June 21. The New York Emancipator, which printed the address, said it was communicated to him in Providence. Jackson’s response, if any, is unrecorded.]

Sir,—

While you are received and welcomed to the pure and healthy air of New-England, by thousands and hundreds of thousands with joyful
faces and lively spirits, there is one class of people, even in these free, northern States, that stay in their humble homes with grief and sorrow; or look on the floating multitudes, that crowd to see your face, with weeping eyes and heavy hearts. But it is not for ourselves, that our eyes are filled with tears and our hearts are heavy. While we see the happy cities and towns, and villages and neighborhoods of New England, elated and delighted by the presence of the supreme Magistrate of United States, we remember the commendation, which he gave to the colored soldiers, who fought with him at the famous battle of New Orleans for our native land and in defence of our common country. In New-England we have our meeting houses, our school-houses, our literary societies and our benevolent associations. Our sentiments and conduct, even against deep rooted prejudices and numerous disadvantages, gain the esteem and friendship of such persons, as regard the principles of truth and justice. We will not disown our divine Creator and say that God is not the Father of our immortal spirits. We will not believe, that we and our beloved children are not human beings and are not made of the same blood, as the people of other nations and of different complexions. We cannot renounce the holy principles, which are the foundation of American liberty and Independence. On these principles we present to your attention the condition and the injuries of our brethren and sisters and their sons and daughters, who live in the district of Columbia and in the territories of Arkansas and Florida. In these places there are twenty-six thousand human beings, fashioned in the image of God, the fitted temples of his Holy Spirit, held by the government in the abhorrent chains of slavery. The power to emancipate them is clear. It is indisputable. It does not depend upon the twenty-five slave votes in Congress. It lies with the free states. Their duty is before them; in the fear of God and not of man let them perform it.

On your present and joyful visit to these free and happy States, we also intreat you, Sir, not to forget the millions of our brethren and sisters, who are still holden in slavery by that very country, which has professed to adopt and extol, almost sixty years, the declaration of Independence with its precious doctrines. The God of heaven and earth, the God of truth and justice and mercy will pity their sorrows and avenge their wrongs. Their tears, their wounds and their blood are before his eyes and on his heart. Can a people be honored and prospered under his holy and supreme government, while they traffic in slaves and souls of men?"

As you fear God and regard man, as you love your country and would be a blessing to this great people, as you would live in honor, die in peace and find rest in heaven, despise not the woes and the sorrows of our injured and afflicted brethren and sisters, who are holden in slavery in the United States of America.
On behalf of twelve hundred colored people in the city of Providence and by a vote, passed at their meeting-house on the evening of the Lord’s Day, 16th June, 1833—signed and presented by their committee.

Henry Martin,
Robert R. Jones,
Charles Gorham,
James Hazard,
Nathan Gilbert.

*Whittier."

Printed, New York Emancipator, July 27, 1833 (mAJs).

1. On December 18, 1814, AJ had reviewed a regiment of free blacks participating in the defense of New Orleans, and his aide Edward Livingston had read them an address:

“Soldiers! From the shores of the Mobile I called you to arms—I invited you to share in the perils and to divide the glory of your white countrymen. I expected much from you, for I was not uninformed of those qualities that must render you so formidable to an invading foe—I knew that you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the hardships of war—I knew that you loved the land of your nativity and that, like ourselves, you had to defend all that is most dear to man—but you surpassed my hopes; I have found in you, united to those qualities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds.

“Soldiers—the President of the United States shall be informed of your conduct on this occasion, and the voice of the representatives of the American nation shall applaud your valour, as your general now praises your ardour. The enemy is near; his “sails cover the lakes;” but the brave are united; and if he finds us contending among ourselves, it will be for the prize of valour and the rewards of fame” (DLC-14; Bassett, 2:119). The Emancipator printed a variant text following its report of the Providence committee address.

2. The six sentences preceding the * at the end of the first paragraph are quoted from John Greenleaf Whittier’s Justice and Expediency; or, Slavery Considered with a View to its Rightful and Effectual Remedy, Abolition (Haverhill, Mass., 1833). Whittier (1807–1892) calculated that 26,196 slaves were held under direct federal jurisdiction in the District of Columbia and in Florida and Arkansas territories. The * at the end of the next paragraph may signify another Whittier quotation.

Address by Andrus & Judd

[On June 17, Jackson and his retinue journeyed from New Haven to Hartford. In the evening at his hotel room, several citizens presented gifts. Silas Andrus (1788–1861) and James Walker Judd (1811–1889), Hartford publishers specializing in Bibles and religious materials, presented a morocco-bound stereotype quarto Bible. Its covers were decoratively embossed in gilt, inscribed “Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, presented by Andrus & Judd, Hartford, Conn.” on the front and “Righteousness Exalteth a Nation” on the back. The publishers addressed Jackson, and he replied.]
Hartford, June 17, 1833.

The publishers of this sacred volume beg leave to present it to the President of the United States,—imploring its author to shed down upon him and our beloved country, that spirit of piety towards God, and of justice and benevolence towards man, which can alone ensure both to rulers and people the divine protection and blessing.

Your Obt. Servants,

ANDRUS & JUDD.

Printed, Hartford Times, June 24, 1833 (mAJs; 23-0042).

Reply to Andrus & Judd

Hartford, June, 17th, 1833.

Gentlemen:

I return you my thanks for the sacred volume you have presented to me; and for the personal kindness you have expressed.

I fervently unite with you in your prayer for our beloved country, and I supplicate Providence to incline the hearts of all our citizens to keep its holy law—to realize the inestimable blessings we enjoy—and to become as distinguished for genuine piety among the nations of the earth as they are for the high favors, national and political, which have been vouchsafed to them.

For myself, Gentlemen, I humbly rely upon the blessing of God to guide me in the performance of the high duties which my countrymen have assigned to me—commending all with all their interests to his care, and not doubting, as he led our Fathers to acquire the Independence we enjoy, he will lead our sons in his own good way to defend and maintain it.

I am very respectfully, Your Obt. Servant,

ANDREW JACKSON.

Printed, Hartford Times, June 24, 1833 (mAJs; 23-0044). The Bible remained in the Jackson family into the twentieth century. In it the family recorded births, marriages, and deaths, including AJ Jr.’s notation of AJ’s death at the Hermitage in 1845 and later entries on the deaths of AJ Jr. in 1865, Sarah in 1887, and their son AJ III in 1906. The Bible now resides in the University of Tennessee Special Collections Library in Knoxville.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Hartford Connecticut
June 17th. 1833—

My Son,

Please to hand the enclosed to my dear Sarah—she will shew it to you.
Give my kind regard to Emily and her sweet little ones; tell her, that her
dear husband is in god health, but wearied with the toils incident to our journey and is anxious to shorten our rout.

I saw my carriage at Newhaven it is well repaired & the repairs paid for, Mr Reesides who is still with us, has promised to forward it from Newyork to Washington, & Mr Brewster is to forward it to Newyork—on its arrival, if before I return, pay the expence for its freight from Newyork.¹

Communicate to Mr Kendall that we have been unable as yet to get all things copied & written out, for the secretary of the Treasury, but will send them from Boston by mail, with which I will write him. I have been obliged from Mr McLanes vews presented, been obliged to make it longer than was anticipated, but all things will be ready in a few days, and as I have recommended the secretary of the Treasury to employ him as the agent to go and make the arrangement with the different Banks, that I hope he will accept of the appointment & I will send on to him a blank to be filled when he leaves his Bureau. All this you are to say in confidence to him or shew him this part of this letter—he will understand it.²

Present me kindly to Major Lewis & say to him I recd. his letter at Newyork but have no time to write him.

Major Donelson, Col Earle & Mr Van Buren all join in kind salutations to you, Sarah, Emily & all the children and Major Lewis. Kiss Sarah & my sweet little Rachel for me, and believe me to be your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P.S. My dear son, pay good attention to Emily & the children while we are absent—be attentive to her & the sweet little ones A. J.

ALS, DLC (43).

¹ This was apparently the carriage that Van Buren had written about on May 2 (above).
² James Reeside (1790–1842) was a prominent Philadelphia mail contractor who had arranged AJ's purchase of a new carriage in 1832 from Brewster, Lawrence & Co., headed by James Brewster (1788–1866). The firm's factory was in New Haven.

From Christopher Grant Champlin et al.

[From Hartford, Jackson proceeded to Norwich and New London on June 18 and to Newport, R.I., on June 19. This welcoming address to Newport was delivered in writing, time not permitting an oral presentation. Jackson left for Providence on the morning of June 20.]

Newport, R. I. June 19th., 1833.

SIR,—

The citizens of the town of Newport welcome the President of the United States. They congratulate themselves upon his visit, and tender to him the respect, and observance due to the Chief Magistrate.
Omitting as superfluous the detail of your universally allowed merits and fame, as a successful and skilful military commander, and your previous diversified services in civil life, it is enough to say that these so endeared you to the American People, as to render you their choice, for the highest office in their gift.

We address you as a citizen twice elected President. If you do not deserve your office, the people can hardly deserve the right of bestowing it, for they deliberately upon a review, of all you had done and contemplated doing in your first Presidency, sustained you for a second election, by increased suffrages and confirmed opinions.

The result of their steadiness and sagacity, was as fortunate for them, as honorable to you. A crisis of difficulty and danger had arisen, to which you were found competent. That crisis developed in you, qualities of character, by which you have shown yourself ready to sacrifice personal connections, and party attachments, upon the altar of your Country’s welfare. As to constitutional doctrines, or remedies, you have to the conviction of a vast majority of the people of the United States, outreasoned, repudiated, and repelled, the heresies of nullification and secession. You could not be ensnared by what was covertly proposed to you, and you intuitively and vigorously asserted “that the union of the States must be preserved.” For this we thank you, and for this our latest posterity will thank you.

We possess too much of the spirit of freemen, and we hope, of the good taste which that spirit generates, to approach you with personal adulation, but permit us to say in sincerity of heart, that as this crisis was to happen, we thank Heaven you were in that station, which enabled you constitutionally to control and avert its danger and malignity.

We advert not to other topics. We will not further intrude upon that time which is now so pressingly devoted to public duty, nor venture to indulge in the expression of feelings of gratitude and regard with which your political course has inspired us.

In the name of our Constituents, the citizens of Newport, we wish you personally health and happiness—and for our Country under your constitutional magistracy, we devoutly implore from Heaven a continuance of its present political prosperity and harmony. With sentiments of the highest respect, We are, Sir, Your fellow-citizens.

CHRIS. G. CHAMPLIN, Chair’n,
ASHER ROBBINS,
WILLIAM HUNTER,
WILLIAM C. GIBBS,
CHARLES COLLINS,

[Twelve more names follow.]
Address by James Richardson

Sir—

The Citizens of Dedham and its vicinity feel honored by the presence, among them, of the Chief Magistrate of the Nation, and with great pleasure tender to him their respectful consideration, and with it the plain and simple hospitalities of the place. And this, as a tribute, not only to exalted station; but to important public services rendered to our common country; particularly in the bravery and military skill displayed in defence of a section of the Union against the attacks of a public enemy—and recently in the recognition and application of sound constitutional principles, and in the firmness and energy manifested when the integrity and security of the Union, the Palladium of our liberties and the only safeguard of general prosperity and of internal peace and tranquility, were threatened. We, one and all, respond to the sentiment that “the Union must be preserved.”

Sir,—The people of Massachusetts inhabit a territory rough and comparatively barren, bordering on the ocean; they were therefore early inspired with a spirit of enterprise, and compelled to practice the virtues of industry and economy, and to place their sole reliance, under Providence, on their own exertions. This necessity generated in them a love of liberty and independence, and a desire to establish institutions favorable to the moral and civic virtues—to science and sound learning. It is hoped, sir, that an acquaintance with the habits, manners and institutions of our people will not lower our character in the estimation of our Chief, and that, returning, he will carry with him some information not entirely useless in guiding his views as to a course of public policy. Finally, we wish him health; and all the enjoyment that such an excursion and the respect of the people in the various sections of the country are calculated to afford—and, that on retiring from his high station, the evening of his life may be cheered by the recollection of all that he has done to promote the security and prosperity of his country.

Printed, Newport Rhode-Island Republican, June 26, 1833 (mAJs). The reception committee had been appointed at a Newport Town Council on June 5 to make such arrangements “as will fully Manifest the attachment of the Citizens of this town to the Union of the States, and their high respect for the Chief Magistrate” (Rhode-Island Republican, June 12, 1833). Champlin (1768–1840) was a former Rhode Island congressman and senator. Asher Robbins (1761–1845) was a sitting U.S. senator, and William Hunter (1774–1849) was a former senator. William Channing Gibbs (1787–1871) was a former Rhode Island governor, and Charles Collins (1773–1845) was a former lieutenant governor.
Richardson (1771–1858) was a lawyer and sometime state legislator. AJ reportedly “made a brief and appropriate reply” and, after further ceremonies, proceeded to Boston.

From Aaron Vail

Private

London 21st. June 1833.

Dear Sir,

I beg leave to communicate to you the substance of a conversation which I had with the Duchess of Kent, mother of the young princess Victoria, heiress apparent to the throne of Great Britain, with whom I had the honor of dining yesterday. Although that conversation was not of a character sufficiently official to be made the subject of a public despatch, I feel convinced, from the tone and manner attending it, that it was intended or desired that you should be made acquainted with its import. Under this conviction, I hope I shall be pardoned for the liberty I take of communicating it directly to yourself.

In the course of the evening, Sir John Conroy, the Duchess’ private Secretary, stated to me that she had declared her intention of making inquiries respecting you, and of apprising me of the interest she takes in your health and welfare, of the regret with which she had heard of the late outrage offered to your person, and of her wishes for the prosperity of the United States for which she entertains the most friendly feelings and great admiration. He said that the Duchess might possibly be prevented from communicating these sentiments to me, in person; but he desired that, if it so happened, I would take what he had said as coming from the Duchess herself, since he felt himself officially authorised to speak for her on the occasion. He adverted, in the course of conversation to the attempts which had been made by a portion of the press to misrepresent the feelings and opinions of the Duchess, to give a false view of her political sentiments, and to prejudice the public mind against the young Princess, her daughter, by representing her as destitute of all moral and physical qualifications for the station to which she was one day to be called. These remarks were likewise made in a tone which satisfied me of the existence of a desire that they should be understood at Washington; and this circumstance led me to state, in answer, that, not a stranger to the misrepresentations of which Sir John had spoken, I had felt pleasure in discovering, so far as my general impressions of things here, and my opportunities of personal observation had enabled me to do so, that injustice had been done to these illustrious persons: That, acquainted as I was with the friendly character of the feelings of my Government towards Great Britain, I felt persuaded that you took great interest in the welfare of the persons who are destined to rule the British Empire; and that the peculiarly interesting situation of
the Princess Victoria and her Mother could not but be viewed in the same light by the American Government and Nation.¹

Soon after, I was desired to go up to the Duchess, and she entered into a conversation with me, in which, with an affability which agreeably characterises her intercourse with society, and with a manner indicative of much interest, she made many inquiries touching your health, your age, your public services and history, and spoke very much in the terms of Sir John Conroy of her admiration and friendly feelings towards the United States, refraining, however, from alluding to herself, personally, or the Princess her daughter. To all this I answered in corresponding language; assured her of the desire felt amongst us to cultivate the most friendly relations with England; and I promised that I would communicate to you the substance of her remarks.

Conversations of this character with private individuals are by no means unfrequent; and, from this circumstance, I would hardly have thought of troubling you with such a communication as this; but the character and station of the person with whom the one detailed above occurred, gives it, to my mind, an importance which makes it my duty to apprise you of its import. The Duchess of Kent is designated by law as the person who, on the death of the present King—an event which may not be very remote—would govern, as Regent, during the minority of her Daughter, which will not expire for four years. A great proof of the public confidence in the character of the Duchess is found in the Act of Parliament which, in that event, confers upon her all the attributes of the regal power, without even the control of a Council,—a circumstance, I believe, unprecedented, or, at least, not common in the history of British Regencies.² Of all the members of the Royal family, no one sustains a purer character than the Duchess of Kent. Without ambition for herself, her most anxious care is that her daughter should be brought up under a proper sense of the responsibilities of her station, and fitted, by education for the discharge of its duties. That she succeeds in this is conceded, I believe, by all parties, whether friendly or hostile to the pretensions of the young Princess, who is supposed no to be entirely free from enemies in the bosom of the Royal family circle.

As this communication must necessarily be of a private and confidential character, should you deem it proper to make some acknowledgment of the sentiments it conveys, it will occur to you that such return would have to be made in a similar manner, for which the means may be easily afforded in conversation between the Diplomatic Agent of the United States here, and the Duchess herself, or the proper officer of her household.

I have the honor to be, Dear Sir, with the greatest respect and esteem, Your faithful & Obedt: Servant

A. Vail
ALS, DLC (43). AJ replied on August 15 (below). Princess Victoria (1819–1901) became Queen of Great Britain on the death of her uncle William IV in 1837. Her mother, Victoria, Duchess of Kent (1786–1861), was the widow of William’s younger brother Edward, who had died in 1820.

1. Sir John Ponsonby Conroy (1786–1854) was the Duchess’s private secretary.
2. Parliament had passed a Regency Act in 1830. It designated the Duchess of Kent as regent if Victoria became queen before age eighteen, giving her all the powers of a monarch except that of assenting to a change in the line of succession or the religious establishment. The law did not take effect, as Victoria came of age shortly before William IV’s death. Previous Regency Acts of 1751 and 1765, likewise unimplemented, had required the regent to govern in conjunction with a Council of Regency. The 1811 Act making George, Prince of Wales, regent for his incapacitated father George III did not require a council, as George (later George IV) was both an adult and himself heir to the throne.

Address by Levi Lincoln

[Jackson arrived in Boston on Friday afternoon, June 21. On Saturday, June 22, he was escorted to the State House, where Massachusetts governor Levi Lincoln (1782–1868) delivered this address.]

Mr. President:

The Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, representing the sentiments and feelings of their constituents, learnt, with great satisfaction, during their recent session, your intention to visit this Section of the Union. Aware that the time proposed for your journey would not allow to the members the desired gratification of personally presenting to you their respectful salutations, by a concurrent and unanimous vote of both branches, the honor of tendering to you the congratulations of the Government, upon your arrival in the Capital, and the hospitalities of the State, during your continuance in it, was specially assigned to the Executive.¹

This office, it is most grateful to me to be permitted to discharge. And I have now the happiness, within these Halls, where the Resolution of the Legislature was adopted, and in the presence of this assembled multitude of your fellow citizens, in the name of the Government and People of the State, to bid you Welcome to Massachusetts!

Welcome, Sir, most cordially welcome to all of interest, which can be here offered, worthy your attention and enjoyment!

We desire to present to you, as the Chief Magistrate of the Nation the evidences of the prosperity of this portion of a common country, over which, by the free suffrages of your fellow citizens, you have, for a second time, been called to preside.

We would point you to our Agricultural resources, and to the condition of an enlightened and independent Yeomanry, the proprietors and cultivators of a rugged yet productive soil, which is, alike, the occasion and the reward of a virtuous and untiring industry.
We would exhibit the amazing results of the progress of that spirit of enterprize and improvement in *Manufactures* and the *Arts*, which has filled every valley with busy population, and made every water fall subservient to the devices of human skill and ingenuity.

We would invite you, at the same time, to observe, in our city and commercial towns, how that *Trade* flourishes in the connexion of domestic product with home consumption, and the exchange of the fabrics of the work-shop for the raw material, which is the growth of every clime.

And more especially, would we commend to your notice, our *Public Institutions*, the Schools and Seminaries of Learning, those noble Monuments of our Fathers’ wisdom, and patriotism, and piety; and the Hospitals, and Charitable Asylums for the relief of the destitute and the afflicted, the beneficent provisions of more recent time.

We speak not of these things in the pride of *local* vanity. They are the legitimate fruits of our happy Republican form of Government, a Government, in the *establishment* of which we rejoice to recognize the active agency of your early years, and to the *support* of which, you have signally contributed, in various important stations in maturer life. They spring, as do all our political and civil enjoyments, from that *National Sovereignty* and *Independence*, which you have so valiantly defended, when assailed by Foreign Foes, and that *Union under the Constitution*, which, with equal patriotism and glory, you no less triumphantly asserted, on a late memorable occasion, against *internal Disaffection and Disloyalty*!

May this visit, undertaken for the purpose of becoming better acquainted, from personal observation, with the interests and sentiments of the People, confirm those patriotic views, which you have expressed, of the mutual dependence of *each* section of the country upon *every* other, for the continuance of the prosperity of *the whole*. And may it be your happiness, as it has been that of your illustrious Predecessors, when the labors and responsibilities of the highest station of earthly distinction shall be laid aside, to enjoy, in the tranquillity and dignity of venerated age, the cherished respect of a Nation of Freemen, benefited by your public life, and grateful for your many services.

Printed, *Boston Evening Transcript*, June 25, 1833 (mAJs; 23-0050). AJ reportedly made a “short but appropriate” reply.

1. The legislature’s March 27 resolves had requested Lincoln “to tender to the President of the United States, if he shall visit this Commonwealth during the present year, the customary hospitalities, and the respectful congratulations of the State” (Resolves of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1833 session, pp. 446–47).
Address by James Boyd

[On the evening of June 22, Jackson received about one hundred members of Boston's Charitable Irish Society at his rooms at the Tremont House. Society president James Boyd addressed Jackson, and Jackson replied.]

Sir,—

The members of the ‘Charitable Irish Society’ of this city, have with much anxiety sought this interview, and now feel very proud in having an opportunity afforded to pay their respects to you personally. Your name, sir, has so long been familiar to them—a subject of the highest admiration to many, and of kind respect to all—that they thought they would be guilty of inhospitality, (a crime which Irishmen do not wish to be chargeable with) did they allow this occasion to pass without visiting you in a body. This Society, sir, is composed exclusively of Irishmen and their direct descendants—a class of citizens in this community not opulent, but I may be allowed to say industrious. We are all, sir, working bees in the hive. We fill the place now that was once occupied by the men who have ‘done the state some service’ in times of peril and of danger—men who did not withdraw themselves from the ranks fighting the battles of Liberty, nor ever withheld the most zealous support to the constitution, and laws, and magistrates of this, our adopted country. We hope, sir, the present generation has not fallen off from the standing maintained by their fathers, and that if occasion required the motto on our banner* would be a promise which would be willingly performed, at any time.

As I have already remarked, Irishmen have never been backward in giving support to the institutions of this country, nor in showing all due respect to the Chief Magistrate thereof, but, when the highest office is held by the son of an Irishman, we must be allowed to indulge some feelings of pride as well as patriotism.

As this is your first visit to the northern portion of the Union, permit us to hope, sir, that you may find much here to please you; that you will return with a knowledge that this community is an industrious, a prosperous and a happy one, and, as we hope the welfare of Irishmen is a subject not uninteresting to you, we may be allowed to say that here we are generally contented. We do our part towards the support of all public institutions, and receive a full share of their benefits.

Allow me, sir, to hope that you may have a safe and pleasant journey till you again reach the centre of the nation. And that the remainder of your life may be as long and happy, as the past has been brilliant and successful.

* ‘Fostered under thy wings,
   We die in your defence’
The above motto is placed on the Society’s Banner, immediately below the figure of the American Eagle.

Printed, Boston Morning Post, June 25, 1833 (mAJs). Boyd (1793–1855) had emigrated from Ireland in 1817. Boston’s Charitable Irish Society, still in existence, was founded in 1737.

1. Shakespeare, Othello, Act 5, Scene 2.

Reply to James Boyd

I feel much gratified, sir, at this testimony of respect shown me by the Charitable Irish Society of this city. It is with great pleasure that I see so many of the countrymen of my father assembled on this occasion. I have always been proud of my ancestry, and of being descended from that noble race, and rejoice that I am so nearly allied to a country which has so much to recommend it to the good wishes of the world. Would to God, sir, that Irishmen on the other side of the great water enjoyed the comforts, happiness, contentment and liberty that they enjoy here.

I am well aware, sir, that Irishmen have never been backward in giving their support to the cause of liberty. They have fought, sir, for this country valiantly, and I have no doubt would fight again, were it necessary: but I hope it will be long before the institutions of our country will need support of that kind. Accept my best wishes for the happiness of you all.

Printed, Boston Morning Post, June 25, 1833 (mAJs). AJ reportedly insisted on shaking hands afterwards despite his fatigue, saying “there are few circumstances that have given me more heartfelt satisfaction than this visit. I shall remember it with pleasure.”

To Benjamin Russell et al.

[On June 12 the Masonic Grand Lodge of Massachusetts voted that a committee headed by Russell should convey to Jackson “our deep and grateful sense of the firm, discreet and honorable manner in which he has sustained his Masonic relations during a period which the enemies of our Institution have rendered somewhat embarrassing to brethren in conspicuous public stations,” and should invite him to visit the Lodge (Boston Mirror, June 29, 1833). Jackson accepted for June 22, but that evening he instead sent this letter.]

Boston, June 22d, 1833.

Brethren:

I anticipated the pleasure of waiting upon the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts this evening and of tendering to them in person my thanks for the cordial terms in which they were pleased to notice my arrival within their jurisdiction: but finding myself a good deal fatigued after the
labors of the day, I must ask their indulgence and beg them to accept in this form the assurance that I justly appreciate their kindness and good will and trust that their interests, as an institution calculated to benefit mankind, may continue to prosper.

I am, very respectfully, your Ob’t. Serv’t.

ANDREW JACKSON.

From James Gadsden

Wascissa 24 June 1833

My Dear General

On my return home last evening from a visit to the Indian Towns on the Appalachicola, I had the gratification to receive your very friendly letter of the 29th ulto. I regret exceedingly the decision of the Attorney General in the case of St Marks, as it will postpone the Commercial prospects, ultimately connected with the Agricultural prosperity of this section of Florida for another year.1

We have labored under many disadvantages for the want of a suitable site for a Commercial depot, and now that the export of this division of our Territory has become respectable, amounting the last year to 10,000 Bales Cotton, we begin to feel sensibly the tribute we have to pay for want of transporting facilities, and a home market. Though the validity of Mitchels claim may have been very considerably strengthened by the decision of the Supreme Court in the Aredondo Case, I cannot but think the right to St Marks as included within the Mitchel claim is a distinct question from the validity of the grant. The grant may possibly be pronounced good & yet the claim to the Fort, as part of the grant denied & sustained. Indeed the council for the claimants in their argument before the Superior Court of this Territory acknowledged that the Fort was not included, being well convinced, no doubt, that any preposterous claim set up for the Fort, might possibly prejudice the validity of the grant. Would not such a pretension afford presumptive evidence against the validity of the whole grant? Is it reasonable to suppose, or even probable that the Spanish King would have given away to Individuals, one of his own fortresses, erected at considerable expense, at that period guarrisoned and

• June 1833 •
for ought he knew an important point, as one of the Keys to the defence of his Colony. However these are questions for the Council to argue and the Court to decide.2

The views which you have taken with regard to the influence of the large & fraudulent grants on the interests of this Territory are strictly correct. I wish they could have long since been adjudicated, for I fear they may possibly have an injurious effect on our politics as well as our Territorial prosperity. The report which had reached you was true. White has been elected by a majority, it is supposed, of between 200 & 300 votes. All the returns have not yet been received & the result of course not officially announced. The cause of Call's defeat I am incapable of explaining. In this quarter he received very handsome majorities; but in the Counties of Gadsden & Escambia, his friends were greatly disappointed in their expectations.3 To be candid with you My Dear General, the political world seems to be in violent agitation; the sea of discord in terrible commotion; Some Individuals, but very few in number, moving on settled & defined principles, some in opposition to all principles. Many altogether on measures without regard to consequences; and too many adhering exclusively to persons & selfish considerations, connected with their individual aggrandisement or personal benefit. Office, office & their emoluments are to these the sole stimulants to their exertions in favor of a Candidate for public station; and he who bids highest is sure of their support That genuine love of country which looks to public good as the sole guide to the selection of public agents is deemed in these days almost romance. Hence the Candidate, to be successful, must endeavor to harmonise with these conflicting influences. He must sacrifice his independence, he must conceal or disguise his sentiments. In short he must play the political hypocrite and convert into instruments, all those who would make an instrument of him

O Tempora. O mores.4

I have just concluded my public Agency by an arrangement with the remaining Towns on the Appalachicola which I trust will prove satisfactory to you. The Conditions were the best I could obtain and I found that the difficulties of effecting any negotiation with them (owing to improper interferences) were increasing with delay. I will write however more fully on the subject in a final report I shall make to the Sct War. Nothing now remains for freeing Florida, in due time, of her Red Population but the judicious & faithful execution of the Treaties which have been negotiated These duties will of course devolve on the Executive of the Territory as Ex officio Superintendent of Indian affairs. The Governor, who is now absent in Kentucky, will return no doubt in time to attend to the business, for with a due regard to the peculiarity of the Seasons of our southern country; it would not be advisable to make a move much before October.5

A premature step in the affair might embarrass the subsequent arrangements, & should any of the party get sick in August or September, as
would be very probable, it might have a very unhappy effect on the Indians generally. We should patiently await therefore the healthy months of the year for removing our Red Bretheren.

I regret very much your late indisposition and sincerely hope your northern & Eastern journey may so invigorate and renew your health as to fit you for the burthensome labors of the remaining term of your public life. That the future days of your Administration may be less turbelent than the past, that our constitution be restored to its original purity; That the Government be conducted with the spirit with which it was framed, and the Union preserved & perpetuated by the general affections of the People & not by the authority of Courts, or the bayonets of the majority, is the sincere prayer of one who manifests as he has always done, his independent & disinterested friendship by making known, in candor, his disagreements in opinion with you, whenever his judgement has led him to differ. I know this is not the creed of the day—but to me the consciousness of being honest, and sincere, carries with it more gratification than the temporary honors which deceived authority; or a misguided People could bestow. It is not office; but the manner in which its duties are discharged which confers distinction—and I am satisfied it must be daily disgusting to you, to witness so many hungry expectants for station resting their claims not so much on the merits & qualifications they possess, as upon the prejudices excited against those of their competitors, or upon the chances of vacancies by the slanderous abuse of incumbents.

I wrote you some time since as to the state of the Lower Creeks, so far as the information received could be relied on. I gave you, my authority, without any intention of adding to it, for I had no personal knowledge of the facts. I only advert to the subject now in consequence of a communication from Mr Wescott a day or two since stating that he had named me to you, as a proper person as commissioner to treat with the Creeks, if another negotiation was to be attempted. He did this without consultation with me, & least your attention should be directed to me by the suggestion of Mr Wescott, I embrace this occasion to say that any further employment on Indian treaties would not be acceptable to me. You well know it is not an office in which the negotiator has little reputation to acquire and many, many, disagreeable collisions to encounter. With the Creeks, considering the rage for speculation, growing out of the late Treaties with them; the number of persons who have already made purchases under that compact; and the number of emigrants still attracted to that Country with the hope of procuring, and on reasonable terms, good settlements; the difficulties and unavoidable collisions would be greatly encreased. My principal motive for acting with the Seminoles was from the anxiety I felt of having them removed from the country in which they resided. Their stay among us was prejudicial to the best interests of the Territory, and I was very willing to make an effort, & endure for a time all the unpleasant
occurrences connected with Indian negotiations, with a view of effecting an object so important to Florida. I rejoice, I feel relieved, that I have got through with it—and I have only to hope that the manner in which I have discharged the responsible trust has met with your approbation. I made the best arrangements which could be effected and already are interested Agents active in persuading the Indians that if they are obstinate & break the Treaty the Government will make a more favourable one with them. I mention this having heard it from the acting Governor Mr Wescott, & should the difficulty anticipated occur, I trust no new negotiation will be listened to, but that the Seminoles be compelled to adhere to the terms of their agreement. It was made in open council; in the presence of many witnesses, no improper influences were used, but an appeal made direct to their understandings & interests, accompanied with an expression of a wish from you as their Great father, that they should remove to a country where you could protect them. I will send however copies of my Talks, for they were preserved in writing to the Sct War, so that he may be advised as to all the facts connected with the negotiations I was engaged in.

I have witnessed with regret & astonishment the outrage committed by Randolph on your person. By this act he has afforded palpable evidence to the community of his unworthiness for that station from which you had dismissed him. Individually however I think the evidence & facts developed on the Court of Enquiry in his case exceedingly injurious to his character—and from that alone he merited what he had received.

Mrs Gadsden is improving but slowly from the injury received the last summer. She is not yet able to walk without the assistance of her crutch. Should she be well enough to travel this fall I must endeavor to recruit her health by a visit to our friends & Relatives in Carolina where we may probably spend the winter, & perhaps be tempted to take up our final abode should the aspect of affairs in this Territory not improve.7

My friends, presuming that our Governor has no intention of resigning, are very desirous that I should again permit my name to be presented as a Candidate for Congress. I think it premature to agitate the question, particularly before the result of the late election has been officially announced. These however are questions which I have always left to the decision of those most interested—or to the discretion of the appointing power. I have ever been incapable of urging any personal claims; or of pretending to qualifications of which those who wish to employ them should be the judge. I have always been willing however to serve my country & must confess that the active public life which I have led for the last 15 years has almost unfit me for the dull & retired station of a Florida Planter. Had it not been for the gross injustice done me by many of the members of the then Senate of the US. I might probably have still been in the pursuit of a profession more congenial with my habits & tastes than that of ploughing the soil or of subduing the Forest.8
I have been hurried into a long letter, the perusal of which can only be a tax upon your time & patience[.]. I remain your friend

James Gadsden

[Endorsed by AJ:] Gadsden—

ALS, DLC (43).

1. St. Marks on the Florida Gulf coast had been a Spanish fortress. On March 2, Congress had passed a law establishing the town of St. Marks and providing for the survey and sale of town lots, on condition that the site was not encumbered by Spanish title (Statutes, 4:664–65). Gadsden had written AJ on May 3 urging an early sale (THi, 22-1275). However, on May 28 Attorney General Taney advised waiting until the Supreme Court ruled in the pending case of Mitchel v. U.S. (TPUS, 24:855). Trader Colin Mitchel (1783–1837) claimed roughly 1.25 million acres in Florida, including St. Marks, under a Spanish grant. He had lost in the Superior Court of Florida's Middle District but had appealed, and the Supreme Court had recently upheld a similar claim in U.S. v. Arredondo (31 U.S. Reports 691).

2. The Mitchel case was postponed while the U.S. continued efforts to procure relevant documents from Spanish archives in Havana. The Supreme Court upheld Mitchel's claim in 1835 but excepted the fortress of St. Marks and its immediate environs, to which his attorneys had disclaimed title (34 U.S. Reports 711–63). Meanwhile, in June 1834 Congress had ordered the sale of some St. Marks town lots as soon as possible (Statutes, 4:727–28). Mitchel's attorney was Joseph Mills White (1798–1839), Florida's territorial delegate to Congress.

3. In the May election for territorial delegate to Congress, incumbent White had defeated Richard Keith Call (1792–1862), AJ's friend and former military aide and the present receiver of the Tallahassee land office. AJ wrote Call on July 14 (below).

4. Roughly “Oh, the times! Oh, the customs!,” from Cicero's first oration against Catiline.

5. On June 18, Gadsden had concluded a treaty with a band of Apalachicola Indians, who ceded their land along the river in return for individual reserves or a $3,000 payment if they chose to remove (Indian Treaties, 2:398–99). In May 1832, Gadsden had concluded the Treaty of Payne's Landing with the Seminoles. It provided for the relinquishment of all their Florida lands and their removal within three years at federal expense to the western Creek country, contingent on their acceptance of the new western country and on the Creeks' willingness to reunite with them (Indian Treaties, 2:344–45). Gadsden wrote Secretary of War Cass on July 6. He complained of difficulties and interference in his recent negotiations and declined any further part in Indian affairs (SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 4, pp. 458–60, Serial 247).

6. Florida governor William P. Duval had left for his home state of Kentucky in April. Territorial secretary James Diament Westcott Jr. (1802–1880) acted as governor in his absence. Enoch Parsons wrote AJ about the troubles in Alabama Creek country on September 21 (below).

7. Gadsden's wife was Susanna Gibbes Hort Gadsden (1786–1856). Both Gadsdens were South Carolina natives.

8. Gadsden had run unsuccessfully against White for congressional delegate in 1827, 1829, and 1831. Gadsden had left the Army after the Senate in 1822 twice rejected his nomination by Monroe to be Adjutant General in the newly reduced peacetime military establishment.
Andrew Jackson Donelson to Francis Preston Blair

[Citing indisposition, Jackson cancelled several engagements on June 23. He developed a headache and fever that night, and on June 24 he was treated by noted Boston physician John Collins Warren (1778–1856). On June 26 he resumed his schedule, attending ceremonies at Harvard University and the Bunker Hill monument that had originally been planned for June 24. He continued on to Salem on June 26, to Lowell on June 27, and to Concord, N.H., on June 28.]

25th. June 1833

Dr. Sir,

The President was confined to his room yesterday from cold. He was bled and took some light purgative medicine under the advice of Dr. Warren, and is this morning much better. The weather however is so unfavorable that he will not pursue his journey to Concord earlier than tomorrow by which time it is expected that he will regain his usual strength.

You will no doubt be led to apprehend from the reports in circulation that his safety has been endangered by the fatigue of his journey. It is not so. Altho’ the fatigue has been great, it is far less than he could have borne, as was proved by the gradual improvement of his health until he reached Boston, where we met rain and one of those cold easterly winds from the ice off New Foundland which is so much dreaded by all strangers.

It is desirable that the President should return as soon as possible to the warmer climate of Washington; and he will no doubt on this account shorten his tour. You shall have notice of his determination as soon as it is formed.

Present my respects to Mrs. B. & your family, & believe me sinly yr.

A J Donelson

ALS, DLC (43). Blair’s wife was Eliza Violet Gist Blair (1794–1877).

To William John Duane

[On June 9, Amos Kendall, who had been with Jackson in Baltimore, wrote Martin Van Buren, who would join Jackson in New York. Kendall said that Jackson “seems to have made up his mind” to remove federal deposits from the Bank of the United States, but “as to the manner and time he is not so well satisfied” (Van Buren Papers, DLC). Kendall therefore outlined a plan and rationale for the removal for Van Buren’s consideration.

This letter from Jackson to his new Treasury secretary closely recapped Kendall’s plan. Kendall also at some time supplied a first draft of the longer letter to Duane (immediately below) that Jackson enclosed]
My dear Sir,

I send you herewith a paper containing my views upon the subject of a discontinuance of the Government deposits in the bank of the U. States, and the substitution of certain State Banks as the fiscal agents of the U. States so far as those duties are now performed by that institution.

The only difficulty I have for some time had upon the subject has been as it respects the time when this change should commence. Upon a careful review of the subject in all its bearings, I have come to the conclusion, that it ought to be done as soon as we can get ready, and at farthest by the 1rst. or 15th. of September next, so that we may have it in our power to present the new system to Congress in complete & successful operation at the commencement of the session.

In the furtherence of this object it is in my opinion desirable, that you should appoint a discreet agent to proceed forthwith, with proper credentials from your Department, to the Cities of Baltimore Philadelphia, Newyork, and Boston to consult with Presidents & Directors of the State Banks in those cities, upon the practicability of making an arrangement with them, or some of them, upon something like the following terms. viz,

1rst. That one Bank be selected in Baltimore one in Philadelphia, two in Newyork, and one in Boston, with a right on the part of the Government, to add one in Savannah one in Charleston, S. C., one in the state of Alabama, one in Neworleans, & one in Norfolk, upon their exceeding acceding to the terms proposed, which shall receive the deposits in those places respectively, and be responsible to the Government for the whole public Deposits of the United States.

2nd. That those Banks shall have the right by a convention of their Presidents or otherwise, to select all the Banks at other points throughout the United States in which the public money shall be deposited, with an absolute negative by the Secretary of the Treasury.

3. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall have power to discontinue the Deposits in any Bank, or Banks, or break up the whole arrangement whenever he may thing proper, he giving in such case the longest notice of his intention to do so, which the public interest may admit of.

4. That the primary & secondary Banks shall make returns of their entire condition to the Secretary of the Treasury monthly, or as much oftener as he may require, and report to the Secretary Treasurer weekly the State of his Deposits and that they will also subject themselves to a
critical examination of their Books and transactions by the Secretary of the Treasury, or an authorised agent, whenever the Secretary may require it.

5th. That the arrangement of the Government be only with the primary Banks which shall be responsible to it, not only for the safety of the entire deposits whenever made, but for making payments at any place in the U. States, without charge to the government, in gold & silver, or its equivalent, of any sum which may required there to be paid by the Secretary of the Treasury; that they will also pay any expenses that may attend the removal of the deposits, as also the compensation and expenses of any agent temporary or permanent, whom the Secretary may appoint to examine into their affairs.

6th. That they will render or cause to be rendered, without charge, every service which can now be lawfully required of the Bank of the United States.

7th. It would be inconvenient to employ all the State Banks in good credit at the places designated for the location of the primary Banks, but it is nevertheless extremely desirable to secure their good will and friendly co-operation. The importance of that object is too obvious to require elucidation. It is supposed that it could might be accomplished by an arrangement between the primary Banks, & the other institutions in their immediate vicinity, by which, in consideration of an assumption by them of a share of the responsibilities assumed by the primary Banks, an equitable share, all proper circumstances considered, of the benefits of the public Deposits would be secured to the other institutions referred to. This might be done by allowing them respectively a credit at the selected Banks, equal to their share of the deposits, taking into view the amount of capital, the trouble of the primary banks, & all other circumstances entitled to consideration. If such arrangement could be made it would secure not only, but increase the actual security of the government, but consolidate the entire mass of the mercantile community of the principal cities in favor of the system, & place its success and permanency beyond contingency. If the negotiation upon the subject is, in the first instance, opened with delegations from all the Banks in the cities refered to, and them candidly informed of the desire of the Government, to award facilities and extend equal benefits to all, but that in case of failure to make such an arrangement it would have to select, at its own pleasure, the requisite number, there is reason to hope the arrangement would be brought about. Amos Kendall Esq would, in my opinion, be a proper person to be employed in the proposed negotiation. These views will be viewed & regarded by you as suggestions for your consideration only, and will if adopted without doubt be considered rendered more compleat and effectual by such modification and additions as may present themselves to your own mind.

You will at once perceive that it is not my wish to remove from the bank of the U. States the funds of the government which may happen to
be in deposit there when the proposed change takes place otherwise than as they may be wanted for the service of the government, but that they be exclusively drawn upon for that object until they are exhausted.

In making to you my dear Sir, this frank & explicit avowal of my opinions & feelings, it is not my intention to interfere with the independent exercise of the discretion committed to you, by law, over the subject. I have thought it however due to you under the circumstances to place before you, with this restriction, my sentiments upon the subject, to the end that you may upon my responsibility allow them to enter into your decision upon the subject, and into any future exposition of it, as far as you may then deem it proper. I have the honor to be very respectfully your most obdt. servt. & friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (64). Copy by AJ Donelson, DLC (43). Copy by Duane, PPAmP-Duane Family Collection (mAJs); Duane Narrative and Correspondence, pp. 12–14.

To William John Duane

[This letter was enclosed with the one above. Amos Kendall had supplied a first draft, on which Van Buren and others entered changes. The sent letter, in Andrew J. Donelson’s hand, was begun in New York on June 14 and signed by Jackson and sent from Boston on June 26. It was not a clean text, containing occasional words and several lengthy passages that had been copied from Kendall’s draft and then changed or blotted out. Also extant are a copy by Donelson and Andrew Jackson Jr., retained in Jackson’s papers (DLC-42), and a copy made by Duane, the recipient, who later published it. Printed here in order of composition are Kendall’s original draft, without later corrections; some separate insertions by Martin Van Buren; and the sent letter, omitting crossed-out text.]

Draft by Amos Kendall

[Kendall’s draft is missing pages at both beginning and end. Its extant part begins in the middle of what became the eighth paragraph in the sent letter. The only corrections shown here were made by Kendall. However, in places where language has been simply crossed out without replacement, it is not possible to determine whether the excision was made by Kendall before submitting the draft or by others later on.]

all the functions which the U.S. Bank now performs or which may be required of it by the government. They cannot so effectually concentrate the money power, or political influence, as a Bank of the United States under any form, and of any character
It is, therefore, the desire of the President, that you should immediately turn your attention to the making of such arrangements as will enable it the government to carry on all its fiscal operations through the agency of the state banks.

Connected with this subject is the question of a removal of the public deposits from the Bank of the United States. That such a removal must at length take place, is admitted by all those who acquiesce in the decision of the American people at the last presidential election. The question is merely one of time, and this must be determined by the condition and worthiness of the Bank and the policy of the government in relation to the future disposition of its funds.¹

At the beginning of the year 1831, the aggregate debt due the Bank of the United States was $42,402,304. Although it was well aware, that the government designed shortly to call out nearly all of its the large deposit to it then had in Bank for the purpose of paying the public debt, and that its charter would expire in a few years, it scattered its nevertheless proceeding to increase its loans in such profusion that in May 1832, the debt due to it had increased to $70,428,070, showing an increase in sixteen months of $28,026,766 or equal to about sixty six per cent.²

The motive of this enormous extension of loans can no longer be doubted. It was unquestionably to gain power in the country and force the government through the influence of its debtors to grant it a new charter.

The effect of the extension was to put it out of the power of the Bank promptly and faithfully to discharge pay over the public money received by it upon the demand of the government in discharge of the public debt. The expedients to which the Bank it resorted to sustain itself under the this unprecedented extension of its business and the pretences by which it has attempted to excuse justify them, have proved it to be unworthy of trust or credence.

It will be recollected that the greatest extension of the business of the Bank was in May 1832. It has since been proved by its official acts and correspondence, that in March 1832, two months before the extension had arrived at its maximum, a negotiation was commenced with the agents representing about $1,700,000 of the three per cent stocks held in Holland and about $1,000,000 held elsewhere, with the object of relieving the Bank from its payment for one or more years after it might be required to be paid by the government and enabling it to maintain its business in its full extent if not to increase its loans still further. After this negotiation had been commenced, a notice from the Treasury Department that the government intended to pay off one half of the three per cent stocks on the first of July succeeding, brought the President of the Bank to Washington for the purpose of soliciting a postponement of that payment until the first of the succeeding October. Upon the his representation that in case the payment were required in July, the Bank would be unable to accommodate the debtors of the government especially in New York, as

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²
it had done and desired still to do, and upon his undertaking on the the part of the Bank to pay the interest for the quarter, the his request of the Bank was granted. By developements since made, it appears that not even the usual indulgence had been or was thereafter extended to the debtors of the government at others at New York or elsewhere, their accommodations having been largely curtailed, and that the only conceivable motive of the Bank in asking the indulgence and agreeing to pay for it, was its own inability, with convenience or safety, to pay over a portion of the large public deposit on the 1st of July.3

This indulgence granted by the Bank, was not as extensive as the condition of the Bank seems to have required. The negotiation with the agent of the Dutch holders of the three per cents was continued; and early in the month of July, when the Bank understood that the government intended to pay off the whole of the three per cents in the latter part of the year, a mission to England was secretly projected with the view of secretly negotiating with the holders of those stocks residing abroad not and inducing them by the payment of an interest equal to that paid by the government, or greater if necessary, not to present their certificates for payment for one year at least. The Messenger of the Bank sailed for Europe in July, with instructions instructed to make the arrangement at all events, and on the 22d August entered into an agreement with the house of Baring, Brothers and Co. by which, in consideration of the payment of all expenses and a commission of one half per cent by the Bank, they undertook—

1. To invite the holders of the three per cent stock of the United States to retain their stock until October 1833, the Bank paying the interest quarterly—

2. To buy up the said three per cents on behalf of the Bank, the Barings retaining the certificates, and passing their amount to the debit of the Bank which undertook to pay any interest they might be obliged to pay—

3. To give the Bank a credit in addition to its running credit, for a sum sufficient to make up $5,000,000, if the purchased and deferred stock should fall short of that sum, charging the same interest as in their general running account with the Bank, their whole advances to be reimbursed by the Bank in October 1833.

The first item of this agreement was in direct violation of the duty of the Bank to the government, inasmuch as it was an interference, without its knowledge or consent, to prevent the payment of the national debt at the period when it was required, the stockholders being permitted as one article of the contract with them, to retain their certificates. This was the less excusable in the Bank, because the public the amount required to be paid on the 1st Oct. was but $9,000,000 less than about $9,000,000, when the public deposits at the time the Messenger was sent to England and the agreement was formed, exclusive of the deposits of public officers and that for payment of the public debt exceeded $11,600,000 and on the
first October when the payment and on the first October had increased to $13,661,193.

The second item of the agreement was a direct violation of the charter of the Bank which forbids the purchase by it of the public stocks of the United States.4

The substance of the three items of this agreement, specifically set forth, was received by the President of the Bank in a letter from the Messenger about the first October 1832, the time at which the payment of two thirds of the three per cent stocks was required by the government to be made. The arrangement, relieving the Bank from the necessity of making payments in October and the succeeding January to the amount of $5,000,000, or providing means to meet them other than the usual resources of the Bank, enabled it to change its policy, measurably suspend its curtailments and in some quarters extend its accommodations. These steps, taken immediately upon receipt of the substance of the agreement, indicate that the Bank sanctioned the act of its agent and did not then contemplate any disavowal or change in its terms.

This negotiation had been commenced and consummated without the knowledge of the government. The agreement formed, was even concealed from the directory of the Bank, and they were induced by other considerations urged by the President to change the policy of the institution when the only real reason of the President for urging that change and producing it. About the 12th of October through the publication of the Circular sent out by the Barings in pursuance of their agreement with the Bank, the government and directory of the Bank obtained the first intimation of this transaction. It was now evident that the whole transaction all its features must come to light; and three days afterwards, the President of the Bank wrote a letter to the Barings disavowing so much of the agreement as related to the purchase of stocks and proposing a new arrangement in relation to the deferred stock which should at the same time relieve the government from its responsibility and the Bank from the payment of the money at least for one year.

From that time forward the Bank has been struggling to retrace its steps and rid itself of its first secret and unauthorized agreement. It has procured most of the certificates and surrendered them to the government; but has made new arrangements, avoiding the payment of money for them to a large amount, which further proves and confirms the inability of the Bank to pay over the public money on deposit when it was required. If the new arrangement proposed in relation to the purchased stock and other stock which the Barings were requested to purchase under certain circumstances, has been carried into effect, it is in fact as much a purchase and as much a violation of the charter as the first transaction.

The President thinks the conclusion cannot be resisted, that it was the purpose of the Bank or its chief managers, to carry into effect the illegal
contract with the Barings, and that this result was prevented only by the publicity casually given of the transaction; and he does not think that any confidence is due to an institution which is ready to violate its charter and thwart the payment of the public debt, provided the means and manner by which it operates can be concealed from the government and the country. Nor has it reco Nor does it recommend itself to public confidence when it alledges as a reasons for these various negotiations and arrangements a desire to accommodate the public debtors, which it never did, and to avert the evils of a pestilence which had neither appeared nor was anticipated when they were first originated. Least of all can the government place any confidence in its representations, when it has attempted, without the least foundation in fact, to attribute its own illegal and unauthorized acts to suggestions made by the government itself.

The President looks upon these transactions as conclusive proof of the inability of the Bank, during the year 1832, to refund to the government its public deposit for the payment of the public debt, as it was its duty to do. And he considers the pretences and misrepresentations by which it has attempted to cover up and conceal their true reasons cause from the government and country, as proving it to be unworthy of public trust.

Not the least obnoxious part of these transactions is the object for which the Bank sought to retain the public deposit and postpone the payment of the public debt. It had used the money of the people in extending its loans $28,000,000 in sixteen months, for the purpose of bringing the people within its power. It had bought up secured to its interest editors and presses by extraordinary loans upon unusual terms. By the same means, it had sought to procure the friendship and support of public men who might have an influence or a vote upon the question of its recharter. It had taken a resolution by money—by the money of the people—to control public opinion, overawe the government and secure a continuance of its unconstitutional power and unjust monopoly. By the use of the public funds as well as its own, it was attempting to control public opinion and corrupt or overawe the government. It begged indulgence of the government that it might control it by the use of its own funds as the means of controlling it and when those funds could no longer be retained with its consent, it sought to keep them without its consent by secret arrangements with its the public creditors residing in the eastern world Europe, and when detected in this, resorted to direct loans from foreigners the subjects of foreign monarchies to enable it to govern and control the American people free people of the United States and their government accomplish the same ends.

It was when its loans and accommodations were at approximating to the highest pitch point that it the Bank came before the government for a recharter, and they reached their maximum while the subject was under consideration in Congress. With debtors to the amount of seventy millions of dollars, it threw itself into the political arena and submitted its case to
the people of the United States. Its presses poured forth their arguments and predictions of mischief from the veto of the President; it expended its money in the publication and distribution of political essays affecting the question of recharter and impeaching the acts of the Executive; the most direful evils were predicted and anticipated by its advocates from its destruction; and every effort which money could command or zeal render, was made to secure in its favor the verdict of the American people. In this struggle it was sustained not only by its own funds but by a public deposit of $12,000,000. It was to be expected that after being defeated in a struggle so tremendous, it would have acquiesced in a decision which it had sought and provoked, and without further exerting its power or spreading its corruptions, upon the government, the press, or the people would have been content quietly to wind up its concerns. Contrary to this just expectation, its organs and advocates declare it to be again in the field, seeking to overrule by an arbitrary act of the agents of the people the solemn decision of the people themselves. It has been increasing its accommodations to the managers of the press, and favoring public men with extravagant and extraordinary accommodations and loans, and is seeking to strengthen itself by loans without good security to men of desperate characters if not of desperate fortunes. The chief loans for unusual terms, and on doubtful security. While the transactions which one year ago it took so much pains to explain and defend, have proved to be unsound by the notorious bankruptcy of the parties, it persists in their repetition and extension. The chief business of the Bank, instead of being performed by “at least not less than seven directors” according to command of the charter, and by direction of the rules, has been done by committees as enjoined by the charter and in accordance with the rules has been done by committees whose proceedings are concealed from the Board. To cut off all channels of communication with the government in relation to its acts and abuses, not one of the five government directors was, at the commencement of the present year, appointed upon a single committee. And when those government directors sought to reform the abuse and restore the business of the Bank to the Board of Directors, according to law and its own rules, that Board, instead of changing the practice to conform to the rule, changed the rule so as to conform it to the practice, thus not only in practice but by a positive rule violating, repealing and setting aside an express and material provision in the act of Congress which gave it existence. Although at a more recent period and by an unusual remodelling of the committees, a part of the government directors have been placed upon two some of them, yet in the Exchange Committee, through which most of the extraordinary loans referred to have been made, the government is still wholly without representation. In these recent acts of the Bank, independent of all former transactions, are found sufficient reasons for the government to withdraw from it all confidence and support.
The allegation recently so often promulgated under the sanction of the Bank that the Treasury of the United States was exhausted and insolvent might have when it has not, within the last and present year, had less than seven six millions of public money in its vaults, might have been passed over as a harmless misrepresentation; but when it seeks by substantial acts to impair the credit and depreciate the honor of their country at home and abroad, the affair assumes a different aspect. A Bill was drawn by the United States on the government of France for about $900,000 being the amount due to the former from the latter under the late treaty of indemnity. The Bank became the purchaser of the Bill, and but the proceeds of the first instalment then due under the late treaty of indemnity. The Bank became the purchaser of the bill, and it was accompanied as required by treaty with an order of the President formally executed, authorizing the Cashier of the Bank or his assignee to receive the proceeds of the. But the money for which the Bill was sold, instead of being drawn out by the government, remained in the Bank without ever being brought into the Treasury. The French government, contrary to all calculation, suffered the Bill to be protested, and it was paid out of the funds of the Bank by their agent in Paris. The Bank not only exulted through its officers, organs and advocates for this wrong done to the government and country, but without having incurred any damage save a trifling expense and a trifling disappointment, have claimed of the government, without law and contrary to right, fifteen per cent for damages amounting to about $135,000 with interest. This it does, although it has had the use not only of the proceeds of the Bill, but of a public deposit equal to seven or eight millions of dollars during the whole time free of charge. This claim and the spirit in which it is presented, ill become an institution which was created for the convenience of the government, has had for ten years an average public deposit of near nine millions of dollars which it has used without charge in loans and exchanges at great profit, and even now has thus in use more than about eight millions of public money.

By these misrepresentations and acts on the part of the Bank the President thinks it has forfeited all claim to the confidence of the government and people of the United States, and ought not to be longer retained in their service. Its representations are not to be confided in and its fidelity to the interests of the government is more than questionable. In these considerations alone may be found sufficient reasons for ceasing to employ it in the fiscal operations of the Treasury Department.

But it is not so much the demerit of the Bank as the interests of the government and American people which ought to guide the policy of the government towards that institution. Whatever may have been its own conduct, if the public interest is safe and will be promoted by its employment as a public agent, then the connexion between it and the government ought not to be dissolved.
In his Message at the opening of the last session of Congress, the
President recommended “an inquiry into the transactions of the institu-
tion, embracing the branches as well as the principal bank” with a view
of ascertaining whether it was any “longer a safe depository of the money
of the people.”

The apprehension intended here to be expressed was, not that upon a
final settlement of all its concerns if the Bank would not be able to pay
the government the amount of its deposit, but simply that if it was unable
or unwilling to pay over that deposit when demanded by the government
for the public service, of the public, in either of which events it must be
pronounced unsafe.

The Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representa-
tives to which the subject was referred, did not make the general investigation rec-
ommended by the President. They confined themselves chiefly to the trans-
actions relative to the three per cent stocks and elicited many facts tend-
ing rather to increase than diminish the apprehensions before previously
entertained. In the slight attention paid by them to the general concerns
of the institution, several important facts of the same tendency were dis-
closed, particularly in relation to the means by which the Bank it had kept
up the appearance of great strength during the year 1832 and the char-
acter of its western debt. In all the facts developed by the committee,
the President finds cause rather of increased apprehensions for the safety
of the public interests if the connection between the government and bank
be further maintained than of any abatement of those expressed in his
Message. It is true that the House by a large majority
of Representatives, without examining or having an opportunity to examine on account of
the lateness of the session and their not being printed the report of the
Majority or Minority or the evidence upon which their respective views
the views of either the Majority or Minority were maintained, declared, by
a large majority, that in their opinion the public deposits were safe in that
institution. That expression of opinion, though entitled to much respect,
is neither conclusive nor obligatory upon the Executive Department, if the
state of its information leads to a different conclusion. It is deemed of the
less weight now, because the subsequent conduct of the Bank has evinced
the continued disposition of the its determination to persist in and to con-
tinue and to perpetuate the abuses which have heretofore given just cause
of complaint, to misrepresent its own condition and that of the Treasury,
and to impair the credit of the government itself and extort money from
it without law or just pretense.

But the President does not admit, that the absence of safety is insecurity
of the public deposits is the only reason which will justify their removal
from the Bank of the United States. He thinks that the use of the means
and power which they give to corrupt the press and public men, to con-
trol popular elections, to procure a recharter contrary to the decision of
the people, and to gain possession of the government which it was created
to serve, are ample reason for taking from substantial reasons requiring
their removal. He thinks that reasons equally conclusive may be found,
in the exclusion of the government directors from all participation in the
principal business of the bank, performing in secret committees that which
should be done in full board, and cutting off, as far as possible from the
government, all knowledge of its material transactions and the condition
of the its debt. But the strongest and controlling reason in the mind of the
President is the necessity of organizing a new scheme for the collection,
deposit and distribution of the public revenue, based upon the state banks
and making a fair experiment of its practicability before the expiration of
the charter of the existing bank, that the country may have a fair oppor-
tunity to determine whether any Bank of the United States be necessary
or not.

The President has weighed with great care the reasons which have been
urged from all quarters against removing severing at present, the connec-
tion between the Bank and the government.

A leading reason assigned is, that the Bank of the United States has
the power and in that event will have the disposition, to crush the state
Banks, particularly those which may be selected by the government to
as the depositories of its funds, and thus cause wide spread distress and
ruin throughout the United States. If this apprehension be well founded,
it proves two things of fearful import: First, that the Bank of the United
States has the power to produce accomplish the ruin of the state banks
and cause general bankruptcy and ruin distress among the people; and
secondly, that there is a disposition to exercise that power, unless its for-
bearance be purchased by that of the government. A conviction that these
things are so, instead of inducing the President to forbear, would only
make him the more determined, by all means legitimately in his power, to
cripple and destroy resist a corporation, which, altogether irresponsible
to the people, already holds in its hands their interests and their liberties
happiness. If this despotism be already now partially fixed upon the coun-
try, a struggle must be made to cast it off, or our country is people will be
forever enslaved; and that struggle can never be made with less distress
to the people them or under better more favorable auspices, than at the
present moment.

But the President looks upon all these apprehensions as idle and vision-
ary destitute of real foundation. The same language was held before he
put his veto upon the recharter of the Bank as well as subsequent to
that important act. Time has shown, that the curtailment of the business
accommodations and circulation of the Bank produces no sensible effect
upon the business of the country. The establishment of new state banks
and an extension of the old, fills up the space from which the U.S. Bank
withdraws, and the great community is scarcely sensible of the change.
Such will be the progress of events until the Bank has wound up its con-
cerns and ceased to exist, when its absence will neither be felt nor regret-
ted by the people.

It is the President’s opinion, that the power over the state banks which
the Bank of the United States now possesses, is derived almost wholly
from its receipt of the public revenues. It is chiefly through its receipt of
the public money, the moneys thus received, that it obtains, directly or
indirectly, the paper of the state banks and raises balances against them. If
the Bank of the United States shall cease to receive the public revenues,
the means of raising balances against the Bank of the United States and its
branches. That Bank will not only be deprived of power, but the rod that
power will be transferred into the hands of the state banks, thus producing a
double effect on both parties. As long as the state banks being without branches,
have but one point to guard and all their concerns are under the eye of
one directory who can; but the Bank of the United States, being divided
into twenty six offices or departments scattered through the union, has
ty twenty six points to guard, and not knowing at what point an enemy
can strike, must be guarded at all. The notes of all the interior branches naturally flow. If it make no to the points where the revenue is
collected. It will not be its interest to If it make war upon the state
banks selected as the agents of the government, what can prevent the latter from accumulating in the receipt of the revenue an large amount of the
notes of any one of the interior branches to an amount larger than their
specie on hand, and without notice presenting them at their counters for
payment? How could the Bank of the United States in case of a contest
with the state banks, guard against the stoppage by this process of all their
interior branches in detail, when their if there shall arise a contest with
the selected state banks, especially when it is considered that the notes of
all its branches, in consequence of being received in payment of revenue
duties, naturally concentrate at Philadelphia and New York and really
where they constitute in fact, as shown by the Bank Reports, almost the
entire currency in which they those duties are paid? By this tendency of
the currency, large balances now accrue in the principal bank and Atlantic
branches of the U.S. Bank against the interior branches, the inconvenience
of which is not seriously felt because they are all parts of the same insti-
tution. But the state banks when in receipt of this paper, will not permit
these balances them to accumulate; and if they choose to make war on
the interior branches, may with perfect ease, by concealing their inten-
tions, break up the interior branches break them up, one after another, by
throwing back their circulation in masses which they will not be prepared
to meet redeem.

If a change of deposit be made, it may not be expedient to remove the
funds now in the Bank of the United States into the state banks. To call
upon the former for so large a sum at once might produce a shock upon
its business and that of its customers which would neither be necessary
nor just. By directing the future deposits to be placed in the state banks
and leaving the public funds in the former to be drawn out gradually by
the usual treasury warrants, all possible inconvenience would be avoided,
and the state banks would have time, before being called on to make pay-
ments on account of the public, to settle with the United States Bank and
branches the terms basis on which their relations shall rest.

Another objection is made to a removal of the public moneys until they
be placed in a new national bank, on account of apprehended injury
to the country. It has been urged as an argument in favor of a bank of the
United States as well as not disturbing the present bank by a removal of
the deposits, that great injury will accrue to the country from a loss of
the general currency everywhere where of equal value, now alleged to be fur-
nished by the Bank of the United States. The constitution This position is
also strongly urged in favor of rechartering the existing Bank or creating
a substitute. The only currency known to the constitution of the United
States is gold and silver. This is consequently the only currency which that
instrument delegates to Congress the power to regulate. A general paper
currency, being unknown to the constitution, does not come within the
scope of any of its provisions, and cannot be regulated under its authority.
To prove its usefulness or necessity might prove the expediency of enlarg-
ing the powers granted in the constitution but not of exercising a power
not granted.

But it is not a fact that the Bank of the United States furnishes a cur-
currency of general credit. The notes of one branch are not cashed at another,
nor are they taken on deposit, nor generally even in payment of debts.
So far as its own operations are business is concerned, as independent of
that of the government, the notes of each branch are now a local currency
and their circulation credit confined to its vicinity. But the government of
the United States, by receiving all those notes in payment of duties and
taxes throughout the United States, gives those notes all the general credit
they possess in opposition to the policy of the Bank. If the favor of
the government were withdrawn and those notes branch notes no longer
received in payment of public revenue, the present policy of the Bank
would make those of each branch

them the general
credit. If the government
were to stamp and throw out into circulation as many millions of dol-
less in Treasury notes as there are of U.S. Bank notes now in circulation,
announcing that they would be received for revenue duties and public
lands, they would have the same general credit. It is not the Bank, there-
fore, which furnishes the general currency, but the government. The Bank
only stamps the paper and puts it in circulation; but it is the government that gives it a general credit. When the U.S. Bank shall cease to be, we shall still have such a general paper currency, furnished directly by the government or through the agency of the state banks consisting of the notes of state banks receivable in payment of the public dues. It will be as it is now, the credit act of the government, and that only, which will give it a general circulation and an equal value. On that score, therefore, no serious inconvenience will arise to the government or the people.

As an argument that the present bank ought not to be further molested and that its charter ought to be renewed or another bank established to take its place, reference is frequently made to the distresses of the last war and the derangement of the currency which grew out of them. The President is satisfied, that had the old bank of the United States been continued in existence during that period, instead of aiding the government in carrying on the war, it would have compelled it to make peace on ignominious terms. Not only was a large portion of its stock held by the subjects of the British monarchy, but they had a right to vote in the choice of directors, and much of the domestic stock is believed to have been held by men who were equally disposed to embarrass the prosecution of that war. So far from aiding the government itself, it would undoubtedly, not only have opposed it, but prevented the state banks from rendering that aid which was actually received from them.

It is unjust to the state banks to attribute to them the embarrassments of the government and country which led to the suspension of specie payments and a depreciated paper currency. All those evils should be attributed to the government itself. Without providing the means, it had rushed into a formidable war, most just it is true and absolutely necessary to vindicate the rights and honor of the public. The consequences of its own improvidence were soon felt in the exhaustion of the Treasury. In consequence of combinations among men of wealth opposed to the war, the requisite loans of money could not be procured, disasters overtook our arms for the want of the necessary supplies of funds and others were threatened. If patriotism ever actuated banks, it was felt in the operations of the many of the local banks at that gloomy period. At the hazard of their existence, they furnished the means of raising armies and maintaining them in the field, and it was in their efforts to sustain the government that they so far crippled themselves as to be obliged to suspend the payment of specie. If the Bank of the United States had then existed, it must have done as the state banks did, or it could have effected nothing in support of the government. If it had not joined the combination against the government, as it was most likely it would, it could not have furnished the funds which the exigencies of the country required without suspending the payment of specie. Instead of hostility and persecution, the government owed the state banks gratitude and support. Their credit during the whole war was as good as its own, and without their aid the Treasury must have
stopped payment. But no sooner had peace arrived and a profusion of revenue begin to flow into the Treasury, than the government, not recollecting that it was impossible for the state banks at once to bring down their business and redeem themselves from the difficulties into which they had thus been led, insisted upon an immediate resumption of specie payments; and because a demand so unreasonable was not immediately forthcoming, created a new bank of the United States to coerce and chastise them. There is not a doubt in the mind of the President, that had not this institution been created, all the state banks which were sound, would have been compelled by public opinion to resume the payment of specie as soon as they were able, and that in a short period every section of the union would soon have enjoyed a sound currency. And is it not evidently fallacious to anticipate now, in a time of profound peace and unexampled prosperity, the same results which then flowed, not from the destruction of the old Bank, but from a desolating war, the suspension of commerce and universal embarrassment? We are often told of the alleged difference of exchange between the northern and southern states at that period, and it is attributed to the state banks. The Banks in the north which looked coldly upon the great contest and gave no aid or support to the government, were enabled to maintain the payment of specie, while the more patriotic institutions at the South and West, were compelled to stop. Their paper consequently depreciated; and that which is now so often spoken of as difference of exchange, was in reality a difference in the value of the currency, which could never again arise but under similar circumstances. And who believes that public opinion will ever sustain the Banks in the south and west in the suspension refusing to redeem their notes in a time of profound peace and general prosperity? No such result is to be anticipated and consequently the difference in the value of the currencies of different sections of the union at the close of the war, could not again arise. The difference would be only the difference of exchange, which would could can never much exceed the cost of transporting specie, and by arrangements among the Banks, might may be less.

It is frequently boasted that the Bank of the United States is largely beneficial to the country in effecting domestic exchanges at a low rate. There are two sorts of Exchange business carried on by the Bank of the United States. The bona fide exchange, in which the merchant or trader deposits his funds in one branch of the bank and takes a check or draft on a distant branch near the spot where he wants to use it them, or draws and sells to the Bank a draft on a fund deposited to his credit in a distant branch or which he verily expects will be, is undoubtedly beneficial to the country. But that kind of exchange business which is carried on by drawing and redrawing, to enable speculators to raise funds and men in desperate circumstances to sustain their credit, is a source of much unmitigated mischief to the country. It is evident from developments heretofore
made, that a large portion of the exchange business now done by the Bank of the United States, is of this description. If that Bank should cease to exist, there is no reason to suppose that the bona fide exchange will not be carried on by arrangements among the state banks on terms nearly if not quite as favorable as it is now. That which is profitable to one great institution carried on through its many branches, must also be profitable to small institutions who may take their places.

Merit is often claimed for the Bank of the United States, because it has faithfully transferred the public funds of the United States without loss to the government and that none of those funds have been lost. The transfer of the public funds is known to be a source of profit to the Bank instead of a burden, and the more distant the transfer the greater the profit. The exchange is always in favor of the eastern cities where the revenues are principally collected, and bills drawn on those points in the distant south or west to transfer the public funds or for other purposes, are sold at a premium. At the same time, it is the Bank has the use of an average public deposit of nine millions, the use of which at five per cent, must yield about $450,000 per year. It would be bad management indeed, which should so completely dissipate this profit and all the means and stock of the Bank and to cause a loss to the government of any portion of its deposit. But the government has once lost as a stockholder, if never as a depositor. On the seven millions of stock subscribed, it long paid the bank an interest of five per cent, the subscription having been in five per cent stocks of the United States; but and from January 1819 to July 1822, the Bank either declared no dividend or declared one less than five per cent, so that the amount paid to the Bank during that period exceeded the amount received from it about $822,500. The losses in the state banks after the close of the war were remarkably small considering the immense amount collected by the government during that period and the convulsions produced by the events of the arduous contest in the business of the banks and the country. No inference can be justly drawn from them favorable to the United States Bank which has encountered no such difficulties, or unfavorable to the state banks in their future career.

On the whole, the President thinks the state banks may be used for all purposes and that the same advantages may be derived from the employment of the state banks as from a Bank of the United States, without any of its dangers. He sees neither serious difficulty nor danger in transferring the public deposit at an early period from the one to the other, as the first step in an attempt to dispense with a national Bank. It is not the desire of the President that the deposit should be drawn suddenly so as to embarrass the operations of the Bank of the United States or create any shock in its relations with its debtors or the community. If that Bank be in as sound a condition as is represented, the loss of the deposits will produce
no embarrassment in its operations and it is far from the desire of the President that any should be produced. He does not presume that in the mere wantonness of revenge and to the manifest injury of its stockholders as well as debtors, the managers of that Bank will make war upon the state banks selected by the government. If, however, forgetful of their duties to their constituents and the public, they shall attempt to embarrass or destroy the state banks employed by the government, all grounds for forbearance towards them will be removed and such a course must be adopted as will sustain the policy which the President is resolved to pursue.

In the accomplishment of the object in view there are some points which must be particularly regarded.

The safety of the public deposits in the state Banks employed, must be secured beyond a doubt.

They must undertake to remit to any part of the United States and there pay in gold and silver or their equivalent, such portion of the public moneys received by them as may be required, without expence to the government.

They must undertake to perform if required, and without compensation, any other duties or services which the government may now lawfully require of the Bank of the United States.

They must agree to make reports of their business and condition at length to the Secretary of the Treasury at least once a month and as much oftener as he may require.

They must agree to subject themselves to a critical investigation of their affairs by the Secretary of the Treasury in person or by any agent duly authorized by him.

They must agree to pay any expences which the government may incur in making the new arrangement, or employing any agent, temporary or permanent, to look after that portion of the public interest which may be entrusted to their care and management.

In fine, the government must be placed on a footing, both in relation to convenience and expence, at least as favorable to its interests as that which now exists.

It will also be expected of the state banks which may be employed by the government, that they will facilitate *bona fide* domestic exchanges for the interests of commerce and the convenience of the people, grant reasonable facilities to the payers of the public revenue, exercise the utmost liberality towards the other state banks and do nothing unnecessarily to embarrass the Bank of the United States.

The great object being to rid the country of the dangerous and irresponsible power necessarily concentrated in the Bank of the United States, care must be taken not to raise up another power equally formidable. Perhaps such a result is impossible by any organization of the state banks, which as they are amenable to the state governments on which
they depend for their existence. But to prevent even an apprehension in
the public mind of such a result, it will be expedient to interfere with the Banks employed as little as possible, and to require and exercise no other or further control over them than is absolutely necessary to secure the public deposits and insure a faithful performance of the duties incident to their transmission. If the Banks employed shall, jointly or any one of them separately, be detected in using their power to favor one man or set of men and oppress another, or to accomplish any political purpose whatever, it is the determination of the President that they shall be no longer employed by the government, so long as he has the power to prevent it. So far as the government is concerned, they must confine themselves to collecting safely keeping and faithfully paying the public money wherever and whenever required. It is the President’s desire, wholly and forever, to separate the control of the currency from the political power of the country and from every question which may hereafter be agitated in the Congress of the United States. And he deems it equally important to take that control from an institution which is not responsible to the states or the people, and has already attempted, as it may again, to subject the government to its will. As fearful as would be the concentration of committing of a controlling power over the currency in the hands of the Executive, it is not more so than when that power is vested its concentration in a Bank which aspires to make Presidents and direct the legislation of Congress. To obviate both dangers, he wishes to see the action of the general government on this subject, confined to the grant in the constitution which only authorizes Congress “to coin money and regulate the value thereof."

The President is sensible that his own care and comfort, as well as the quiet of his administration, would be promoted, by leaving to others the whole subject of the Bank of the United States and the public deposits. But he deems it so important to the present and future interests of our country, to the purity of our government and the liberties of our people, that he cannot permit any personal considerations to persuade him to silence or inaction. Had he no other motive to impel him, he should find a sufficient one in gratitude to the people, who, as he conceives, reelected him to the exalted station he now holds, chiefly for the purpose of carrying into effect the principles of his Veto Message.

As the subject of this letter belongs principally to

AD, DLC (77).

1. In the margin here, Van Buren wrote “☞ Note II” for an insertion. His inserted text follows below.

2. These and later figures in the text came from James K. Polk’s March 1 House Ways and Means minority report (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 7–42, Serial 236). Kendall erred in subtraction; the actual increase as calculated from the report was $28,025,766. Both the sent letter and AJ’s later July 17 letter to Duane repeated Kendall’s mistaken figure.

3. The Ways and Means minority charged that the Bank had steadily reduced accommodations at New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore after Biddle had invoked the need to
sustain them as his reason for seeking to put off redemption of the three per cents from July to October (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 11–15, Serial 236).

4. The Bank’s charter said it could not “purchase any public debt whatsoever” (Statutes, 3:272).

5. Biddle had told the 1832 House investigating committee that the Treasury had invited his opinion on redeeming the three per cents in July, and that his March 29 letter recommending postponement until October showed “not the least agency” of the Bank in the decision, “except to offer its opinion, when it was asked, in regard to a measure proposed by the Government” (HRRep 460, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 24–25, Serial 227). The Bank’s January 29, 1833 report to the House Ways and Means Committee repeated this avowal, and claimed also that on July 19 Treasury secretary McLane himself had suggested that a deficiency of government funds on deposit for redemption might require yet further delay. The Committee minority repelled both claims, citing testimony taken before it to show that the initial postponement was granted “upon the application and urgent solicitation of the bank,” and that McLane had opined only that, at worst, “a trifling deficiency” might require the Bank to hold some certificates for redemption a few days until more federal deposits came in (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 12–13, 15–19, 165–67, Serial 236).

6. The Bank charter said that “Not less than seven directors shall constitute a board for the transaction of business” (Statutes, 3:271). The charges in this paragraph drew from the April 22 report made by government directors Gilpin, Sullivan, and Wager in response to AJ’s request of April 14 above (SDoc 2, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 22–27, Serial 238). They said that the secretive exchange committee was usurping regular functions of the entire board, and that their motion to rotate its membership and bar it from discounting, in accordance with Bank by-laws, had been met with a proposal to alter the by-laws to sanction current practice. They reported that two of them had recently been appointed to board committees, though not to the exchange committee.

7. The first installment to the U.S. of 4,856,666.66 francs under the 1831 claims convention with France had fallen due on February 2, payable in Paris. On February 7, Treasury secretary McLane drew a bill for that amount upon the French government in favor of Bank cashier Samuel Jaudon (1796–1874), and AJ formally authorized Jaudon or his assignee to receive the payment on behalf of the U.S. president Biddle had engaged to handle the transfer by purchasing the bill for $903,565.89, or 5.375 francs per dollar. However, the French foreign ministry declined payment, as the Chamber of Deputies had refused the requisite appropriation, and on March 22 the bill was protested in Paris. On April 26, Jaudon wrote McLane that “the bank holds you responsible for the principal, interest, cost, damages, and exchange.” On May 13 he presented an account for $1,062,408.66, comprising the principal of the bill plus costs of protest, daily interest, and a 15% ($137,453 at current exchange rate) charge for damages. McLane wrote Biddle on May 16 that the principal amount, having never been called for by the government, would be returned immediately, and the other items would be taken under advisement. On June 21, new Treasury secretary Duane sent Biddle a May 24 opinion by Attorney General Taney approving the other charges except the 15% damages, which had “no foundation in law or in equity, and ought not to be paid by the Government” (SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 263–74, 282, Serial 267).

8. This entire paragraph is X-ed out.

9. This entire paragraph is X-ed out.

10. In identical language, both the first and second BUS charters confined the vote for directors to “stockholders actually resident within the United States” (Statutes, 1:193, 3:271).

11. The Bank paid no dividends in 1819 and 1820. From July 1821 to July 1822 it paid three dividends aggregating 5.75%, or $402,500 on the government’s $7 million in Bank stock. In those three and a half years the Bank collected $1,225,000 in annual interest on the 5 per cent loan certificates with which the government had purchased its shares (Register of Debates, 23d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 1269–70).
Insertions by Martin Van Buren

[Van Buren entered some changes directly onto Kendall’s draft. The insertions here were on separate sheets.]

1st ☞ The embarrassments that would result from omitting to provide the proposed substitute until

Note I The President has thus laid down for his own Government upon the subject makes it having adopted this rule opinion as the guide of his future conduct it becomes the bounden duty of the Executive branch of the Government to make a different & seasonable provision for the establishment adequate discharge of as far as it has power so to do for this branch of the public service as far as that object can be effected by the exercise of the powers which with of which it is possessed.1

Note II The embarrassments that would unavoidably result from an omission to make it this change until the expiration of the Charter of the Bank of the U. States are too apparent to require explanation. The least reflection and the slightest acquaintance with the subject will satisfy all disinterested & unprejudiced minds that unless the President looks to either to a renewal of the charter of the present Bank or the establishment of a new one (from entertaining either of which views of the subject he is precluded by his declared opinions) it becomes he would best discharge his duty by putting the plan which he proposes to substitute in operation in sufficient season before the expiration of the charter to afford a satisfactory test of its sufficiency before practicability when that time arrives. The charter of the present Bank expires on the _____ day of _____ 1836. With the best exertions on your part it will not probably be in your power to complete the arrangements with the state Banks so far as to enable you to commence the Deposits in them until the middle of September. From that period time to the expiration of the charter is upwards of two years, a period which will not in the opinion of the President be more than sufficient to test the efficacy & propriety of the substitute which he wishes to have adopted. The President is therefore of opinion that it would be a just & wise exercise of the discretion in the matter conferred by law on the Secry. of the Treasury to direct that from & after the 15th day of Sept. if th all to direct the public deposits shall to be made in the state Banks from & after the 15th. of Septr next if the arrangements to be made with them shall then have been completed. The President has no doubt that the result of this proposed experiment will be such as to satisfy serve to satisfy the people that a national Bank can be dispensed with without serious injury or embarrassment to the public service, or to the substantial interests of the Country.2
Sir,  
The President of the United States deems it proper to submit to you a full developement of the policy which he thinks it his duty to pursue in relation to the Bank of the United States, and the future management of the public revenue so far as it depends on his action or authority.  

In his first message to congress in December 1829, he expressed his doubts of the constitutionality and expediency of the present Bank of the United States and called the attention of his fellow citizens, as well of congress as of the country at large to the question of its recharter or the substitution of a new Bank upon different principles.  

In his message of December 1830, he repeated his doubts on this subject and threw out for consideration some suggestions in relation to a substitute. In his message of December 1831 he referred to the opinions expressed in his preceding annual messages and declared that he left the subject to the consideration of the people and their representatives. At that session of Congress, the Bank petitioned for a renewal of its charter; and the Representatives of the people and of the states in Congress, by a majority of both houses, passed a bill granting their request. Upon this bill the President deemed it his duty to put his constitutional veto.  

The President was then a candidate for reelection. His veto of the Bank bill brought the subject directly before the people who were about to express their opinion upon his official acts. By both parties in the contest the principal issue was joined upon the Bank veto, and, by a decisive majority, the people condemned the bill passed by Congress, and approved the act of the President declaring the Bank to be both inexpedient and unconstitutional. To this decision given by the highest power known on earth, it was hoped that the Bank and its advocates would cheerfully submit. To the public functionaries who are now called upon to act on the subject, it seems to the President, that it ought to be a rule and guide next in authority to the constitution itself, because it was given by a majority of the states and a majority of the people who make the law-makers and have a right to direct them. He therefore considers it a settled question so far as public sentiment is concerned that the present Bank of the United States is not to be rechartered.
Thus far no suggestions of any particular substitute seem to have been received with favor by the great community. To most of the projects which have been thrown out, the same constitutional and other objections exist which have induced the people to condemn the present Bank. In the President's view any Bank created by Congress authorised to exercise corporate powers or transact private business out of the district of Columbia, without the consent of the states, would be unconstitutional, and it is questionable whether any Bank whose corporate powers should be limited to the District would succeed in making such arrangements with the state Governments as would enable it to act efficiently under their jurisdiction as the agent of the general Government in the management of its fiscal concerns.

There is just ground to fear that in the creation of a substitute as great danger, if not greater, may be incurred as that which now threatens the American people. A corporation of individuals deriving its powers from Congress, pervading every section of the Union will in the general, by controlling the currency and leading men of the country, be more powerful than the Government, and may seriously thwart its views and embarrass its operations. This is one of the dangers of the present Bank. But any substitute which should concentrate the same or a like power, and be put entirely under the control of the General Government, might by the union of the political and money power, give the administration of the Government more influence and the Government itself more strength than is compatible with the safety of the states, the liberties of the people and the purity of our republican institutions.

Having considered the subject in all its bearings the President has come to the conclusion that all idea of any substitute for the present Bank in the shape of a new institution ought to be abandoned, at least for the present. The President having adopted this opinion as the guide of his future conduct it becomes the bounden duty of the Executive branch of the Government to make a different and seasonable provision, as far as it has power to do so, for this branch of the public service.

The state institutions are in his opinion competent to perform all the functions which the U S Bank now performs, or which may be required by the Government. At the same time that they cannot so effectually concentrate the money power, they cannot be so easily or effectually used for individual political or party purposes as a Bank of the United States under any form, and of any character. It is therefore the desire of the President that you should immediately turn your attention to the making of such arrangements as will enable the Government to carry on all its fiscal operations through the agency of the state Banks.

Connected with this subject is the question of a discontinuance of the public deposits in the Bank of the United States and the substitution of the state Banks for that purpose. That such a change must at length take place is admitted by all those who acquiesce in the decision of the American people at the last Presidential election. The question is merely one of time.
The embarrassments that would unavoidably result from an omission to make this change until the expiration of the charter of the Bank of the United States are too apparent to require explanation. The least reflection and the slightest acquaintance with the subject will suffice to satisfy all disinterested and unprejudiced minds that unless the President looks either to a renewal of the charter of the Present Bank, or the establishment of a new one, from either of which views he is precluded by his declared opinions, he would best discharge his duty by putting the plan which he proposes in operation in sufficient season before the expiration of the charter to afford a satisfactory test of its practicability when that time arrives.

The charter of the present Bank expires on the ____ day of ____ 1836. With the best exertions on your part it will not probably be in your power to complete the arrangements with the state Banks so far as to enable you to commence the deposits in them until the middle of September. From that time to the expiration of the charter is upwards of two years a period which will not be more than sufficient to test the efficacy and propriety of the substitute he wishes to have adopted. The President is therefore of opinion that it would be a just and wise exercise of the discretion in the matter conferred by law on the Secretary of the Treasury to direct the public deposits to be made in the state Banks, from and after the 15th. of September, if the arrangements to be made with them shall then have been completed. The President has no doubt that the proposed experiment will serve to satisfy the people that a national Bank can be dispensed with, without serious injury or embarrassment to the public service or to the substantial interests of the country. If the result be otherwise it will then become the right and duty of the Government and people to decide between enlarging the authority of the Federal Government and the exercise of that which it possesses within the District of Columbia.

The only objections that can be made to so early an exercise of the authority conferred upon the Secretary of the Treasury over the public deposits must have their foundation, either in the interests of the Bank and the supposed claims of that Institution upon the favor of the Government, or in a supposed capacity and disposition on the part of the Bank to impair the public credit and embarrass the pecuniary affairs of the country in case of a disregard of their wishes, and in an apprehended deterioration of the currency.

The President does not find any insuperable obstacle to the proposed measure in either of these considerations. The Bank has now no right to invoke the favor of the Government. Whatever may, heretofore, have been its claims in that respect, they have, the President regrets to say, been forfeited by the unjustifiable and high handed manner in which its affairs have been administered—an administration in many important respects unfaithful as an agent of the Government, and which, in the opinion of the President proves it to be an unsafe one. So far as the interests of the
Bank are identified with those of the public and as it respects a careful observance of the public faith by securing to the Bank the full enjoyment of all the legal rights which are conferred by its charter, the Government will doubtless perform its duty. Further than this the Bank has no claims upon its favorable consideration.

It is the duty of the Bank to wind up its concerns in such a manner as will produce the least pressure upon the money market. This duty is rendered imperative as well in consideration of the extensive exclusive privileges which it has so long enjoyed, as by the best interests of the stockholders. But if on the contrary it be the pleasure of those intrusted with the management of its affairs, in revenge for a refusal of the Government to comply with its wishes by continuing to it privileges, when all moral as well as legal rights to them have ceased, to mark its dissolution by such an abuse of the national trust, the country must abide the issue. To succumb to the demands of the Bank upon such pretences and under such a menace would be a virtual subversion of the Government, productive of more immediate dishonor and ultimate detriment to the best interests of the nation than can possibly arise from the adoption of any other course. The President is however happy to believe, for reasons hereinafter given, that there is no solid foundation for the alarm which has been sounded on this subject. That the currency of the country could be better preserved by means of a well regulated & honestly conducted national Bank is very possible, although it is quite certain that the difference between a circulating medium supplied by such an institution, and that which is furnished by the state Banks in the present prosperous condition of the country, is greatly exaggerated. But if the apprehended derangement of the currency should take place it will be for the people to say whether they will seek redress from the evil by conferring constitutional power on Congress to establish such a Bank. No good citizen it is hoped will desire to have it done in violation of the constitution. If the evil were upon us we should not seek an exemption from it at such a sacrifice: much less ought we to involve ourselves in it upon the mere anticipation of inconveniences which may never happen and which the President firmly believes are not to be justly apprehended. He will state the facts upon which these opinions are founded—facts which he believes to be incontrovertible and he will accompany that statement with such observations as are in his judgement called for by the occasion and fully justified by the nature and character of the transactions referred to.

At the beginning of the year 1831 the aggregate debt due to the Bank of the United States was $42,402,304. Although it was well aware that the Government designed shortly to call out nearly all the large deposit it then had in Bank for the purpose of paying the public debt, and that its charter would expire in a few years, it nevertheless proceeded to increase its loans in such profusion that in May 1832 the debt due to it was $70,428,070—
shewing an increase in sixteen months of 28,026,766 equal to about sixty six per cent.

The motive of this enormous extension of loans can no longer be doubted. It was unquestionably to gain power in the country and force the Government thro the influence of the debtors to grant it a new charter.

The effect of the extension was to put it out of the power of the Bank promptly and faithfully to pay over the public money received by it, upon the demand of the Government, in discharge of the public debt. The expedient to which it resorted to sustain itself under this unprecedented extension of its business, and the pretences by which it has attempted to justify them have proved it to be unworthy of the confidence of the Govt.

It will be recollected that the greatest extension of the business of the Bank was in May 1832. It has since been proved by its official acts and correspondence, that in March 1832, two months before the extension had arrived at its maximum, a negotiation was commenced with agents representing about $1,700,000 of the three per cent stocks in Holland, and about $1,000,000 held elsewhere, with the object of relieving the Bank from its payment for one or more years after it might be required to be paid by the Government. After this negotiation had been commenced, a notice from the Treasury Dept that the Government intended to pay off one half of the three per cent stocks on the 1st. of July succeeding, brought the President of the Bank to Washington for the purpose of soliciting a postponement of that payment until the first of the succeeding October. Upon his representation that in case the payment were required in July the Bank would be unable to accommodate the debtors of the Government, especially in New York, as it had done and desired still to do, and upon his undertaking on the part of the Bank to pay the interest for the quarter, his request was granted. By developements since made, it appears that not even the usual indulgence had been or was thereafter extended to the debtors of the Government or others at New York or elsewhere, their accommodations having been largely curtailed, and that the only conceivable motive of the Bank in asking the indulgence and agreeing to pay for it, was its own inability, with convenience or safety, to pay over a portion of the large public deposit on the 1st. of July.

The relief obtained by this indulgence of the Government was not as extensive as the condition of the Bank seems to have required. The negotiation with the agent of the Dutch holders of the three per cents was continued; and early in the month of July, when the Bank understood that the Government intended to pay off the whole of the three per cents in the latter part of the year, a mission to England was projected with the view of secretly negotiating with the holders of those stocks residing abroad and inducing them by the payment of an interest equal to that paid by the Government, or greater if necessary, not to present their certificates for payment for one year at least. The agent of the Bank sailed for Europe in July to make the arrangement at all events, and on the 22d. August
entered into an agreement with the House of Baring Brothers & Co. by which, in consideration of the payment of all expenses and a commission of one half per cent by the Bank they undertook—

1. To invite the holders of the three per cent stock of the United States to retain their stock until October 1833, the Bank paying the interest quarterly.

2d. To buy up the said three per cents on behalf of the Bank, the Barings retaining the certificates and passing their account to the debit of the Bank which undertook to pay any interest they might be obliged to pay.

3d. To give the Bank a credit in addition to its running credit for a sum sufficient to make up $5,000,000, if the purchased and deferred stock should fall short of that sum, charging the same interest as in their running account with the Bank—their whole advances to be reimbursed by the Bank in October 1833.

The first item of this agreement was in direct violation of the duty of the Bank to the Government, in as much as it was an interference without its knowledge or consent to prevent the payment of the national debt at the period when it was required, the stockholders being permitted as one article of the contract with them to retain their certificates. This was the less excuseable in the Bank, because, the amount required to be paid on the 1st. Octr. was less than $9,000,000, when the public deposits at the time the agent was sent to England and the agreement was formed exceeded $11,600,000, and on the 1st. of October had increased to $13,661,193.

The second item of the agreement was a direct violation of the charter of the Bank which forbids the purchase by it of the public stocks of the United States.

The substance of the three items of this agreement, specifically set forth, was received by the President of the Bank in a letter from the agent, about the 1st. of October 1832, the time at which the payment of two thirds of the three per cent stocks was required by the Government to be made. This arrangement, relieving the Bank from the necessity of making payment in October and the succeeding January to the amount of $5,000,000, or providing means to meet them other than the usual resources of the Bank enabled the institution at the time of its receipt, to change its policy, measurably suspend its curtailments and in some quarters extend its accommodations. These steps taken immediately upon receipt of the substance of the agreement, indicate that the Bank sanctioned the act of its agent and did not then contemplate any disavowal or change of its terms.

This negotiation had been commenced and consummated without the knowledge of the Government. The agreement formed was even concealed from the directory of the Bank and they were induced by other considerations urged by the President to change the policy of the institution.
About the 12th. October thro’ the publication of the circular sent out by the Barings in pursuance of their agreement with the Bank, the Government and directory obtained the first intimation of this transaction. It was now evident that all its features must come to light: and three days afterwards the President of the Bank wrote a letter to the Barings disavowing so much of the agreement as related to the purchase of stocks and proposing a new arrangement in relation to the deferred stock which should at the same time relieve the Government from its responsibility and the Bank from the payment of the money at least for one year.

From that time forward the Bank has been struggling to retrace its steps and rid itself of its first secret and unauthorised agreement: It has procured most of the certificates and surrendered them to the Government; but has made new arrangements, avoiding the payment of money for them to a large amount, thus confirming the inability of the Bank to pay over the public money on deposit when it was required. If the new arrangement proposed in relation to the purchased stock and other stock which the Barings were requested to purchase under certain circumstances, has been carried into effect, it is in fact as much a purchase and as much a violation of the charter as the first transaction.

The President thinks the conclusion cannot be resisted, that it was the purpose of the Bank, or its chief managers, to carry into effect the illegal contract with the Barings, and that this result was prevented only by the publicity casually given of the transaction: and he does not consider that any confidence is due to an institution which is ready to violate its charter and thwart the payment of the public debt, provided the means and manner by which it operates can be concealed from the Government and the country. Nor does it recommend itself to public confidence when it alledges as reasons for these various negotiations and arrangements, a desire to accommodate the public debtors, which it never did, and to avert the evils of a pestilence which had neither appeared nor was anticipated when they were first originated. Least of all can the Government place any confidence in it, when it has attempted, without the least foundation in fact, to attribute its own illegal and unauthorised acts to suggestions made by the Government itself.

The President looks upon these transactions as conclusive proof of the inability of the Bank, during the year 1832, to refund to the Government its public deposit for the payment of the public debt, as it was its duty to do. And he considers the pretences and misrepresentations by which it has attempted to conceal their true cause from the Government and country, as proving it to be unworthy of public trust. Not the least obnoxious of these transactions is the object for which the Bank sought to retain the public deposit and postpone the payment of the public debt. It had used the money of the people in extending its loans $28.000.000 in sixteen months, for the purpose of bringing the people within its power. It had secured to its interest editors and presses by extraordinary loans upon
unusual terms. By the same means, it had sought to procure the friend-
ship and support of public men who might have an influence or a vote
upon the question of its recharter. By the use of the public funds as well
as its own, it was attempting to controul public opinion and overawe the
Government. It begged indulgence of the Government that it might retain
its own funds as the means of controlling it, and when those funds could
no longer be retained with its consent it sought to keep them without
its consent by secret arrangements with the public creditors residing in
Europe, and when detected in this effort resorted to direct loans from the
subjects of foreigners to enable it to accomplish the same end.

It was when its loans and accommodations were approximating to the
highest point that the Bank came before the Government for a recharter,
and they reached their maximum while the subject was under consid-
eration in Congress. With debtors to the amount of seventy millions of
dollars, it threw itself into the political arena and submitted its case to
the people of the United States. Its presses poured forth their arguments
and predictions of mischief from the veto of the President—it expended
its money in the publication and distribution of political essays affecting
the question of recharter and impeaching the acts of the executive—the
most direful evils were anticipated by its advocates from its destruction;
and every effort which money could command or zeal render, was made
to secure in its favor the verdict of the American people. In this struggle
it was sustained not only by its own funds but by a public deposit of
$12,000,000. It was to be expected that after being defeated in a conflict
so tremendous it would have acquiesced in a decision which it had sought
and provoked, and without further exerting its power or spreading its
corruptions would have been content quietly to wind up its concerns.
Contrary to this just expectation its organs and advocates declare it to
be again in the field seeking to overrule thro’ an act of the agents of the
people the solemn decision of the people themselves. It has been increasing
its accommodations to the managers of the press and favoring public men
with extravagant loans for unusual terms and on doubtful security. The
chief business of the Bank instead of being performed by “not less than
seven directors” as enjoined by the charter and in accordance with the
rules, has been done by committees whose proceedings are concealed from
the Board. To cut off all channels of communication with the Government
in relation to its acts and abuses, not one of the five Government directors
was at the commencement of the present year appointed upon a single
committee. And when those directors sought to reform this abuse and
restore the business of the Bank according to law and its own rules that
Board instead of changing the practice to conform to the rule, changed the
rule so as to conform it to the practice, thus not only in practice but by a
positive rule violating, repealing, and setting aside an express and material
provision in the act of Congress which gave it existence. Altho at a more
recent period and by an unusual remodelling of the committees, a part of
the Government directors has been placed upon some of them, yet in the exchange committee, thro’ which most of the extraordinary loans referred to have been made the Government is still wholly without representation.

The allegation recently so often promulgated that the Treasury of the United States was exhausted and insolvent when it has not within the last and present year had less than six millions of public money in its vaults, might have been passed over as a harmless misrepresentation; but when the Bank seeks by substantial acts to impair the credit and depreciate the honor of this country at home and abroad, the affair assumes a different aspect. A bill was drawn by the United States on the Government of France for about $900,000 being the amount of the first instalment then due under the late Treaty of indemnity. The Bank became the purchaser of the bill and it was accompanied as required by The Treaty with an order of the President formally executed, authorising the cashier of the Bank or his assignee to receive the proceeds. But the money for which the bill was sold instead of being drawn out by the Government remained in the Bank. The French Government contrary to all calculation suffered the bill to be protested, and it was paid out of the funds of the Bank by their agent in Paris. The Bank without having incurred any damage save a trifling expense and a trifling disappointment, have claimed of the Government, without law and contrary to right fifteen per cent for damages, amounting to about $135,000 with interest. This it does altho’ it has had the use not only of the proceeds of the bill, but of a public deposit equal to seven or eight millions of dollars during the whole time free of charge. This claim and the spirit in which it is presented ill became an institution which was created for the convenience of the government, has had for ten years an average public deposite of near nine millions of dollars which it has used without charge in loans and exchanges at great profit and even now has thus in use about eight millions of the public money.

By these misrepresentations and acts on the part of the Bank the President thinks it has forfeited all claim to the confidence of the Government, and ought not to be longer retained in its service.

In his message at the opening of the last session of Congress, the President recommended “an inquiry into the transactions of the institution embracing the branches as well as the principal bank” with a view of ascertaining whether it was any “longer a safe depository of the money of the people.”

The apprehension intended then to be expressed was not that upon a final settlement of all its concerns the Bank would not be able to pay the Government the amount of its deposit, but simply that it was unable or unwilling to pay over that deposit when demanded by the Government for the public service, in either of which events it must be pronounced unsafe.

The committee of ways & means of the House of Representatives to which the subject was referred, did not make the general investigation recommended by the President. They confined themselves chiefly to the
transactions relative to the three per cent stocks and elicited many facts tending rather to increase than diminish the apprehensions previously entertained. In the slight attention paid by them to the general concerns of the institution, several important facts of the same tendency were disclosed, particularly in relation to the means by which it had kept up the appearance of great strength during the year 1832 and the character of its western debt. In the facts developed by the committee, the President finds cause rather of increased apprehensions for the safety of the public interests if the connection between the Government and Bank be further maintained than of any abatement of those expressed in his message. It is true that the House of Representatives without examining or having an opportunity to examine, on account of the lateness of the session and their not being printed, the report of the minority or the evidence upon which the views of either the majority or minority were maintained, declared, by a large majority that in their opinion the public deposits were safe in that institution. That expression of opinion, though entitled to much respect, is neither conclusive nor obligatory upon the Executive Department, if the state of its information leads to a different conclusion. It is deemed of the less weight now, because the subsequent conduct of the Bank has evinced its determination to persist in and perpetuate the abuses which have heretofore given just cause of complaint, to misrepresent its own condition and that of the Treasury, and to impair the credit of the Government itself.

But the insecurity of the public deposits is not the only reason which will justify their removal from the Bank of the United States. The President thinks that the use of the means and power which they give, to corrupt the press and public men, to control popular elections, to procure a recharter contrary to the decision of the people and to gain possession of the Government which it was erected to serve, are substantial reasons requiring their removal. He thinks that reasons equally conclusive may be found in the exclusion of the Government directors from all participation in the principal business of the Bank, performing in secret committees that which should be done in full board, and cutting off as far as possible from the Government all knowledge of its material transactions and the condition of its debt. But the strongest and controulling reason in the mind of the President is that which has been before referred to and which consists in the necessity of organizing a new scheme for the collection, deposit, and distribution of the public revenue based upon the state Banks and making a fair experiment of its practicability before the expiration of the charter of the existing bank, that the country may have a fair opportunity to determine whether any Bank of the United States be necessary or not.

The President has weighed with great care the reasons which have been urged from all quarters against severing at present the connection between the Bank and the Government. A leading objection is, that the Bank of the United States has the power and in that event will have the disposition to crush the state Banks, particularly those which may be selected by the
Government as the depositories of its funds, and thus cause wide spread distress and ruin throughout the United States. If this apprehension be well founded it proves two things of fearful import: First, that the Bank of the United States has the power to accomplish the ruin of the state Banks and cause general bankruptcy and distress among the people, and secondly, that there is a disposition to exercise that power, unless its forbearance be purchased by that of the Government. A conviction that these things are so, instead of inducing the President to forbear, would only make him the more determined, by all the legitimate means in his power to resist a corporation which, altogether irresponsible to the people, already holds in its hands their interests and their happiness. If this despotism be now partially fixed upon the country, a struggle must be made to cast it off or our people will be forever enslaved, and that struggle can never be made with less distress to them or under more favorable auspices than at the present moment.

But the President as already stated looks upon all these apprehensions as destitute of real foundation. The same language was held before he put his veto upon the recharter of the Bank as well as subsequent to that important act. Time has shewn that the curtailment of the accommoda-
tions and circulation of the Bank produces no sensible effect upon the business of the country. The establishment of new state Banks and an extension of the old fills up the space from which the U S Bank withdraws, and the community at large is scarcely sensible of the change. Such will be the progress of events until the Bank has wound up its concerns and ceased to exist, when its absence will neither be felt nor regretted by the people.

It is the Presidents opinion that the power over the state banks which the Bank of the United States now possesses, is derived almost wholly from its receipt of the public revenue. It is chiefly thro’ the moneys thus received that it obtains directly or indirectly the paper of the state Banks and raises balances against them. If its receipt of the public revenue shall cease, its means of raising those balances will cease. If the state Banks become the receptacles of the public revenue they will be instantly enabled to raise like balances against the Bank of the U S and its branches. That Bank will not only be deprived of power, but that power will be trans-
ferred into the hands of the state Banks thus producing a double effect on both parties. The state Banks being without branches have but one point to guard and all their concerns are under the eye of one directory: but the Bank of the U S being divided into twenty six offices or Departments scattered thro the union, has twenty six points to guard, and not knowing at which an enemy may strike, must be at all. If it make war upon the state Banks selected as the agents of the Government, what can prevent the latter from accumulating in the receipt of the revenue the notes of any one of the interior branches to an amount larger than their specie on hand, and without notice presenting them at their counters for payment?
How would the Bank of the United States in case of a contest with the state Banks guard against the stoppage by this process of all their interior branches in detail, especially when it is considered that the notes of all its branches, in consequence of being received in payment of revenue duties, naturally concentrate at Philadelphia and New York where they constitute in fact, as shown by the Bank reports almost the entire currency in which those duties are paid? By this tendency of the currency large ballances now accrue in the principal bank and Atlantic branches of the U S Bank against the interior branches, the inconvenience of which is not seriously felt because they are all parts of the same institution. But the state Bank when in receipt of this paper, will not permit them to accumulate; and if they choose to make war on the interior branches may with perfect ease break them up one after another, by throwing back their circulation in masses which they will not be prepared to redeem.

It has been urged as an argument in favor of a Bank of the United States as well as not disturbing the present bank by a removal of the Deposits that great injury will accrue to the country from a loss of the general currency, every where of equal value, now alledged to be furnished by the Bank of the United States. The only currency known to the constitution of the United States is gold and silver. This is consequently the only currency which that instrument delegates to Congress the power to regulate. A general paper currency being unknown to the constitution, does not come within the scope of any of its provisions and cannot be regulated under its authority. To prove its usefulness or necessity might prove the expediency of enlarging the powers granted in the constitution but not of exercising a power not granted.

But it is not a fact that the Bank of the United States furnishes a currency of equal value throughout the country. The notes of one Branch are not cashed at another nor are they taken on deposit, nor generally even in payment of debts. So far as its own business is concerned as independent of that of the Government the notes of each branch are now a local currency and their credit confined to its vicinity. But the Government by receiving all those notes in payment of duties and taxes throughout the United States gives the general credit they possess in opposition to the policy of the Bank. If the favor of the Government were withdrawn and branch notes no longer received in payment of public revenue, the present policy of the Bank would make them as much a local currency circulating only in the immediate vicinity of the branches whence they issued as are now the notes of the state Banks. And it is in the power of the Government at any moment to give a general credit to the notes of twenty six or any other number of state Banks, by announcing that they will be received in payment of public dues throughout the United States. It is not the Bank therefore which furnishes the general currency, but the Government. The Bank only stamps the paper and puts it in circulation, but it is the Government that gives it a general credit. When the U S Bank
shall cease to be, we shall still have such a general paper currency consisting of the notes of state Banks receivable in payment of the public dues. It will be as it is now, the act of the Government and that only which will give it a general circulation and an equal value. On that score, therefore, no serious inconvenience will arise to the Government or the people.

As an argument that the present bank ought not to be further molested and that its charter ought to be renewed or another bank established to take its place, reference is frequently made to the distresses of the last war and the derangement of the currency which grew out of them. The President is satisfied that had the old Bank of the United States been continued in existence during that period, instead of aiding the Government in carrying on the war it would have compelled it to make peace on ignominious terms. Not only was a large portion of its stock held by the subjects of the British monarchy, but they had a right to vote in the choice of directors, and much of the domestic stock is believed to have been held by men who were equally disposed to embarrass the prosecution of that war. So far from aiding the Government itself it would undoubtedly, not only have opposed it, but prevented the state Banks from rendering that aid which was actually received from them.

It is unjust to the state Banks to attribute to them the embarrassments of the Government and country which led to the suspension of specie payments and a depreciated paper currency. All those evils are attributable to other causes. In consequence of combinations among men of wealth opposed to the war the requisite loans of money could not be procured—disasters overtook our arms for the want of the necessary supplies of funds and others were threatened. If patriotism ever actuated Banks it was felt in the operations of many of the local banks at that gloomy period. At the hazard of their existence they furnished the means of raising armies and maintaining them in the field, and it was in their efforts to sustain the Government, that they so far crippled themselves as to be obliged to suspend the payment of specie. If the Bank of the U S had then existed it must have done as the state Banks did, or it would have effected nothing in support of the Government. It if had not joined the combination against the Government it could not have furnished the funds which the exigencies of the country required without suspending the payment of specie. Instead of hostility and persecution the Government owed the state Banks gratitude and support. Their credit during the whole war was as good as its own, and without their aid the Treasury must have stopped payment. But no sooner had peace arrived and a profusion of revenue begun to flow in than the Government not recollecting that it was impossible for the state Banks at once to bring down their business and redeem themselves from the difficulties into which they had thus been led, insisted upon an immediate resumption of specie payments, and because a demand so unreasonable was not forthwith complied with erected a new Bank of the United States to coerce them. There is not a doubt in the mind of the President, that had
not this institution been created, all the state Banks which were sound, would have been compelled by public opinion to resume the payment of specie as soon as they were able, and that in a short period every section of the union would have enjoyed a sound currency. And is it not evidently fallacious to anticipate now, in a time of profound peace and unexampled prosperity the same results which then flowed, not from the destruction of the old Bank, but from a desolating war, the suspension of commerce and universal embarrassment? We are often told of the alleged difference of exchange between the northern and southern states at that period, and it is attributed to the state Banks. Those banks in the north which looked coldly upon the great contest and gave no aid or support to the Government, were enabled to maintain the payment of specie, while more patriotic institutions were compelled to stop. Their paper consequently depreciated, and that which is now so often spoken of as difference of exchange was in reality a difference in the value of the currency, which could never again arise but under similar circumstances. And who believes that public opinion will ever maintain the Banks in any quarter of the union in refusing to redeem their notes in a time of profound peace and general prosperity? No such result is to be anticipated. There will only be a difference of exchange which can never much exceed the cost of transporting specie and by arrangements among the Banks may be less.

It is frequently boasted that the Bank of the United States is largely beneficial to the country in effecting domestic exchanges at a low rate. There are two sorts of exchange business carried on by the Bank of the United States. The bona fide exchange in which the merchant or trader deposits his funds in one branch of the Bank and takes a check or draft on a distant branch near the spot where he wants to use them, or draws and sells to the Bank a draft on a fund deposited to his credit in a distant branch or which he verily expects will be, is undoubtedly beneficial to the country. But that kind of exchange business which is carried on by drawing and redrawing to enable speculators to raise funds and men in desperate circumstances to sustain their credit, is a source of much mischief to the country. It is evident from developments heretofore made, that a large portion of the exchange business now done by the Bank of the United States is of this description. If that Bank should cease to exist, there is no reason to suppose that the bona fide exchange will not be carried on by arrangements among the state banks on terms nearly if not quite as favorable as it is now. That which is profitable to one great institution carried on through many branches, must also be profitable to small institutions that may take their places.

Merit is often claimed for the Bank of the United States, because it has faithfully transferred the public funds without loss to the Government. The transfer of the public funds is known to be a source of profit to the Bank instead of a burden, and the more distant the transfer the greater the profit. The exchange is always in favor of the eastern cities where the revenues are principally collected, and bills drawn on those points in the
distant south or west to transfer the public funds or for other purposes, are sold at a premium. At the same time the Bank has the use of an average public deposit of near nine millions, the employment of which at five per cent must yield about $450,000 per year. It would be bad management indeed, which should so completely dissipate this profit and all the means and stock of the Bank as to cause a loss to the Government of any portion of its deposit.

But the Government has once lost as a stockholder, if never as a depositor. On the seven millions of stock subscribed, it long paid the Bank an interest of five per cent, the subscription having been in five per cent stocks of the United States; and from January 1819 to July 1822 the Bank either declared no dividend or declared one less than five per cent, so that the amount paid to the Bank during that period exceeded the amount received from it about $822,500. The losses in the state Banks after the close of the war were remarkably small considering the immense amount collected by the Government during that period and the convulsions produced by the arduous contest in the business of the Banks and the country. No inference can be justly drawn from them favorable to the United States Bank which has encountered no such difficulties, or unfavorable to the State Banks in their future career.

On the whole the President thinks the same advantages may be secured to the Government and community from the employment of the state Banks as from a Bank of the United States, without any of the dangers. He sees no serious difficulty in transferring the Public deposit at an early period from the one to the other, as the first step in an attempt to dispense with a national Bank. It is not the desire of the President that the deposit should be drawn suddenly so as to embarrass the operations of the Bank of the United States or create any shock in its relations with its debtors or the community. To make the desired change in as gentle a manner as possible, it may be expedient not to require any actual transfer of funds from the Bank of the United States, but to leave the money now on deposit in that institution to be drawn out gradually by the usual Treasury warrants for the public service, and direct the future deposits to be made in the state Banks. This plan seems to be recommended by the double advantage, that it will give the state Banks time to direct their plans of operation before any call shall be made upon them, and leave to the Bank of the United States no cause to complain of the harshness of the Government. No just ground of hostility to the state Banks will be left to it, and if its affairs have been as well managed as has been represented, it will be under no necessity to make oppressive calls upon its debtors.

In the accomplishment of the object in view there are some points which must be particularly regarded.

The safety of the public deposits in the state Banks employed must be secured beyond a doubt.
They must undertake to remit to any part of the United States and there pay in gold and silver or their equivalent, such portion of the public monies received by them as may be required, without expense to the Government.

They must undertake to perform if required without compensation, any other duties or services which the Government may now lawfully require of the Bank of the United States.

They must agree to make reports of their business and condition to the Secretary of the Treasury at least once a month and as much oftener as he may require.

They must agree to subject themselves to a critical investigation of their affairs by the Secretary of the Treasury in person or by any agent duly authorized by him.

They must agree to pay any expenses which the Government may incur in making the new arrangement, or employing any agent, temporary or permanent, to look after that portion of the public interest which may be entrusted to their care and management.

In fine the Government must be placed on a footing both in relation to convenience and expense, at least as favorable to its interests as that which now exists.

It will also be expected of the Banks which may be employed by the Government, that they will facilitate bona fide domestic exchanges for the interests of commerce and the convenience of the people, grant reasonable facilities to the payers of the public revenue, exercise the utmost liberality towards the other state Banks, and do nothing unnecessarily to embarrass the Bank of the United States.

The great object being to rid the country of the dangerous and irresponsible power necessarily concentrated in that Bank, care must be taken not to raise up another equally formidable. Perhaps such a result is impossible by any organization of the state Banks, as they are amenable to the state Governments on which they depend for their existence. But to prevent even an apprehension in the public mind of such a result it will be expedient to interfere with the Banks employed as little as possible and to require and exercise no other or further control over them than is absolutely necessary to secure the public deposits and insure a faithful performance of the duties incident to their transmission. If the Banks selected shall, jointly, or any one of them separately be detected in using their power to favor one man or set of men and oppress another, to accomplish any political purpose whatever, it is the determination of the President that they shall be no longer employed by the Government, so far as he has the power to prevent it. So far as the Government is concerned, they must confine themselves to collecting, safely keeping, and faithfully paying the public money whenever and wherever required. It is the Presidents desire, wholly and forever to separate the control of the currency from the political
power of the country and from every question which may hereafter be agitated in the congress of the United States. And he deems it equally important to take that control from an institution which is not responsible to the states or the people, and has already attempted, as it may again, to subject the Government to its will. As fearful as would be the committing of a controlling power over the currency in the hands of the Executive, it is not more so than its concentration in a Bank which aspires to direct the legislation of Congress. To obviate both dangers, he wishes to see the action of the general Government on this subject confined to the grant in the constitution which only authorizes Congress “to coin money and regulate the value thereof.”

The President is sensible that his own ease and comfort, as well as the quiet of his administration, would be promoted, by leaving to others the whole subject of the Bank of the United States and the public deposits. But he deems it so important to the present and future interests of our country, to the purity of our Government and the liberties of the people, that he cannot permit any personal considerations to persuade him to silence or inaction. Had he no other motive to impel him, he should find a sufficient one in gratitude to the people, who, as he conceives, reelected him to the exalted station he now holds, chiefly for the purpose of carrying into effect the principles of his veto message.

As the subject of this letter belongs principally to your Department, the President has thought it proper to communicate to you in writing the course of policy appertaining to it which he desires to have pursued, as well to enable you thoroughly to understand it as to take upon himself the responsibility of a course which involves much private interest and public considerations of the greatest magnitude

Andrew Jackson

Boston June 26th. 1833

LS in AJ Donelson’s hand, DLC (64). Copy by AJ Donelson and AJ Jr., DLC (42); Bassett, 5:113–28. Copy by Duane, PPAmP-Duane Family Collection (mAJs); Duane Narrative and Correspondence, pp. 14–35. Duane replied on July 10 (below).

1. The three annual message passages are in Richardson, 2:462, 528–29, 558.

Address at Harvard by Josiah Quincy

[On the morning of June 26, Jackson, accompanied by his suite and Governor Lincoln, journeyed from Boston to Harvard University in Cambridge. He was received by the Fellows of the University and Harvard president Josiah Quincy (1772–1864), a former congressman and Boston mayor. Quincy delivered this address at the College Chapel in front of a large assemblage of students and dignitaries, and Jackson briefly replied.]

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He was then awarded a Doctor of Laws degree. Afterwards Jackson toured the campus and attended a reception. Contrary to legend, the entire ceremony was conducted in English except a student oration and the reading of the formal degree citation, both in Latin.

June 26, 1833.

The President and Fellows of Harvard University welcome the Chief Magistrate of the nation to this ancient seat of learning. They are happy in the opportunity to receive within these walls one, whom it has pleased the people of the United States so highly and so frequently to honor—whose name is destined to fill so wide a space in the civil history of our country; and whose fame is so intimately blended with its military glories.

It is auspicious to the cause of science, when men in elevated stations, or those who are eminent for talents, or virtue, or influence, condescend to evince an interest in seats of learning. Our youth cannot fail to derive encouragement, and our academic authorities strength & support from all such evidences of countenance, sympathy & respect.

The institution which you now honor by your presence, was founded nearly two centuries ago, by our pilgrim fathers, amid sorrow, and suffering and danger. In every successive period of our Country’s history, it has been a cherished object of public bounty and private munificence. In every period, it has amply reciprocated and remunerated that patronage by the happy influences it has uniformly shed, on the literary, moral and religious character of the community.

It is our happiness on this occasion to be enabled to state that the great objects which the founders of this institution proposed to themselves by its first establishment, continue to be pursued with a zeal and fidelity, proportionate to their importance, and to the increasing wants and requisitions of an inquisitive and intellectual age.

The great faculties of an University,—Theology, Law, Medicine, and the Arts, are well endowed and satisfactorily sustained. Suitable means and opportunities are afforded for the successful cultivation of all the branches of literature and science. No important facilities are wanting to excite, assist and encourage those ingenuous youths, who enter upon an academic course, with true views of the dignity of their nature, and with a just sense of their obligations to themselves and their country.

In attending to general education, the great principles, on which the strength and duration of our peculiar forms of government depend, are diligently sought and carefully inculcated: whatever is exclusively local, geographical or sectional, either in feeling or character, or of a party aspect, is repressed, and sedulously discountenanced. Our youth are taught to look up to the national constitution with affection and reverence, and to regard the union of these states as the only efficient guarantee for the continuance of our peace, our prosperity, and our republican institutions.
In presenting to you the youths now assembled within these walls, it is a great gratification that we are justified in speaking of them as worthy of the distinguished privileges they here enjoy; and as well performing the duties of their station; and giving substantial pledges of future usefulness and success.

May these anticipations be realized! may their names be hereafter enrolled by their country among its distinguished benefactors. In their respective spheres of action may they become instruments of its prosperity,—ornaments of its glory,—and pillars of its strength!

Permit us, sir, on this occasion to congratulate you on the happy auspices under which your second term of administration has commenced, on the disappearance of those clouds which of late hung so heavily over the prospects of our Union, and which your firmness and prudence contributed so largely to dissipate.

Our best wishes and prayers will accompany you in the fulfilment of the remaining duties of your exalted station. May it be your happiness to witness the uninterrupted felicity, and advancing prosperity of your Country,—the continuance of its union,—the increasing attachment to its constitution, and the brightening and strengthening of the chain of friendship between the States!

May it be ours to co-operate in this work of patriotism, by annually transmitting to the offices and business of manhood, well-educated youths, capable of being useful to their country in all its exigencies,—qualified to assist in its councils, to lead in its defence, and adequate to all the duties and energies which will be claimed of them by its unparalleled destinies.

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Reply to Josiah Quincy

Sir,

It has afforded me much pleasure to visit this ancient seat of learning, which has contributed so much to the general stock of knowledge, and sent forth into the various departments of life so many eminent and useful men.

The honorable distinction which this renowned institution has conferred upon me, I shall highly regard as a testimonial of its favor: and I shall never cease to contemplate with interest its future exertions in the great cause of literature, science, & morals; nor to hope that Providence will bless your efforts hereafter as it has done heretofore, and enable you to maintain the high character acquired for the institution by almost two centuries of zealous devotion to the momentous concerns of education.

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D in AJ Donelson’s hand, MH-Ar (23-0076). LC, MH-Ar (mAjS). AJ’s answer to Quincy’s address was not publicly reported. Harvard’s official record of the ceremony noted that he...
“made a short and appropriate reply, reciprocating the kind wishes of the President of the University, expressing his gratification at its flourishing state, and his admiration of the systems of public education established in New England.” On June 29 AJ Donelson sent Quincy this text at AJ’s direction as representing “substantially what he intended to observe on that occasion” (23-0075). It was duly copied into the Harvard record (MH-Ar).

Address at Bunker Hill by Edward Everett

[From Cambridge, Jackson and his party, including Governor Lincoln, proceeded to the unfinished Bunker Hill monument in Charlestown, where Massachusetts congressman Edward Everett delivered this address. Bunker Hill, the first Revolutionary battle following Lexington and Concord, had been fought on June 17, 1775. An association was formed in 1823 to erect a monument at the site, and the cornerstone was laid in 1825. The 221-foot obelisk was completed in 1843 and still stands.]

Mr. President:—

I have been directed, by the Committee of Arrangements, on behalf of themselves, of their fellow-citizens, and of the vast multitude here assembled, to bid you welcome to the ancient town of Charlestown, and its famous heights.

The inhabitants of a small and frugal community, we cannot, like our brethren of the metropolis and of the other great cities, through which you have passed, receive you in splendid mansions and halls of state,—but here, Sir, upon the precious soil once moistened with the best blood of New-England; with nothing above us but the arch of Heaven, we tender you the united, respectful, and cordial salutations of our ancient town.

There are many interesting historical recollections, connected with this immediate neighborhood, which I will not take up your time in recounting. I will only say that on yonder gentle elevation, the first company of the settlers of this Commonwealth, a little more than two centuries ago, laid the foundations of the ancient colony of Massachusetts:—and upon the hill on which we are now assembled,—upon the very spot, on which we stand,—on the 17th of June, 1775,—beneath the thunder of the batteries from the opposite heights of Boston, from the vessels of war on the bay beneath us, and from the head of the columns of the advancing army of five thousand chosen British troops;—while the entire town of Charlestown was wrapped in flames, and every steeple, roof, and hill-top of the surrounding country was crowded with anxious spectators of the dreadful drama,—Prescott, Putnam, Stark, and their gallant associates bravely fought, and Warren, with his heroic comrades, nobly fell, in the cause of American Independence.—You, Mr. Secretary Cass, may well cherish the memory of that day, for your father bore his share in its perils and its glory. Stark’s regiment, where he fought, was stationed not very far from the spot where you stand.¹
We bid you, Mr. President, who like those our fathers, have exposed your life in the cause of your country, and more favored than they, have been permitted to enjoy the fruit of your toils and dangers,—we bid you welcome to the precious spot. Most of those, who have preceded you in the chief magistracy,—Washington, Adams, Monroe, and your immediate predecessor, have trod it before you:—and but a few years since, the Nation’s Guest, the great and good Lafayette, made his pilgrimage also to the same venerable precincts. To you, Sir, who, under Providence, conducted the banners of the country to victory, in the last great struggle of the American arms, it must be peculiarly grateful to stand upon the spot, immortalized as the scene of the first momentous conflict.2

We have thought it might not be unwelcome to you, to possess some joint memorial of these two eventful days, and such an one I now hold in my hands;—a grape shot dug up from the sod beneath our feet, and a cannon ball from the battle field of New-Orleans, brought from the enclosure, within which your head-quarters were established. They are preserved in one casket:—and on behalf of the citizens of Charlestown, I now present them to you, in the hope that they will perpetuate in your mind, an acceptable association of the 17th of June, 1775, and the 8th of January, 1815;—the dates of the first and last great battles fought under the American standard.3

To designate, in all coming time, the place of the first of these eventful contests, the gratitude of this generation is rearing a majestic monument on the sacred spot. We invite you, Sir, to ascend it, and to behold from its elevation a lovely scene of town and country;—a specimen not unfavorable of this portion of the great republic, whose interests have been confided to your care, as chief magistrate of the United States. We rejoice that you have taken an opportunity of acquiring a personal knowledge of its character. Less fertile than some other portions of the Union, its wealth is in its population, its institutions, its pursuits;—its schools and its churches. We doubt not you will find, in your extensive journey, that the great springs of its prosperity are in harmony with the interests and welfare of every other part of our common country.

The spot on which we are gathered, is not the place for adulation. Standing over the ashes of men, who died for liberty, we can speak no language but that of freemen. In an address to the Chief Magistrate of the United States, there is no room for one word of compliment or flattery. But with grateful remembrance of your services to the country;—with becoming respect for your station, the most exalted on earth;—and with unanimous approbation of the firm, resolute, and patriotic stand which you assumed, in the late alarming crisis of affairs, in order to preserve that happy union under one constitutional head,—for the establishment of which those streets were wrapped in fire and this hill was drenched in blood;—with one heart and one voice;—we bid you welcome to Bunker Hill.
1. William Prescott (1726–1795), Israel Putnam (1718–1790), and John Stark (1728–1822) were American commanders at the battle, in which Boston physician and patriot leader Joseph Warren (1741–1775) was killed. Lewis Cass’s father, Jonathan Cass (1753–1830), fought at Bunker Hill as a New Hampshire militiaman and was later a Continental officer.

2. Lafayette had attended the 1825 cornerstone ceremony on his extended tour of the country. Daniel Webster had then delivered a famous oration.

3. The box containing the two cannon balls was made from timber taken from the frigate Constitution. It bore a silver plate, engraved with the inscription: “These now harmless memorials of the 17th June, 1775, and the 8th of January, 1815, were presented to General Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, by the citizens of Charlestown, on the 24th June, 1833, on his visit to Bunker Hill.” AJ’s visit to Bunker Hill had been originally scheduled for June 24.

Reply to Edward Everett

Sir—

For the kind reception you have given me, in behalf of the citizens of Charlestown, and for the friendly sentiments expressed on this occasion, I return you my sincere thanks.

It is one of the most gratifying incidents of my life, to meet my fellow citizens upon Bunker Hill, at the base of that Monument, which their patriotism is erecting; and upon the sacred spot hallowed by so many interesting recollections:—A spot rich in the various national objects which it presents to view, and richer still in the associations, moral and historical, which belong to it.

The earlier incidents of the revolution;—the high-toned patriotic declarations;—the stern determination to meet the coming events, and the vigorous preparations to resist them successfully;—the great battle, which opened the revolutionary contest, whose full results upon human institutions are yet to be disclosed, and in which,—if your sacred Mount was lost and if your devoted town was consumed,—imperishable glory was acquired;—the services, the sacrifices, and the sufferings of this generous and enlightened State, and the memory of the renowned men she has furnished for the field and the cabinet; all these recollections crowd upon the mind, and render this one of the high places, where the American citizen will ever repair, to contemplate the past and indulge in the anticipation of the future.

And when to all these are added your moral, social, literary, and religious institutions,—your happy equality of condition,—your charitable establishments,—your foundations for education,—the general diffusion of knowledge,—your industry and enterprise;—and when we reflect that most of this is common to the New England States, you may well be proud of your native land, and our country may well be proud of New England.
I have seen much to admire and emulate,—nothing to excite regret;—
and if my journey be attended with no other result to myself, I shall feel
amply repaid, by witnessing this fair prospect of human comfort; and by
finding, that, however high I had rated the moral and intellectual charac-
ter of the eastern portion of the Union, I had yet to learn, that I had not
done it justice. I do not speak of the personal kindness I have met with: I
cannot. But the impression is on my heart; it will only leave me when life
departs.

I accept with gratitude the interesting relics you have presented to me.
I am sure I speak the sentiments of my fellow soldiers upon the plains
of New Orleans, when I say, that to be associated with the memory of
that band of patriots, who fought with Warren, when he sealed his prin-
ciples with his life, is the highest meed of praise, which our country could
bestow. I am sensible that we owe it to a too partial estimate of our
services. It was my good fortune, on that eventful day, to lead an army
composed of American citizens, appreciating the value of the prize they
contended for, and determined upon exertions proportioned to its mag-
nitude;—and it was theirs to expel a superior force, and to preserve an
important section of the Union.

Accept, Sir, for yourself, my acknowledgments for your personal
kindness.

Printed, Boston Daily Advertiser and Patriot, June 28, 1833 (mAJs; 23-0055). After this
exchange AJ climbed the monument, then about 37 feet high, and had the battle explained
to him. He then visited the navy yard and proceeded on through Lynn to Salem.

From Willie Blount

June 1833.

Dear Sir,

I was much gratified to learn by Mr. Van Buren’s letter of May last,
that you were then in good health and fine spirits: and that the States
of Connecticut & R. Island had come over, by large majorities, to the
support of your administration: and that elections, in that quarter of the
Union were, everywhere, going in support of it—things will get right after
a while, for truth, understood, in support of right, will prevail over the
delusions of party errors and unfounded prejudice—however, the struggles
now, and for the future, about high places among political aspirants are,
& have been, for some time, between themselves to settle, who, is to come
first and next after your retirement at the end of your present term.¹

I habitually and daily think of absent friends, and sometimes write, for
the value of social intercourse, to inquire after them, or to communicate
what I know of some absent friend, for the information of others, who,
like myself, feel an interest about what concerns them. In this spirit, I ask,
does the French gentleman who married the daughter of Major W. B.
Lewis intend to reside in the U.S, or in France? What is the present state of Mrs. Eaton's health? we heard some time back, that she was supposed to be in a decline. Lieut. Randolph uses hard words about Major Eaton: but the publication, long since, of the latter, shews a complete justification of himself in all the matters and things Randolph's publication alludes to concerning Major Eaton course; and from it, purity itself could not be more disinterestedly pure, than Eaton's whole conduct in that affair was; and so, I now believe—as to any crow to pick between them, it would be, on the part of Eaton, if he should condescend to pick it, something like descending to the level of Sarjeant Dunbaugh, of old. I have seen nothing more of Everets talks about Major Lewis's salt-lick purchase, leveled at you, as well as it him, since Lewis and Currin picked the ticks off him in that affair: before that, he was madly full.

I regret the death of our old and venerated friends, John Rhea, & Judge Overton—a few days ago, I heard of the death of several other well beloved friends of mine, & of yourself: to wit, that of old Capt. Thomas Hardeman, & Josiah Nicol—that of my only & last brother, J. G. Blount, & that of my son in law, Doctor John T. Dabney, nephew of the late Col. Charles Dabney, Virginia, of revolutionary worth & memory: these bereavements add to the long list, of like kind, I have experienced, & heretofore mentioned to you—am, now, the only survivor, male or female, of the immediate family of my father, once very numerous, and united in affection, as one—the whole of my own immediate family, together with the whole of that of my father in law, Major Baker, being also are gone to participate, as I hope and believe, in celestial bliss:—I have, however, one son in law, & five grand children still left as comforters to me; and comforters they are, of inestimable worth: and I still hold you, and Judge White as my adopted, long adopted brothers, for many good and friendly offices afforded me so far in life, & which, I have an abiding faith will continue & be reciprocated, thro' life—this, and your successes in usefulness, and merited attainments to high and many offices, have been, and will be continued themes of inexpressible joy to me; whilst I, am now, & long since have been, & ever intend to be, in choice retirement, as a private citizen. In your last you mentioned the illness, at your house, of your daughter; hope she has been restored to good health. I had like to have omitted, (but had not forgotten), that I have seen an account of Lieut. Randolph's brutal attack on you: fie on such conduct. I lament the death of John Randolph, what kin were they? However, it is to be the fate of all, to die; for after our course is ended here, we go from this, here, to that, there, world; and I have always been so much of a Soldier, in that respect, as to consider it to be my duty to be ready and willing to receive & to obey marching orders, tho' well attached to this good world and to those in it; and hence, am in no hurry to be off.

I have time (more under my controul of late, than formerly,) to write often; but am aware, that you have but little time to devote to letters, of
no more worth than mine can be—when leisure permits, hope to hear from you, as usual, and am, your friend

Willie Blount

[Endorsed by AJ Jr.:] Willie Blount Esq. of Tennessee  Private  Let the President see this when at Leisure

ALS, DLC (73). The letter is postmarked June 27 at Clarksville, Tennessee.
1. Jacksonians had won April state elections in Connecticut and Rhode Island.
3. In his Candid Appeal to the American Public, published after the breakup of AJ’s first Cabinet in 1831, John Eaton had defended John B. Timberlake’s honesty and the propriety of their dealings. In 1806, Army sergeant Jacob Dunbaugh (1779–1819) had taken a furlough from his post at Fort Massac on the Ohio to join Aaron Burr’s expedition down the Mississippi. When he did not return, his company commander, Captain Daniel Bissell, posted him as a deserter. Later, at Burr’s treason trial, Dunbaugh gave suspect testimony incriminating Burr and implicating Bissell. Edward Everett in 1832 had pushed for a House investigation into a West Tennessee salt lick reserve leased to William B. Lewis and Robert P. Currie (1789–1857) under an 1818 treaty with the Chickasaws (Register of Debates, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1643–44, 1676–86, 1843–46; Jackson Papers, 10:133–34, 163–64, 210–12).
4. John Rhea died in May 1832. Former Tennessee legislator Thomas Hardeman (1750–1833) had died on June 3, AJ’s financial agent Josiah Nichol on May 31, and Blount’s half-brother John Gray Blount (1752–1833) on January 4. John Thornton Dabney (1797–1833), who died of cholera on May 27, had been married to Blount’s late daughter Elizabeth. His uncle Charles Dabney (1745–1829) had been a Revolutionary officer. John Baker (1753–1829) was the father of Blount’s first wife, Lucinda Baker Blount, who died in 1806. Blount’s living son-in-law was John Baker Dortch (1807–1834), the widower of Blount’s daughter Lucinda, who died in 1830.
5. John Randolph had died on May 24. Robert Beverley Randolph’s father was his first cousin.

From Henry Lee

[The first French payment to the U.S. under the 1831 claims convention had fallen due on February 2, 1833, one year from the exchange of ratifications. On April 6 the French ministry submitted the convention to the Chamber of Deputies for approval. It was referred to a committee, which reported on June 18 that it was too late in the session to act on it. The Chamber adjourned on June 26 without providing for the payment.]

Paris 28th June 1833

My dear Genl.

Before this letter reaches you, you will have learned, and I trust with indignation, that the French Chamber of deputies has adjourned without making provision for paying the first installment due under the stipulations of Rives’s treaty. This wrong and insult come from the nation, not from the contemptible and transitory govt. which they have at their head or rather at their tail—a nation which we at as great a sacrifice of dignity as of truth,
are in the habit of calling to their scorn and amusement, our friends. It is an injury too, deliberate and accumulated. Our sensibility and pride were already suffering under the dishonoured credit of our country and the violated faith of theirs; and they knew that we had reason to feel this unexpected outrage—and it is upon this inflamed and ulcerated state of national feeling that this fresh wound is inflicted. You solemnly declared to the world, as the chief Magistrate of the U. States—as the successor, and according to my belief, the only worthy successor, of Washington—that you would ask of other nations nothing but what is right, and take from them nothing that is wrong. 1 Is not this a wrong aggravated by all the circumstances of wantonness, deliberateness and contempt which can be imagined? While to Austria Russia and even Prussia, France is licking the dust, to us she carries herself with haughtiness outrage and derision. Slaps us in the mouth for the impertinence of asking what she acknowledges to be due, and then pats us on the head with a mockery of liking and approval, because we whine about friendship and peace, and supplicate for justice again; and protests that we are excellent fellows though she has to kick us in the backside for misbehaviour every now and then.

To make the insult more intolerable the a committee of the Chamber reports favourably of our claim—as if it was a petition instead of being tardy and imperfect compensation for property taken from us by a violence which they confess to have been robbery; and that compensation secured by the faith of a treaty made and ratified by the sole and sufficient treatymaking power of their govt. and the countervailing advantages of which treaty they are enjoying.

If this premeditated and accumulated insult is submitted to, we must stop calling ourselves either free or independent, we must give up our 4th. of July haranging and festivals—must prate no longer about Bunkers Hill, New orleans and the Star-spangled banner—but must proclaim ourselves to be “a nation of shopkeepers” 2—willing to sacrifice our honour and rights, as long as we can be permitted to sell our cotton, flour, cod fish, and tobacco, to supply the wants or pamper the pleasures of other people.

If further negotiation were not absolutely incompatible with the slightest feeling of honour, or the faintest spirit of independence, what chance could there exist of vindicating our character and redeeming our rights with such a poor-spirited scribbler as Livingston—a man whose mind though sufficiently clear, well informed and investigating, is known to be as limber and inefficient as a wet rag.

I trust in god you will have time to prevent his coming out, not on account of the peculiar imbecility of his character, but in order to shew that you are not disposed to be sending a minister here to procure the performance of a solemn agreement which another minister had procured to be executed and ratified.

The committee which reported favourably on our petition—for such it must now be called, reported favourably also I understand on the agreement
which had been entered into by the French Govt. to contribute to the
Greek loan—thus shewing a contemptuous determination to consider
justice to us as a favour from them, and our long forbearance as
earnest and timid supplication.3

Our insulted honour and violated rights are in your hands, until an
occasion shall be offered for the voice of the people to be heard through
their representatives. In your hands I can never believe that they will be
forfeited[.] Your since and respectful friend

H. Lee

[Endorsed by A:J:] Major Lee—on the French treaty—infidelity of
France—trifling with us—and her national faith. A. J.

ALS, DLC (43).

1. Richardson, 2:443.
2. A famous gibe at Great Britain, often attributed to Napoleon.
3. In May 1832, French, British, and Russian diplomats had signed a convention recom-
mending that their governments guarantee a loan of up to sixty million francs to the newly
installed King of Greece. The proposal was submitted to the French Chamber of Deputies on
January 24, 1833. A committee reported favorably on April 4, and on May 22 the Chamber
approved the guarantee.

Reply to Samuel Dinsmoor

[Jackson arrived in Concord, New Hampshire, on Friday, June 28.
The next morning, June 29, the state legislature received him officially
at the capital. Governor Samuel Dinsmoor (1766–1835) gave an address
conveying “our high regard for your person and character, our warmest
gratitude for your eminent and invaluable public services, both in the
Cabinet and in the Field, rendered to our common country; and our most
cordial welcome to the State.” Jackson made this reply.]

Sir,

I am truly grateful for the kind reception you have given to me on
behalf of the government and State of New Hampshire, and for the favor-
able terms in which you have been pleased to allude to my public services.

A just sense of the high character which your State enjoys, heightens
the satisfaction which I have derived from this visit to the capital—a visit
which I assure you more than confirms all that I had anticipated, favor-
able as it was, of your institutions and of their happy effect upon the
moral and social condition of your citizens.

It is a source of deep regret to me that neither the state of my health
nor the time which I can conveniently spare from my public duties, will
allow me to continue my journey further than this point—I shall however
have seen enough of New England, to satisfy me that in all the elements of prosperity and in the happy use of the means of moral and social improvement, she may well be proud of the high character she has acquired.

I do not doubt also, that those sections further East and North which I have not seen, and which I shall not be able to visit, would only extend, without changing the features of this pleasing prospect.

Tendering you again, Sir, my thanks for the cordial terms in which you have welcomed my arrival at this spot, I can only assure you, in conclusion, that I shall ever retain a lively remembrance of the honor conferred upon me by this State—ranking as it does among the foremost in its attachment to the union and the steady support which its citizens have given to the cause of republicanism.

Printed, Concord New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette, July 3, 1833 (mAJs; 23–0074).

To Jacob Sutherland et al.

Concord, June 30th, 1833.

Gentlemen—

I have delayed an answer to your communication on behalf of the citizens of Albany, until I could inform you with certainty whether it would be in my power to comply with their kind invitation before my return to Washington. It is now a source of deep regret to me, to state that the fatigue of my present journey has proved greater than I can well bear, and that I feel obliged, from its effects upon my health, to return without delay to Washington.

The terms in which you have been pleased to speak of my efforts in the service of our common country, are received with gratitude. It cannot but be gratifying to a public servant, who has been called to a station which necessarily makes him the instrument of much good or evil, to know that his conduct, after full examination, can be thought worthy of the commendation you have been pleased to express on this occasion.

The value of sentiments so favorable, is much heightened by the liberal and intelligent character which the citizens of Albany have acquired, and in connection with the honor they have paid me, in anticipation of my visit to them, will never be effaced from my memory.

I am, gentlemen, with great respect, Your obedient servant,

ANDREW JACKSON.

Printed, Albany Argus, July 9, 1833 (mAJs; 23-0088). Sutherland (c1788–1845) was a New York supreme court judge. He headed a 44-member citizens’ committee that on June 14 had written AJ praising his military and political services and inviting him to Albany (23-0064).
Dear Sir

I have the honor to enclose to you a letter from the President of the Agricultural Bank of this State in relation to the transfer of the deposits of the U States from the U States Bank to the local or State Banks. I have no doubt the Bank over which this gentleman presides will receive the deposits upon the most favorable terms, and extend such facilities to the Govt in the transmission of its funds, and the receipt of its paper and bills, as may be deemed necessary by the Secretary of the Treasury. I ask’d the President if he would receive at par or in deposit the paper of a Bank in Washington City sent to this State to pay the Officers in the service of the Govt. He was not prepared for such a question—but intimated there would be no difficulty upon the subject. I then replied he might consider the interrogatory as referring to the bills of all the Banks in the receipt of the U States deposits. This I had no doubt would be an important arrangement in regard to the maintenance of a uniform currency throughout the Country, and one I am well convinced the Govt will have it in its power to make to the entire satisfaction of the community in the event of a transfer of the deposits. If it should be accomplished one of the greatest objections urged so vehemently by the partisans of the U States Bank against our State institutions, will be entirely avoided. I had an interview with the President of the Planters Bank upon this subject soon after my return home—but I have not received, as I expected, a written communication from him stating his views.1 This is the cause of the great delay in not addressing you at an earlier date. It is due however to the Planters Bank to state, that the President in our conversation gave me every assurance that the Bank would be pleased to become the agent of the Govt in its monied transactions here, and that every possible facility would be cheerfully rendered to aid the Treasury Department in the execution of its financial views. The great amount of money arising from the sales of the public Lands within our limits, will make it a matter of the greatest importance to either Bank here to receive the deposits; therefore, I am inclined to think you may confidently rely upon the most faithful compliance with
From Martin Gordon

Collectors Office
New Orleans 2nd July 1833

Sir,

I consider it my duty to inform you that I have this day resigned the Office of Collector of this port, and by this mail have transmitted my commission to the Secretary of the Treasury. I have been induced to take this measure in consequence of the receipt of a Letter from Mr Duane under date 19th ultimo, which has just reached me.

In taking leave of you, as an officer of the Government, I avail myself of the occasion to say, that no situation in which it may please Divine providence to place me shall interrupt that cordial friendship so long existing between us.

As my views must now be extended to other objects, it would be extremely acceptable to me that my successor should be appointed with as little delay as possible and would beg leave respectfully suggest, that I might have permission to retire on the first of the approaching month, or as soon thereafterwards as may be convenient. With great Respect I have the honor to be Sir Your Ob Servant

Martin Gordon

ALS, DNA-RG 56 (M174-2). Treasury secretary Duane had written Gordon on June 19 that Samuel Spotts would be retained as customs surveyor at New Orleans. Gordon replied on July 2, refusing to serve with Spotts under any circumstances and resigning as collector (DNA-RG 56, M174-2). On July 17, Duane wrote Gordon that AJ, on receipt of his letter, had reconsidered and appointed Henry D. Peire to replace Spotts, and that Gordon’s resignation was therefore not accepted (DNA-RG 56, M175-4). Unknown to Duane, Spotts had died on July 11. Gordon stayed on as collector and was nominated by AJ for a new term when his commission expired in March 1834. The Senate rejected him in May (Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:375–76, 411).
From John Coffee

Near Florence 3d July 1833

My Dear Sir

I am now confined to a sick bed with a disease believed to be incurable, and to all human appearances must in a very short time bid farewell to all temporal concerns. Yet before I die I have one last request to make of you. It is in relation to my successor as Surveyor Genl. of this District. Mr James H. Weakley has been in my employment as a deputy and Clerk in the Office for nearly sixteen years and I can confidently recommend him to you as a Gentleman in every way well qualified to be my successor should I die. His habits are good, he is much better acquainted with the business and concerns of the Office than any other individual, and as an evidence of the great confidence I repose in him, I have appointed him one of the Executors to my will and entrusted the welfare of my family to his charge. May I then hope that Mr. Weakly may receive what he so justly merits, the confidence of the President, and the gift of an Office the duties of which he is in every way well qualified to discharge. That God of his infinite goodness may yet spare you for many years to be a blessing to your Country, and finally that he may take you home to the mansions of the just, is the sincere prayer of your dying friend

Jno. Coffee

LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-26). James Harvey Weakley (1798–1856) was a clerk under Coffee and the postmaster at Florence, Ala. He enclosed this letter to AJ on July 8 (below).

From John Donelson (1787–1840)

Genl. Coffee’s July the 8th. 1833

My Dear Uncle

To day has been one of great trial with us, we have had the misfortune to loose our worthy & noble friend & relation Genl. Coffee. We have just returned from intering his remains, he departed this life yesterday about 1 o'clock P.M.

The trial has been a great one and a hard one to reconcile, but it is no less a fact than true, we now have no Genl. Coffee to aid and comfort us, when misfortunes happen us, he is no more. He bore his sufferings in a manner worthy of himself, to the very last moment; to give you an Idea of his manliness up to his departure, I will state to you about his last words—we were all standing round, waiting to see him breath his last, his sufferings to all appearance being more than human could bear; sister Mary commenced shedding tears, he opened his eyes and looked up and he saw a tear starting in my eye; he spoke in a firm audible voice & said Jack Donelson be a man and expired in a few minutes
There seemed to be a peculiar fatality that attended his case, it was continually changeing or mistaken. At one time it was thought to be asthma and so treated, then dropsy of the chest & so treated and in the end inflammation the lungs and a tendancy to Genl. dropsy. The Doctors all say that he ought to have been cured that his disease was in the reach of medicine if administered in time. yours affectionately

John Donelson

[Endorsed by AJ:] John Donelson  Genl Coffees death—on the 8—buried on the 9th. the within date a mistake  A. J

ALS, DLC (43). John Coffee died on July 7. John Donelson, son of Rachel Jackson’s brother John Donelson (1755–1830), was the brother of Coffee’s wife, Mary.

From Samuel Hogg

Florence (Alabama). July 8th 1833

Respected Friend

It again becomes my painful duty to announce to you the death of a great & good man.

On the 5th Inst. I arrived at the house of our mutual friend Genl. Coffee; he had been indisposed for some time, but seemed to be recovering as fast as the nature of his previous situation would authorize, until two weeks since when from some cause he took violent pleurisy, & continued to decline rapidly until yesterday when he died.

From the time I saw him until he died he seemed to be threatened with suffocation, & ultimately died from engorgement or effusion on the lungs.

The state of his mind & rapid decline after my arrival prevented his saying much, but amongst his last requests was that I would write you, & request your blessing for his partner & fatherless children. He died the death of the righteous & manifested the true faith of the Christian.

Today his funeral took place, & the respect shewn to his remains by his neighbors, you can better conceive than I can express; the artillery company from this place was out & paid the necessary honors, & permit me to say to you that Mr. James Jackson, has redeemed himself in my estimation, by his unwearied attention to our friend & the disposition shewn by him to renew the long broken up relations which formerly existed between the families, & the determination to serve them in every way it may be in his power.¹

You have been already apprised of Genl Coffees wish that Judge Weakly should receive the appointment of Surveyor in case of his death for the benefit of his family—permit me Sir to renew the request & that Mr. Pearson, (if it can be done with propriety) be appointed Postmaster in place of Weakly; this seems to be the common wish of his (the Genls)
friends here. They say that John Coffee can attend to the business of the post office, also can do the business of Clerk in the land office until he becomes of age, by which time he can be well qualified to take charge of the land office & can in the mean time have made some 14 or 1500$ pr. year for the family.

I hope sir you will excuse the liberty I have taken in writing you thus freely on this subject as it has been done not only in compliance with my own feelings but by special request of the genl’s friends, amongst whom I do now view Jas Jackson.

You will consider this letter as confidential & I hope excuse its garb as it has been written under more than ordinary excitement of feelings. I am very respectfully yr friend

Saml Hogg

[Endorsed by AJ:] Doctor Hogg   Genl Coffees death on the 7th. July 1833

ALS, DLC (43).

1. James Jackson (1782–1840) of Florence, once a close associate of AJ and Coffee, had become bitterly estranged from them in the 1820s both personally and politically.
2. Percifor F. Pearson was appointed Florence postmaster on July 20.
3. John Donelson Coffee (1815–1837) was Coffee’s eldest son. He wrote AJ on August 17 (below).

From James Harvey Weakley

Florence Ala
8 July, 1833

Sir,

You have no doubt been apprised for some time, that the health of your valued and esteemed friend Genl. Coffee was delicate and had been since his return from Washington in March last. It is with exceeding pain, I have to inform you, that he continued to decline daily, notwithstanding the exertions of his physicians, & fear began to be entertained some two weeks since that his recovery would be doubtful; those fears it grieves me to inform, have been realized, & on yesterday, at 20 minutes past 1 O’Clock P.M. one of the best men that ever existed, breathed his last. I know how deeply the President will be affected by this sad intelligence, & permit me, sir, to assure you that the feelings and sympathies of our whole community have been deeply affected. His remains were interred to-day at his late residence followed to the grave by the most numerous & respectable assemblage of citizens I ever witnessed. All united in one universal tribute of respect to his memory. I need not tell you how sorely afflicted, are his beloved family. Your own feelings will tell you.

In the death of our valued friend, the office of Surveyor General of Alabama becomes vacant. It was one of his last requests that I should be
appointed his Successor. I enclose to you his letter on that subject, also one from Col. Mc. Kinley; many others could be procured did I think it necessary; but presume I am sufficiently known to the President.

He observed to me “that I have appointed you an acting executor of my estate, and I charge you to take care of my family, and in order to place you in a situation to do so, I wish you to be appointed my successor; this will give you the means of assisting them; besides you are better acquainted with the duties than any other person, and I have every confidence to believe the President will fulfill my wishes.” These were his words.

Should the President think me worthy of the appointment, I pledge myself to use every means in my power to advance the interest of the family, of one whom I esteemed and loved as a father & who was the best friend I ever had.

The office which I now hold of Clerk shall be tendered to John D. Coffee & the office of Post Master if vacant, may be secured to him, if thought adviseable; and I will endeavour to act towards him, & his brothers & sisters as his father ever did towards me.

I will only beg leave to refer you to Maj Andrew J. Donelson, who has known me from boyhood & with whom I once had the pleasure of being a class-mate.¹ I have the honor to be with the greatest respect your obdt Sert.

Jas. H. Weakley

[Envelope endorsed by AJ:] Genl Coffee death—on the 7th of July—request Mr Weakly to be appointed his successor if he dies—Col McKinley recommends it—it shall be done—A. J.

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-26). Envelope, DLC (43). Weakley enclosed John Coffee’s July 3 letter (above) and also a July 8 letter to AJ from John McKinley, lamenting Coffee’s death and urging Weakley’s appointment (DNA-RG 59, M639-26). AJ forwarded them all on to General Land Office commissioner Elijah Hayward on July 20 (below).

¹. Weakley had grown up in Davidson County, Tenn., and attended Cumberland College in Nashville in company with AJ Donelson.

From William John Duane

Treasury Department
July 10, 1833—

Sir—

I. On the first of the present month, the undersigned had the honor to receive, the letter, which the president addressed to him, from Boston, on the 26th. ult. transmitting a detailed statement of his views “upon the subject of a discontinuance of the government deposits in the bank of the United States, and the substitution of certain state banks, as the fiscal
agents of the United States, so far as those duties are now performed by that institution."

If, when, early in December last, the desire of the president, that the undersigned should assume the station, which he now holds, was communicated to him, it had been intimated, that a cessation to deposit the public monies in the bank of the United States, without any legislation upon the subject, was to constitute a part of the executive policy, and that the undersigned would be called upon to carry the measure into effect, upon his own responsibility, it would have been in his power to consider, whether he ought to enter into office or not, and he would not have been compelled, as he now is, either to incur the censure of congress, or to commence his service by acting in opposition to the president's wishes: But, as no intimation of any kind was given, and as the undersigned was thus to come into office, in a manner as honorable to the President's liberality, as it was flattering to his own pride, he accepted the proffered honor, but still not without reluctance, resolved to perform his duty so faithfully as to merit public confidence, justify the president's choice, and preserve that invaluable treasure his own self-respect.

If, when, on the 30th. of January last, the undersigned consented to serve, and before he had entered upon the duties of his station, he had known that a change of the depositary of the public money, notwithstanding the decision of the house of representatives, was a part of the president's policy, and very anxiously discussed in the cabinet, it would still have been his pleasure, as well as duty, to consider the questions involved, carefully: but, although late in the month of March, the president intimated, that he was agitating the subject himself, the undersigned had no conception, that it was with a view to any proceeding prior to the meeting of the new congress.1

It was not, indeed, until the evening of the day, or of the day after, the undersigned entered into office, that he was informed, that a change, of the depositary of the public money, had been the subject of cabinet discussion, and that upon the undersigned would rest the responsibility. This information was communicated by Mr. R. M. Whitney, who called to speak to the undersigned on the subject, and who was attentively listened to, as well in consideration of the importance of the communication, as of the respect due to an individual apparently in the president's confidence.2

It will not surprize the president, therefore, to learn the sentiments of the undersigned now for the first time; or that he may fail to present such an exposition of his views, as, under different circumstances, he would at least have attempted to prepare. When, subsequently to the first of June, the president confirmed the representations of Mr Whitney, he was so good as to say, that he would send to the undersigned, the opinions of the members of his cabinet, with his own views, to be deliberately reflected upon, with a view to a frank declaration of the opinions of the undersigned to the president, on his return from his eastern tour: those
documents were received on the first instant, and the president returned on the 4th. so that the brevity of the interval, and other circumstances interfering, will, he trusts, be regarded as adequate apologies for imperfection: Whilst, however, he regrets the imperfection, he is consoled with the knowlege, that he is but a gleaner in the field of enquiry, after officers, superior to the undersigned in all the advantages of experience, and with whom he will not assert an equality, except in purity of purpose, and in regard for the chief magistrate, who has made him their associate.3

II. In the conclusion of the president’s letter, he has the goodness to say, that, whilst he frankly avows his own opinions and feelings, he does not intend to interfere with the independent exercise of the discretion, committed, to the undersigned, by law, on the subject; and that the undersigned may adopt, on the president’s responsibility, the sentiments expressed by him, in his letter, as the basis in part of his own decision. The undersigned, therefore, concludes, that he has not received the direction of the chief magistrate, to perform an act of executive duty; but, that the president believes, that congress had a right to direct, and hold responsible, an executive agent; and, accordingly, without expressing a doubt on that point, that might be thought presumptuous, the undersigned will decide on his responsibility to congress, and that decision shall be the same, as if he had received an executive order = this, however, will not, for a moment, be regarded by the president, as indicative of the least abbreviation of the respect and attachment, which, on many accounts, he entertains for the president; the expression is used, in order to evince the perfect sincerity of the undersigned in the matter referred to him; it is used, in order to make known to the president, that, however grateful to him the undersigned may be, and however unwilling to incur the risk of separating from him so soon, a separation so likely to expose the undersigned to the shafts of envy or of malice, if such exist, such considerations are overcome, by a sense of the high duties imposed on him as a public agent.

It is not more consistent with the principles of the undersigned, to pay a homage to the president, than it would be the desire of the president to receive it: but since it is so soon his fate to differ in opinion with the president, the undersigned boldly says, that no one could have been called to the station, now filled by him, who could have had a more anxious desire than the undersigned had, to render the evening of the president’s life as tranquil as its noon had been glorious: It is very painful to him, therefore, to be obliged to decline, to adopt the course described in the presidents letter: he has the consolation, however, that the very opposition establishes a claim to the president’s respect, and is a sure guarantee of sincerity.

Trusting, therefore, to that magnanimity, on the part of the president, which is inseparable from the purity of his own intentions, the undersigned will frankly state some of the reasons, that have drawn him to the conclusion, at which he has arrived. In doing so, he will present the results
of brief but anxious reflection, and incidentally such observations as a perusal of the president's letter demands.

III. With regard to the bank of the United States, even if the undersigned did not consider it unauthorised by the constitution, he avows his deliberate and unbiased belief, that the renewal of its charter would be inconsistent, with the duration of the happiness and liberties of the people: these sentiments are not formed as a potter moulds his clay, to suit the fashion of the times, or the order of a customer = they are not the sentiments of a man, who has a latent grief to assuage, or an injury to avenge: they are the opinions of an individual, who, although bowing to the law, as every good citizen should do, and respecting the opinions of others, has never omitted a fair occasion to utter his dispassionate belief, in opposition not only to the present, and to the former, bank of the United States, but to all such monopolies.

Without any desire, therefore, to arraign uncharitably the motives of others, the undersigned is satisfied, that many of the acts of the bank, that are complained of do but justify his uniform apprehension of such institutions: he conceives that the bank has forfeited all claims to favor, and that, if chartered, with such a weight of complaint against it, the charter might almost as well be perpetual as limited.

But, whilst these are the sentiments, that he entertains, and whilst as an individual he might, in every fair way utter and publish, in language becoming a freeman, his strong remonstrances and upbraidings at the 3 per cent. transaction, and others, he does not consider it proper, as a public officer, to pursue any other than an open, decided, and authorised course: he is persuaded that vindictive justice is so much at variance with the best feelings of the human heart, that a resort to a measure of that kind would, by the repugnance that it would create, tend to merge the more essential consideration of the future destinies of the country.

At present the bank stands, if not convicted, arraigned before the country: it has put itself in the wrong; and the stock-holders have not manifested an inclination even to enquire into the causes of complaint against the directors: Public opinion is unfavorable to the continuance of the institution; it is obviously the conviction of dispassionate men, that no modification can control an institution, that has the elements of evil in its composition and existence: the dictates of prudence and policy, therefore, demand, that nothing should be done against the bank, that might altogether conceal justice under the veil of sympathy.

The main question was put to the people by the president and left to them, in such terms, and in such forms, as to absolve him from all accountability: in this, as in other instances, posterity will do justice to the purity of his purposes, and the vigor of his acts; and there is no occasion, either for the present or the future, to adopt a course different from the open and manly one heretofore pursued: it is not requisite, in order to pre-
vent a renewal of legal life, to resort to measures, that might be regarded as extreme if not utterly needless.

IV. The undersigned is persuaded, that the measure would be regarded as extreme and arbitrary, for these reasons:  

1. The charter is the law of the land; it is a contract, that cannot be dissolved or altered without mutual consent, or forfeited without enquiry: the public deposits are a benefit to the bank, for which it has paid a consideration, and their continuance is a part of the contract:4

Has the undersigned a right to rescind this contract?

It certainly is true, that he has the power to change the depositary, but he is bound to give his reasons: What reasons can the undersigned give? he must not rely on the reasons of others, unless he adopts them as his own: he must be satisfied, that the measure is sound in itself and defensible.

If, indeed, there were not other tribunals, before which acts involving forfeiture might be enquired into, and acts involving forfeiture were apparent, there might be some apology for an exercise of extraordinary power by an individual: But if there has been such misconduct in the corporation as warrants a forfeiture of its charter, or if there have been such acts done by the directors or officers, as bring them within the penalties of the act of incorporation, what reasons can be given, for visiting the sins of the officers upon the stock-holders, without a trial by jury, or other judicial proceeding? how could the undersigned justify himself before congress, even if his opinions were sound, in declining a judicial enquiry, and in condemning the accused unheard?

If the president is satisfied, that there has been misconduct, such as would warrant punishment by judicial agency, why has it not been, why may it not yet be, resorted to? but if no such step has been taken, or can be sustained, how can the undersigned justify the assumption of the powers of jury, judge, and executioner? is he to punish unheard, at his own pleasure, and without being able to assign to congress reasons for such an arbitrary act? is it consistent with the principles of justice, or the genius of our institutions, that any man should be able to constitute himself a dictator, in matters affecting the character of the country, the welfare of the people, and the fame of men, who are entitled at least to the rights of felons?

The undersigned has been, like other men, under excitement, in relation to the bank of the United States, and upon public grounds has been desirous to see its existence closed, yet he would not under excitement exercise such a power as is now conferred upon him; much less will he, now in a high station, and under the guidance of deliberate reason, do any act, that has not the stamp of manliness upon its front; he does not think that the end justifies the means, or that there is any distinction between moral and political integrity. No doubt, the president believes the proceeding under consideration, to be fair, manly, and sound; the undersigned has learned not to say dogmatically that he is right, and that another is wrong;
it is sufficient for him, that, whilst he sincerely respects the sentiments of the president, the undersigned cannot at his pleasure change his own convictions, or present to congress reasons for an act, that he believes to be arbitrary and needless.

It is true, that congress gave to the undersigned the right to use this arbitrary power; but for what purposes? surely not to enable him to usurp executive or judicial authority: it is the right of the president to arraign, and the right of the judiciary to try, the bank; upon what pretext can the undersigned wrest these powers from the legitimate organs? Or can it be fancied, that congress transferred to the undersigned powers possessed by themselves? What, then, is the fair conclusion, in the absence of all explanation, as to the motives of congress? surely, that dictatorial power was conferred on the secretary of the treasury, for occasions demanding sudden and extreme action, or as a salutary check upon the bank, or a mean to promote the conclusion of its affairs: it never could have been conferred to enable an individual, whose appointment has not yet been confirmed by the constitutional advisers of the president, to execute vindictive justice.

Is there, then, any cause for sudden and extreme action? the undersigned admits, that the views in the president’s letter, are very striking; they must, if presented to the people or their representatives, have a powerful influence upon the question of the renewal of the charter; but he does not believe that they warrant the undersigned in resorting to the proposed measure; it must be a very strong case, indeed, that would justify the nullification of a contract, made by all the departments of government.

2. The measure would be considered extreme and arbitrary, because the last congress acted, upon complaints against the bank, and because the next congress may follow the example of the last. It cannot be pretended, that, the last congress doubted the ability of the bank to meet its engagements; the house of representatives by a vote, 109 to 46, decided that the bank was a safe place of deposit; and one of the last acts of congress authorised the secretary of the treasury to lend a million of dollars to the bank, without security: what has since occurred, that should warrant the undersigned, in treating these evidences of confidence with contempt? What reasons could the undersigned give for reversing the judgment of those, of whom he is the mere agent? What has occurred, since the last session of congress, to change the ground then held? If any thing occurred, prior to the entry of the undersigned into office, on the first of June, why was not his predecessor called upon to act? and if nothing occurred prior to that time, what has since happened, that could justify the undersigned, who has not yet become acquainted with his duties, or been above forty days in office, in exerting powers, affecting not merely the bank, but the whole community? is he to take it for granted that the last house of representatives was ignorant, or corrupt? or is he to conclude that there has been fraud or mismanagement on the
part of the bank? he does not pretend, that an adequate investigation was made by the last house of representatives, but that house decided on the evidence produced: it was not competent for any agent to furnish adequate proofs; the minority of the committee of investigation declare that, a full and protracted enquiry by congress is necessary to the development of truth; and yet it is expected that the undersigned shall either have faculties, superior to those of congress, or hardihood that disregards their censure; it is supposed, that, although a body with power to send for persons and papers, were unable to come to a decision, unfavorable to the bank, or even to express a disbelief of its safety, the undersigned, without any such enquiry, or power to enquire, is first to do what congress would not do, and then refer to the reasons of the president as a justification: such a reference would, not, and ought not to, answer as a defence; the undersigned is thrown on his own reasons, and, if he acts and has none, he must stand in a posture before the world, not more honorable to the country president than grateful to himself: it would, in these malevolent times, be said, that the president had purchased the conscience of the undersigned, and that the undersigned had basely sold for office, the only inheritance that he may have to leave to his children, the unblemished integrity of their father.

If it does not become the undersigned, to treat with disrespect the decision of the last congress; why should he refuse to await the interference of the next? any proceeding now, especially in the absence of adequate reasons, would seem to arise from an apprehension, that the representatives of the people are incompetent or corruptible—and that the people themselves are incapable of preserving the institutions of their country, in the event of a general depravity of their agents. The undersigned is not willing, by any act on his part, to give sanction to heresies, as groundless in themselves, as they are pernicious in their tendencies: he would despair of all that is calculated to cheer and exalt mankind, if he could fancy that his act, or the acts of any man even if endowed with intellect, or crowned with glory, were essentially necessary to save the people from themselves: he cannot have the arrogance to think, or to give colour of conjecture that he thinks, that he can save the republic, or that without him it will be lost: it is his duty, on the contrary, to follow the president’s own example, who, instead of proceeding, as he might have done, by scire facias, against the bank, waited until the representatives of the people assembled, and submitted his complaints to them: In the absence of peril, the undersigned does not consider it his duty to forestal the opinion of congress; if there is just ground for complaint, it is consistent with our love of our institutions, and our sense jealousy of their purity, to believe that an enquiry, if made, will be fairly conducted, and that the representatives of the people will act, in consonance with their duty to Heaven, their country and themselves. But, if, contrary to the lessons of experience, the representatives of the people should be faithless, the bare suggestion of which the undersigned
regrets to utter, the people have the inclination, as well as the power, to change them, and to annul any act, that may have been the progeny of fraud or corruption: have they not the inclination, as well as the power? if not, then the boasted excellence of our institutions must be a phantom; but, if it is a substance and not a shadow, as the undersigned thinks it is, it does not become him at least to decide upon a supposed imperfection, and substitute means, justifiable only in an insurrection or a siege.

With great deference, therefore, for the president's opinions, the undersigned concludes, that it would be arbitrary and needless to adopt the proposed measure at this time.

V. But, suppose, that the undersigned had reasons, to submit to congress, to show that the measure was not arbitrary or needless—ought the substitutes for the present fiscal depositary to be accepted? the undersigned respectfully conceives that he has not authority, and that it would be unwise, to adopt the scheme proposed:

Undoubtedly, if the undersigned were to cease to deposit the public monies in the bank of the United States, it would be his duty to direct its deposit to the credit of the treasurer, in some safe place: but, at the threshold he is met with the question, what would be a safe place? does it become him to judge of the solidity of any institution by hearsay? but, even if he chooses to take that responsibility, has he any right to go further? the plan suggested by the president proposes a contract with divers banks; according to which certain service is to be rendered by one party, for the privilege of trading upon the money of the other; has the undersigned authority to create a sort of charter? has he a right, in any way, or for any time, to bind the United States? have the local banks any right to bind themselves? if they have, what is the security, and who is to judge of it? has the undersigned a right to contract, that certain banks may contract with other banks unknown to him? has the undersigned authority to take away, the legislative power to authorise a disposition of the public money, was conferred upon the undersigned? is it to be believed, that a section of a charter, obviously meant for extreme cases only, authorised the undersigned, in the absence of any necessity, to take the public money from a bank, over which there is a control, and distribute it amongst institutions, over which no control exists? the 16th. section of the United States bank charter directs that the public money shall be deposited in that institution, unless the secretary of the treasury shall direct otherwise; but so jealous were congress of the power, to withhold, thus conferred, that the secretary is enjoined to give his reasons immediately to them, obviously shewing, that congress considered themselves
alone competent to judge of the necessity of a removal from one agent, and the propriety of the substitute: so that the undersigned deems it proper to use extreme caution on ground untrodden.  

The undersigned is, indeed, aware, that certain local banks are now, from a supposed necessity, used as fiscal agents, and that several of his predecessors, as an act of ministerial duty, or supposed necessity, at various times and under various circumstances, made arrangements with state banks, (the particulars of which he cannot now ascertain, owing to the destruction of the treasury office) but he also knows, that, under those arrangements the country lost upwards of between one and two millions of dollars, whilst of upwards of four hundred millions, from time to time in the custody of the United States bank, not one cent has been lost: the undersigned does not use this as an argument in favor of a renewal of the charter, to which he is opposed, but he states the facts, to shew, that he ought to have very strong reasons, indeed, to present to congress, for exchanging a certainty for an uncertainty: he repeats, an uncertainty—for, if one of his predecessors was justified in saying, in 1814, that “the multiplication, of banks, in the several states, has so increased the quantity of paper currency, that it would be difficult to calculate its amount, and still more difficult to ascertain its value,” how much more doubt should the undersigned entertain at the present day?  

Besides, the undersigned pleads the authority of the president himself, in the letter now under consideration, as ground for hesitation. The president does not pretend, that the proposed scheme will answer, he barely says he thinks it will: no doubt, he thinks so, and possibly in some measure upon premises presented by local institutions: but even upon such representations the president does not rely, for he does not suggest a plan for actual or continued operation, but merely as an experiment: has the undersigned a right to make experiments upon such important matters? did congress, in allowing him to retain, out of bank, the public money, confer on him legislative and executive power united? as already alluded to, the anxious care, that the undersigned should at once report to congress, after resolving to retain the money out of bank, shews that it was not meant that the undersigned should make experiments. As it is clear, therefore, on the president’s own view, that he is in doubt as to a substitute, that he is prepared for a test only, and as the power of the undersigned will end on his report to congress, can it surprize the president, that the undersigned is in doubt also? if an experiment must be made, is it not at least courteous to those, of whom the president considers the undersigned in this case the agent, to await their instruction? have not the constitutional holders of the public purse the only means, that can be safely used for making such trials?

But if congress should not interrupt an experiment, and the experiment should fail, as the undersigned thinks it would, is he then to make another? will not a failure, of any precipitate, undigested, and unsanctioned
scheme, give vigor to the claim of the U.S. bank for a renewal of its charter? will it not be urged, that the inadequacy of the president’s own project proved the necessity of retaining an organ, that, for fiscal purposes, had such obvious advantages over local banks? The president, besides, seems to think, that time will be necessary to test the project, and desires that the trial may be made, so as to meet the dissolution of the U.S. bank: this rests on the presumption, that congress will not interfere, whereas the undersigned believes, that the operations will have scarcely been commenced, ere the apparatus will be demolished; an occurrence, which, for the sake of the president, as well as himself, the undersigned desires not to witness.

Then, is it likely, that banks of any solidity will embark in such a project, when they know that it may, and probably will, be arrested by congress? is there the least reason to suppose, that banks of good standing will guarantee the acts of banks in remote parts of the union? would the undersigned be prudent in allying the country, with banks willing to make such a common cause? So great were the difficulties of the bank of Pennsylvania, and so great were the losses, arising out of transactions with distant banks, after the dissolution of the old bank U.S. that it declined to be accountable to the union for the public money placed in those banks. Does not the president see, that, however selfish the U.S. bank may be, the local banks have not more extended principles of action? will not the anxiety to make money, the ignorance, or the imprudence of, particularly remote, local banks, tempt them so to extend their loans, and trade upon the public money, that when that money shall be called for, they may either fail to pay it, or ruin their debtors by demanding its return? upon whom would reproach, in such events, be cast?—not on the banks, but on the secretary of the treasury, as an oppressive, or perhaps party, measure. Is it not manifest, that the welfare of the people demands, that, instead of being a partner of either, it government should be independent of both United States and local banks.

VI. If the president knew certainly, that the charter of the U.S. bank would not be extended, would he advise a change of the depositary of the public money? would he urge the undersigned to execute articles of co-partnership between the good people of the United States and divers banking companies, that may be very well conducted, but whose solvency materially depends upon the solvency of each other, and the solvency of the whole upon events beyond the control of any or of all? As the corporators, who have so long enjoyed a profitable share of the sovereign power, who have had an opportunity to amass fortune, and who have not been free from abuses to which monopolies are liable, are soon to cease their operations; does it not become the duty of the representatives of the people, whose lives, liberty, and happiness are more or less affected by such institutions, to consider whether the fiscal operations of the government cannot be conducted without such agency? could the enquiry be
made at a more propitious moment? is it wise to make entangling alliances, either with a bank, not authorised by the constitution, or with local banks, that interfere with, derange, depreciate and banish the only currency known to the constitution, that of gold and silver? Is it not inconsistent with the dignity of the government to be obliged to grant favors, or exclusive privileges, to particular descriptions of persons, that would not be otherwise granted, merely to secure a safe receipt and disbursement of the public revenue? Is it consistent with the public spirit and intelligence of the representatives of the people, to suppose, that they cannot devise a method to escape such thraldom? But, if, in the wisdom of congress, no such mode can be found, as will enable the government to conduct its fiscal operations without the aid of a bank, then, it is respectfully suggested, whether some constitutional provision should not be made, to insure all the advantages, with as few as possible of the evils, of a bank?

Although the undersigned extends these questions, to the mere want of the government, it is not because he thinks these the only questions worthy of consideration; on the contrary, an enquiry into the state of the entire currency, if not now demanded, must soon be required; but it is not to the agents of banks that resort may be safely had, in enquiries of this nature: good and useful as those agents may be, and no doubt are, in all the private relations of life, they are not so free from bias, as voluntarily to develop the nature and results of their operations: the laboratory of the people is preferable, their representatives the manipulators.

The enquiry, that must at last be made, and for which preparation may be necessary, is not, which of two descriptions of monopolies, alike at variance with the sovereign attributes of the United States, and the general good of the people, is the least pernicious, but how their abuses, and the consequences of those abuses, may be gradually corrected and averted. Such a scrutiny would be worthy of the wisdom of congress: it might be so conducted, as not to affect injuriously, by its results, any interest: and an opportunity might be presented, to the union and the states, gradually to limit, or remove, institutions, which, whilst they have some uses, are yet so partial in their operations, and so liable to be perverted, as to affect seriously the morals, to impair the earnings, and endanger the liberties of the people. Those institutions are now so powerful, and have such a common interest—men in companies are so prone to do, what as individuals they would scarcely think of—that any change affecting them will be stoutly resisted: can they be resisted at all, if their power shall have no check ere long? or is the evil only to be remedied, by one of those convulsions, in which, as in wars, the ruin usually falls on those, who ought to escape?

But, if there is any illusion, in this suggestion of a general enquiry, at least there can be none in the particular, or preliminary, enquiry first suggested: The fiscal operations of the government should be safely, steadily and speedily conducted—how shall they be so conducted? what shall be
the machinery? who the agents? the undersigned, in the voice of experience, cannot err, in saying, that local banks are not the best.

VII. Supposing, that, in adopting the proposed measure, the faith of the country would not be violated, that contempt to the last and the next congress would not be evinced, that the power to contract with state banks exists, and that it would not be unwise to make the contract, still the question presents itself, what would be the effect upon society? would the operations of the government, or of the commercial world, be facilitated? would confidence between man and man be promoted? would the facility to stand a shock, in the event of a war in Europe, for instance, be given to the local banks?

These questions, and others of an analogous character, need not be discussed by the undersigned; for, his predecessor, on all accounts so much more competent to advise the president than he is, has placed this part of the subject especially, in a point of view, that cannot, he respectfully thinks, be overlooked by a chief magistrate; so anxious, as the president has proved himself to be, to protect the mass of the community from embarrassments. From want of experience or information, the undersigned may not anticipate evil so extensive as that apprehended by his predecessor; but his fears are still so strong, that he is quite unwilling to be the one, who is to put the match to a train, the end of which he has not the sagacity to discern: Even, if he doubted whether the U.S. bank could meet every demand of government, as made upon it, he would hesitate whether it would not be his duty to forbear, rather than to increase the evil, by abridging the power of the bank to surmount its difficulties: so that, in the absence of all doubt of the kind, the undersigned would be at a loss for an excuse, were he to produce, by an act on his part, the very mischief that is apprehended. Credit, like female fame, is of such a peculiar nature, that its blossoms may be blighted even by the breath of enquiry; what, then, might not be the consequence of the blast of the indignation of government, against an agent, in whose interest it was itself so deeply concerned? much more trivial changes, than that proposed by the president, have produced great commercial convulsions: such a measure, as is urged, would be regarded by the bank so decidedly hostile, as to afford it an excuse to shake the fabric of credit, for the purpose of throwing odium on the government, and producing a persuasion, that in the extension of the charter would be found the only remedy for the mischief: that it would not hesitate to do so, the president believes—that it ought not to have an excuse for doing so, the undersigned is certain.

It is, indeed, mentioned, in the letter of the president, that the United States bank will not be able to effect any such purpose: but the undersigned is not satisfied, that an institution, with so large a capital, with branches at so many important points, acting with one accord, and for a single end, with specie equal to half its capital circulation, has it not in its power to affect the operations of local banks, with specie equal to about
a sixth of their capital circulation only: if the bank really is so harmless as this part of the president’s letter supposes, then the alarm that the undersigned has at all times entertained, at the existence of such a power is, unfounded, and one of the most serious objections to the renewal of the charter is obviated: but the undersigned is not able to arrive at such a conclusion; he is convinced, that it is in the power of the U.S. bank, so organized and so secured, grievously to affect the local banks and community: the undersigned thinks, that the trial ought not to be made.

Beyond doubt, the power of the U. S. bank to control the local banks, and, through them, masses of the people, and through those masses, some of the constituted authorities of the country, is of such a character and tendency, as to excite alarm: but the very existence of such a power teaches extreme caution: such an adversary should gain no advantage from an abortive experiment to limit its influence. The struggle to be made, is not to see, which can do the other the most harm, the government or the bank: the government has but one duty to perform, to inform the people and their representatives of the apprehended danger; it is not called upon to maim the bank, lest the bank should master the country; in any attempt to maim, the agents of the bank would be those most likely to escape, the wound would be felt in the cottage of the farmer, rather than in the palace of the banker.

On the other hand, if the suggestion of the president is sound, that the U.S. bank dare not operate oppressively, because the state banks, having government deposits, might run upon the branches, then there is a check, at all times, in the hands of the government; and the bank, during its legal existence, will be careful not to do or omit, what might warrant a total removal of the deposits.

So that, the U.S. bank is represented, by some of the state banks as an engine so powerful as to be an object of universal alarm; and, the next moment, so utterly feeble, that by the simple operation of a treasury order, the entire branches may be broken up one after another, and the paper flung upon them in masses, which they will not be prepared to redeem: Which of these is the true picture? if a treasury order has such talismanic influence, can there be a better pledge for the safety of the public deposits? but, if it has no such power, is it discreet to commence the war? in all such calculations, as those referred to, the flinging back masses of bank paper, and breaking up the branches, are items, that seem to have caused no compassion for the ultimate sufferers; it appears to have been forgotten, that a large portion of the good and pure people of the land would be ruined—and why ruined? because the government of their country had put the power to ruin them into the hands of corporations, intent alone upon their own aggrandizement. Whether it is wise to make such experiments, the undersigned, with confidence, respectfully submits.

He submits, with confidence, because he knows the purity of the president’s purposes, and that he will not press for a measure, to say the least
of it, of doubtful and portentous character. He is not at all surprised, that excitement should exist; it was almost unavoidable on the part of those, who were pure themselves, and who sincerely believed that they saw impurity in others; its existence is even honorable to those, who, to avert a catastrophe really apprehended, are content to incur some risk on their own part: no one can imagine, that the president can have had, or can now have, any other than the purest intentions; his apprehensions are sincere, not factitious: but, still the apprehensions, that are entertained, warrant those measures only, which will bear the cool examination of the future historian, rather than the test of contemporary feeling; it is of such measures as are now proposed, that history will be the record; it will be to the adoption, or the rejection of them, that public men, in after times, will look for examples; it is all important, therefore, that the most exalted ground should be taken, when about to direct movements, that will be compared with the past, that will affect the present, and be an enduring guide in future.

The president, indeed, seems to think, that he is but obeying the will of the people; he believes that his veto message became the deciding as well as dividing point at elections; but the undersigned is unable to concur with him, that his election was the result of a contest on that point; in many parts of the union, the bank question formed no part of the materials of dispute; in others, many friends of the bank voted for the president; and, everywhere, thousands voted, for the same reasons, that had induced them to call him from his farm, they knew his services to be glorious and his patriotism to be greater still.

But, if it is true, that, when the president said he left the question to the people, they really took it up, then the undersigned respectfully asks, whether it was ever supposed, that the secretary of the treasury was to be the champion? was it not rather the design of the president, that the people should send to congress agents, who would be true to their trusts? surely this is the constitutional and the patriotic course, & if it shall not answer, then the undersigned thinks that the days of the republic are counted: but, he does not so think, neither will the president so think, if he shall reflect upon the career of his country; on the contrary, the undersigned is persuaded, that, as the sun of the president’s eventful life shall be setting, he will see his country in the full enjoyment of all the liberty and happiness, which he has done so much to transmit unimpaired to posterity.

VIII. It may, perhaps, be asked, whether the power, conferred, by the U.S. bank charter, upon the secretary of the treasury, is to remain a dead letter upon the statute book? in the first place, it may be replied, that, if it should so remain, it may be honorable to the country as well as beneficial; for it will appear, that arbitrary principles are not resorted to, whatever may be the force of extraneous excitement—it will appear, that the power given was not exercised as a substitute for the constitutional prerogatives
of the legislature or judiciary. In the next place, it by no means follows,
that, because the undersigned is unwilling to enter into an alliance with
divers banks, that have interests adverse to each other, and no common
interest but to make all the money they can out of the treasure of the
country, he is to be perfectly passive, in all other respects: it is the opin-
ion of the undersigned, that the public deposits will not constitute such a
fund, as to warrant extensive operations on the part of any bank; if the
revenue of the present year shall meet the demands upon the treasury, it
does not seem to be probable, that the surplus will be considerable; it is
the present policy of the constituted authorities to keep down the income
to the wants of the government; the results of legislative proceedings, of
late adopted, cannot be very clearly anticipated: So that, it will behove the
U.S. bank to regulate its operations accordingly: But, it will be the duty
of the bank, whatever may be the amount of deposits, to reduce gradually
the circle of its business, in order to avoid the pressure, upon the commu-
nity, arising from a sudden suspension, a pressure injurious to the bank,
as well as to the public and the government; and the undersigned thinks,
that the country, as the proprietor of one-fifth of the capital, and upon
general principles also, has a right to call on the bank so gradually to
abridge its business: If the bank should not do, what any prudent private
banker, in the certain assurance of an early death, or any incorporated
local bank destined to close its business, would do, then, it will be the
duty of the undersigned to consider, in what way he may so exercise the
power vested in him, as to cause a reduction of its business: the welfare of
the country, the convenience of the government, and the interests of the
bank itself, demand, that all concerned should so co-operate, as to prevent
any of those evils, which flow from sudden changes in the character or
amount of a circulating medium. It may, besides, be in the power of the
undersigned, without any risk of censure, to resort to means, that would
be productive of benefit to all concerned, or at least no prejudicial to any.
Whatever may be deemed best, should be done cautiously, gradually, and
with a regard to the rights and interests of the weak as well as the strong.

IX. The undersigned might proceed, in a more extended discussion of
the questions, under consideration, if such were necessary: he has tried to
shun the paths, already beaten by those, whose opinions the president has
availed himself of: he has, indeed, consulted his own heart and head as his
arbiters; he has appealed to the aid of common sense, as well as of official
intelligence, and will here close his remarks. Nothing but a profound con-
viction of being in the right, could have induced the undersigned to take
his first step in opposition to what is so obviously the president’s sincere
desire: The undersigned has too high a respect for the judgment of the
president, and too little confidence in his own, dogmatically to say, that
the president is mistaken, and that the undersigned cannot be so: happily,
if the proposed measure really is essential to any great or good end, it is
not in the power of any man, much less of the undersigned, to set himself
up successfully against a chief magistrate, to whom the country owes so much: far from seeking such a celebrity, the undersigned is prepared to make any personal sacrifice, except an acquiescence in a measure, that he positively believes to be at variance with his obligations to the country, the president, and himself.

In any event, no change can be made in those sentiments of sincere respect and attachment, which will ever be entertained for the president, by his obt. st.

W. J. Duane.


1. Duane had written McLane on January 30 consenting to serve (above).
2. The lined-out text is blotted out in the manuscript. Opposite it in the margin is a note by AJ: “This not correct—I cautioned him of Mr Whitney & told him I had no confidential intercourse with him—A. J.” Below is a note by AJ Donelson: “allusion to Mr. Whitney out.” Duane published this letter, including a slight variant of the excised text, in his 1838 Narrative and Correspondence concerning the Removal of the Deposites, and Occurrences Connected Therewith. He there related the following: Reuben M. Whitney had called on him on June 1, 1833. He said he had come at AJ’s direction to explain that AJ had consulted the Cabinet and had determined to have the deposits removed on his responsibility, and that Amos Kendall was preparing a public paper ordering the move. On June 3 AJ and Duane met. AJ confirmed his intentions regarding the deposits but denied sending Whitney or holding him in confidence. When AJ and Duane later met over this letter on July 15, AJ complained of its mention of Whitney, and Duane then crossed it out at his behest (Duane Narrative and Correspondence, pp. 5–9, 39, 57).
3. With his two letters of June 26, AJ had sent Duane his March 19 Cabinet circular and the replies of Taney, Woodbury, Barry, and McLane.
4. In return for the “exclusive privileges and benefits” conferred therein, the Bank’s charter had required it to pay the United States $1,500,000, commonly termed a “bonus,” over its first four years of operation (Statutes, 3:276).
5. The Appropriation Act of March 2, 1833, authorized the Treasury secretary to lend the installments received under the French convention to the Bank of the United States until the claims commissioners determined their award (Statutes, 4:628).
8. In the interval between the expiration of the first BUS and establishment of the second, the Treasury had employed the Bank of Pennsylvania as an agent and depository. As its cashier explained in 1817, it had for years suffered losses from its government business by being responsible for the unavailable paper of southern and western banks (HRDoc 140, 18th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1082–84, Serial 101).
To William John Duane

July 12th. 1833—

The President presents his respects to the Secretary of the Treasury & acknowledges the receipt of his note of communication of the 10th. Instantly disenting from the views which have been expressed by the President upon the subject of discontinuing the deposits of the funds of the Government in the Bank of the U. States.

The President understands the Secty. of the Treasury to concur with him as to the impropriety of renewing the charter of the present Bank and in the consequent necessity of providing some substitute for the performance of the duties now discharged for the Government by that institution, but he appears to be of opinion that the creation of that substitute should be left to Congress, and that the employment of the State Banks for that purpose either by the Secretary of the Treasury, or by Congress; would be inexpedient; but does not state what substitute he would advise the President to recommend to Congress.

Waiving for the present the consideration as to the power of Congress to act effectively in the matter until after either a previous discontinuance of the deposits in the Bank of the U. States by order of the Secretary of the Treasury, or the actual expiration of its charter; the President thinks an exhibition of the substitute which the Secretary of the Treasury would deem preferable to that suggested by the President, and which he might, if he should find himself able to concur with the Secretary in respect to it, recommend to Congress, necessary to a full consideration of the whole subject. The President therefore respectfully asks the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish him with his views upon that point, and to do him the favour to call upon him on Monday morning to converse further upon the matter.

The President will thank the Secretary of the Treasury to send him the Reports of the U. States Bank of the 1rst. of June & 1rst. of July.


From William John Duane

Treasury Department, July 12, 1833

Sir—

I have had the honor to receive your note of this date, and agreeably to your direction send to you herewith the reports of the U.S. bank of the 1st. of June and 1st. of July.

It will be my duty and inclination anxiously to reflect upon the suggestion, which you have made in relation to a substitute for the present...
public depository, and to wait upon you as desired on Monday next. With the utmost respect, I have the honor to be Yr ob st

W. J. Duane

ALS copy, PPAmP-Duane Family Collection (mAJs). Duane Narrative and Correspondence, pp. 56–57 (23-0115). Duane met AJ on Monday, July 15. As later recounted by Duane, AJ urged prompt action on the deposits, citing his June 26 directive as a “shield” of authority. Duane insisted on his own independent responsibility, stated his distrust of the state banks, and refused to order the deposit removal without a thorough congressional investigation (Duane Narrative and Correspondence, pp. 57–58). AJ wrote Duane on July 17 (below).

1. Duane’s printing in Narrative and Correspondence said “your desire” instead of “your direction.” The monthly BUS statements, dated June 3 and July 2, are in SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 117–28 (Serial 238).

To Richard Keith Call

Washington July 14th 1833.

My Dear General.

I learn by Judge McComb who will hand you this, that you have lost your election, how this has happened I wish you to explain to me.¹ There are so many rumours of treachery in your ranks, and nullifiers in your Territory, that I am anxious to be correctly informed, for whatever good opinion I may entertain of Individuals, I can never invest one with an office under the General Government to aid in the execution of the laws and the administration of the Govt who would nullify its laws and oppose their execution. Is it possible that our friend G___ is a Nullifier?² and his political friends voted against you—or did not vote at all. I sat out on the 6th ultimo to make the tour of the Eastern and Northern states, proceeded far as Concord in New Hampshire, where from fatigue my health and bodily strength failed, and I was obliged to abandon the tour. I was met with a hearty welcome and friendly greeting every where—saw much to admire & approve, and little to regret. The New England States are inhabited by a noble athletic race of people, moral, industrious and economical, with republican habits. Aristocracy cannot rule there—nor can nullification exist there. I never saw finer material for an army, or a finer Militia. I am very feeble to day—and must close. My kind solicitations to Mrs C—and your interesting children, and all friends, who may inquire after me.³ Your friend

Andrew Jackson.

Copy, FHi (23-0129), The Collector, vol. 20, no. 5 (March 1907), pp. 51–52.

1. David Betton Macomb (1793–1837) was a Florida lawyer and judge.
2. The Collector printing gives the name as Gadsden.
3. Call’s wife was Mary Letitia Kirkman Call (c1801–1836).
From Charles Richard Vaughan

[Vaughan was the British minister to the United States. John Reid and John H. Eaton’s biography of Jackson, first published in 1817, stated that Major General Edward Michael Pakenham (1778–1815), British commander at New Orleans, had issued the watchword “Booty and beauty” on the eve of the battle, as a promise to his soldiers of rape and plunder after victory (The Life of Andrew Jackson, Major General in the Service of the United States, p. 352). Eaton’s revised edition in 1824 reaffirmed the story, saying that “English writers may deny the correctness of the charge” but that “its authenticity is too well established to admit of doubt,” as “the information was obtained from prisoners, and confirmed by the books of two of their orderly-sergeants taken in battle, which contained record proof of the fact” (pp. 380–81). In his American travel narrative published in 1833, Scottish writer James Stuart (1775–1849) quoted the story from Eaton, saying it had often been repeated “and never contradicted, so far as I have heard” (Three Years in North America, 2:257–58).

Pakenham had been killed in the battle. In response to Stuart’s book, five senior British officers at New Orleans—John Lambert (1772–1847), John Keane (1781–1844), William Thornton (c1779–1840), Edward Blakeney (1778–1868), and Alexander Dickson (1777–1840)—wrote Vaughan to “most unequivocally deny” the story as a baseless calumny, saying they would have refuted it earlier had they known of it (DLC-43; 23-0138). On July 14, Vaughan sent their statement to Martin Van Buren with this letter, asking him to forward it to Jackson unless he thought it objectionable. Vaughan said he had seen Eaton, who said he was glad to have the report “at last contradicted” (DLC-43; 23-0144).

On August 16, Lambert also sent Stuart a similar refuting statement by the five officers and called on him to retract the story. Stuart did so by posting their denial to the press and later publishing the correspondence in his Refutation of Aspersions on “Stuart’s Three Years in North America” (London, 1834, pp. 102–8). American papers ran the news in October.]

Private

Washington 14 July 1833

Dear Sir,

I beg permission to divest myself of my public character, while I address you privately, in consequence of a communication which I have received from the British Officers who served upon the Staff of the Army commanded by the late General Sir Edward Pakenham at the Battle of New Orleans on the 8th Jany 1815.

In a Book of Travels through the United States, published in England by Mr Stuart, it is asserted, that the British Commander in Chief had
promised the plunder of New Orleans to his army, & on the authority of
Major Eaton’s Memoirs, that “Beauty & Booty” was the watch-word of
the British army on that day.¹

The surviving Staff-Officers engaged in that Battle, conceiving that an
imputation may be inferred from this assertion, injurious to the memory
of their distinguished commander, whose long & glorious career of mili-
tary service was closed by his death on that day, have transmitted to me,
a paper, signed by them denying positively that any order of the tenor
asserted was issued by Sir Edward Pakenham & it should be recollected
that through these Staff-Officers, alone, could any orders be issued from
the Head-Quarters of the army.

Encouraged by the fearless openness of character which distinguishes
you, I take the liberty of placing in your hands, the denial of the officers
upon the Staff of that Expedition. I am sure that it will at once rescue the
British Commander from the imputation of having promised the plunder
of New Orleans to his Troops & of having given out the watchword of
“Beauty & Booty,” which seems to have had its origin in the construc-
tion put upon papers found upon a prisoner, & which I regret to find, has
remained so long uncontradicted.

I am with the most profound respect & the greatest personal esteem
your most faithful & obedient Servant

Chas R. Vaughan

ALS, DLC (43; 23-0131). ALS copy, Vaughan Papers, UkOxU-AS (mAJs). AJ wrote William
Carroll the next day, July 15 (below).

¹. The phrase was often rendered as “beauty and booty,” reversing the order from Reid
and Eaton’s Life of Andrew Jackson.

To William Carroll

Washington July 15th. 1833—

My Dr Sir,

The inclosed papers laid before me by Sir Charles Vaugh, in his private
capacity and in the most delicate manner, will speak for themselves, and
bring to your view the real object of the officers who gives the certificate
which are to snatch from the memory of Sir E. Packingham the odium
of having any knowledge of the Watchword Beauty & Booty found on
some of the prisoners for on the 8th of Janry, 1815. This is a laudable
The object of these officers is laudable & to be admired

That justice may be done as far as the facts in truth will justify warrent,
these papers are inclosed to you, that you may in reply furnish all the evi-
dence within your reach & knowledge detailing fully how the Watchword
came of the British army of on the 8th came to your knowledge. These
ters I well recollect that you laid before me these papers at the time,
and afterwards at Tennessee, all which I think were all returned to you by me if not, they are on file at the Hermitage.

I wish you to give in detail the whole facts as far as you are in possession of them. If this my recollection does not fail me, I think it was found upon one of their orderly Books in their orderly Books, as well as in some after orders by the adjutant—but in all this you can set me right having from your journal of that day—all these things were noted also in my aids, Major Reids journal, which was lost about the time of his death, & I never could regain it.1

It is strange, as this fact was published in all the papers in the U. States at the year time (1815—) that it never was attempted to be contradicted until 1833—still the order may have been Issued by some subordinate of the Commandg. Genl as a stimulant to the Troops without the knowledge of the commander in chief (a hazardous thing step for the a subordinate, and what in our army would have cost him his life. From the delicate manner that by which Sir charles has placed them before me I wish in return to give afford him all the facts that you are in possession of in the reply. I will not answer his letter will not be answered untill I receive your reply, which I will expect at as early a day as you can search up your old papers, & make it. you will perceive that it will be well for you to look at what Major Eaton says, in the life of Jackson, page 380, in which he says the information was obtained, from prisoners, and confirmed by the Books of two of their orderly seargeants taken in Battle, which contained record proof of the fact.

You will have seen from the papers that I was obliged to abandon my North Eastern, and North & Northwestern tour at Concord New Hampshire I returned much debilitated, and my health bad—I am improving a little, & will soon repair to the ripraps for the benefit of sea bathing.

My heart is seriously afflicted on perusing the ravages by Colera of on my friends, neighbours, & fellow citizens of Tennessee & Kentucky, and elsewhere. I hope this awful scurge has passed away and our country again blessed with health as it is with prosperity.

your friend Mr. Van Buren is with me & desires me to present you with his kind respects—he will leave me in a few days. My debility compels me to close this letter, and I must refer you to Major Donelson, who will leave here in a few days for his home in Tennessee, and who can give you all the current news foreign, & Domestic.

Present my respects to Mrs. C. & your family & believe me yr Friend2

Andrew Jackson

[Endorsed by A.J.:] rough draft of a letter 15th. July to Govr. Carroll inclosing the certificate of several B. officers, denying that the command.g Genl knew any thing of the watch word Beauty & Booty—to be preserved on private file. A. J.
ALS draft, DLC (43). As a Tennessee major general, Carroll had commanded troops at the center of Jackson’s line at New Orleans. He replied on August 4 (below).

1. John Reid (1784–1816) had been AJ’s aide-de-camp at New Orleans. Reid died before completing his biography of AJ, which Eaton finished and published in 1817.

2. Carroll’s wife was Cecilia Bradford Carroll (1792–1848).

From Shakers of Alfred, Maine

Alfred July 15, 1833—

Honored Friend,

We were informed by some of our neighbours that it was your intention to have called at our Village in this town, this would have been very pleasing to our feelings, to have seen you at our humble abode; but we, together with many others must be reconciled to disappointments; but it increases our feelings of regret and anxiety, when we consider, that it was the debilitated state of your health, which hindered you from proceeding any further, this created in us a sympathetic feeling for you; but those things which happen in the order of divine Providence, we must bear with patience and resignation.

Respected friend, we sincerely thank you for your [ . . . ]ention and good will which we accept for the deed itself [ . . . ] it would have been very pleasing to us, to have had an interview with you, we had made arrangements so as to make your call as pleasant as we possibly could.

No doubt you have been informed that we are a very singular people in our order and standing, we acknowledge that it is so. It is true, we feel it to be our duty, as a society, to take no part in political contention, nor party strife, but to strive as much as possible, to be at peace with all men; yet we respect the laws of our Country, and to honour those who are placed in order as rulers, we consider to be a christian duty, we feel thankful to the wise disposer of events, that he has put it into the hearts of the rulers of our beloved country, to make reasonable laws and institutions, whereby the civil and religious rights of all are equally secured, and the same Almighty Power, which move in and governed those Sages, who first framed our constitution, still continue to support and protect those sacred principles in their successors. We have full confidence that our civil and religious rights are safe in the hands of Andrew Jackson and we feel fervently pray that you may continue to stand as an Iron pillar, and a Brazen wall to support the constitution of our beloved Country,¹ that you may be blest with health, strength and fortitude, to enable you to bear the burden which must fall on you, in consequence of the Station in which you are placed, and that you may be endowed with wisdom to direct you in the path way of your duty, that when you have done, and finished your course, that you may have the approbation of a good conscience, and at last hear that welcome sound “well done thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord”²

· July 1833 ·
This is the sincere desire of your friends, The Brethren of the United Society called Shakers in Alfred

From the Trustees of said Society

L, TNJ (23-0147), The Shaker community at Alfred was organized in 1793 and at this time numbered about 200 people.

To William John Duane

Washington
July 17th. 1833

Sir,
I have received your letter of the 10th. instant, and regret to find after a careful consideration of its contents; that the opinions intended to be conveyed by my letter and communication of the 26th. ulto. have either been greatly misapprehended, or have been associated, in the examination which the subject has received at your hands, with reflections that have no necessary connection with them.

A reply to some of the objections you have raised to the course I have recommended for your adoption, is therefore necessary to shield my conduct and motives from the unfavorable interpretation to which they might otherwise be exposed, and to which, I am persuaded, you do not desire to subject them. This will be more intelligibly done, by first offering a few observations, explanatory of the sentiments which appear to have been misconceived, and, then, by stating succinctly what the measure was to which they were directed, and what were the circumstances under which it was suggested for your consideration and adoption.

The indispensable necessity of some agency for the safe keeping of the public moneys, whilst in a course of expenditure, and for their transmission from place to place according to the exigencies of the public service, beyond what can be derived from the fiscal Department of the Government as hitherto organized, has been recognized from the establishment of the Government to the present day. During the existence of the old Bank of the United States, it was performed by that institution. When the charter of that institution expired and public sentiment forbade its renewal, this agency was committed to the State Banks, and for many years it was performed by them. Upon the incorporation of the present Bank it was transferred to, and has, for many years, been discharged by, it. Its charter is also soon to expire, and the duty of a seasonable provision for this important branch of the public service is thereby unavoidably pressed upon the early attention of the Government.
The establishment of such an agency, if a new one, cannot be the work of a day. To make it safe and effectual, time, care, and length of experience are necessary.

In my former communication I stated that the reasons in favor of providing a substitute before the expiration of the charter of the present Bank, if one at any time be contemplated, were too obvious to require elucidation. This opinion has not been gainsayed by you, nor directly controverted by any one. All subsequent reflection upon this point has but served to confirm this impression, and it really appears to me that nothing short of a design to give indirect aid to the application of the Bank for an extension of its charter, or to the incorporation of a new Bank, could induce the Government to fold its arms and wait the expiration of the present charter, and thus involve our affairs in the embarrassments which would unavoidably arise from the selection of a new agent on the spur of the occasion.

If this be correct, and I must continue to affirm that it is, the interesting questions occur—what provision ought to be made—by whom should it be made—and when should it be adopted?

Those who are in favor of either an extension of the charter of the present Bank, or the incorporation of a new one, will of course look to the adoption of one of those measures as the best and readiest mode of obviating all difficulty upon the subject. But from both of these resorts I am precluded by my declared opinions, and in this respect we are of one accord: and as our objections to both rest upon constitutional grounds, it becomes our duty in the performance of our several functions, to act upon the assumption that neither of those steps will be taken. What other course is then open to us?

In my messages to Congress I have several times brought to their notice such a reorganization of the Treasury Department as will afford to the Government all the facilities of the present Bank without exposing it and the country to its evils and dangers. But my suggestions on the subject have met with no favor from Congress: and it is due to candor to say, that the countenance they have received in public opinion, has not been such as to encourage the belief that they will be adopted. Under these circumstances I have brought my mind to the belief that the employment of the State Banks, if they will enter into reasonable terms, is the best, if not the only, practicable resort.

Being apprised of your dissent from this opinion, I felt it to be my duty to call upon you for an expose of any better plan which may have presented itself to your mind: and I learn from you that you have not, as yet, been able to devise one which is satisfactory to yourself.

It remains only, therefore, for me to consider the objections you have raised to the course pointed out by me, as the only one which is open to us, according to our views of the constitution. It consists in a discontinuance of the deposits of the Government in the Bank of the U States and the
entering into arrangements with the state Banks for that purpose. I will consider your difficulties upon each branch of the subject.

The mere right to remove the deposits is not controverted, nor indeed could it be, for the charter of the Bank confers this power on the Secretary of the Treasury in terms as plain as the English language can make them. But it appears to you that this is a power conferred on the Secretary to be exercised only in extreme cases like that of an “insurrection or a siege”; and that to do it under less urgent circumstances would be an act of arbitrary and dictatorial power, every way unjustifiable. You cannot fail, I think, to be satisfied upon further reflection, that this is an overstrained, if not an unfounded view of the matter—the more especially when you find that in the conclusion of your letter, when pressed by the reflection that this power must have been given for some probable and reasonable purpose, you virtually admit that it might be justifiably exercised by the Secretary, to coerce the Bank into such a management of its affairs as the fact of its approaching dissolution, ought, in justice to the Government and country, to impose upon it. If justifiable from a mere prudential consideration like that, it would seem to me that it would be much more so when employed to secure an object of much greater importance and upon the attainment of which must depend the successful prosecution of public affairs in almost all their branches, and without which the Government would be exposed to the greatest embarrassments.

You appear to have arrived at this course of reasoning by supposing the deposit of the public moneys in the Bank of the United States to be the result of a contract between the Government and the Bank by which that privilege is granted to the latter for a valuable consideration paid by it, and from which the Government cannot be discharged, otherwise than by the same breach of trust or fraud as would be held sufficient to absolve an individual party to a contract entered into upon good consideration; and that the fact of delinquency on the part of the offending party should be ascertained and found in the same manner by Judge and Jury, or at least with equal certainty. Now, Sir, it appears to me, with all respect, that this view of the subject is entirely erroneous. The stipulation of the charter that the Deposits should in the first instance be made in the Bank of the U States, does not, to my mind, contain a single feature of a contract. The charter secures to the Bank complete and sufficiently valuable rights and immunities independent of its being made the depositary of the public moneys. That was never intended to be ranked amongst its chartered rights, but considered and so treated of, as a mere privilege, dependent upon the free will and pleasure of the Government. Can you figure to yourself the idea of a contract which one party has a right to put an end to at his own pleasure, without ever being under an obligation to assign his reasons, and certainly without responsibility, to the aggrieved party? It is not in certain cases and upon certain conditions that the deposits may be withdrawn, but, if “the Secretary of the Treasury shall at any time otherwise
order or direct.” The Secretary it is true, is to assign his reasons: but to whom? In no sense to the Bank, unless indeed the error of identifying Congress with the Bank is fallen into, but to Congress—another Branch of the Government to which the right to know the reasons which have influenced that officer is secured for the purpose of guarding against an abuse of his power. The Bank has therefore no such right to the possession of the public funds as you have supposed, nor would any Congress have ever ventured to place them so far beyond the reach of the Government.

The question as to the discontinuance of the deposits, on the part of the Government, is one, therefore, of expediency merely; dependent, so far as the Bank is concerned, upon the free will and pleasure of the Executive, save only that it is responsible to Congress for the motives which govern its acts. The only enquiry is, whether the object to be obtained, viz, a reasonable, safe, and practicable substitute for the Bank of the United States as the depositary and distributor of the public funds, thro’ the agency of the State Banks and other considerations now existing, constitutes an adequate and reasonable inducement for the exercise of a conceded power—a power reserved for the exclusive benefit and security of the Government. In the decision of this question no ideas of “vindictive justice or arbitrary dictation” are involved.

The action of the House of Representatives upon the subject constitutes also in your opinion a strong objection to the course which I have submitted for your consideration. You express a belief that you would “treat with contempt the decision of the last congress” by its adoption, and seem to suppose that it is expected of you that you should “have faculties superior to those of Congress or hardihood that disregards their censure.” These are expressions which have escaped in the warmth of a discussion carried on by you under honest but excited feelings; and will, I am sure, be regretted by yourself upon a more dispassionate review of the subject. It would be doing injustice to both of us to deem it necessary to say, that I feel myself incapable of treating a component branch of the Government over which I have the honor to preside with contempt, or of desiring, or expecting, such a course on your part.

In my communication to you, it was my intention to place the proposed measure on grounds wholly independent of the decision of the House of Representatives, and I have to regret that it has not been my good fortune to make myself understood in this respect. Whether those grounds are tenable or not, is a question to be decided by itself the power to which we are both responsible, and it is a perversion of them, tho’ certainly unintentional on your part, to assume that they necessarily conflict with that decision. Of that decision and of the circumstances under which it was made I have spoken as I thought they deserve, but certainly not in a spirit of contempt, and you concur with me in regarding the investigation then made as inadequate. Beyond the admission in the report of the majority of the committee upon which that decision was founded, that
in the arrangement made by the agent in England for the purchase of the three per cent stock and the detention of the certificates (which measures were subsequently disclaimed by the Bank) the institution exceeded its legitimate authority, and had no warrant in the correspondence of the Secretary of the Secretary of the Treasury,” as the Bank most unjustly and untruly pretended, it related only to the safety of the public deposits in the Bank, so far as that depends upon the soundness of its capital and its ability to meet all demands upon it.² It has been my object to satisfy you, that assuming all this to be so, there were still sufficient grounds to justify and require a different disposition of the public deposits. Those grounds have been frankly stated and need not be here repeated. It is sufficient for the present purpose that they may be favorably decided upon without at all coming in conflict with the resolution of the House of Representatives. The conduct of the Bank has not been referred to, for the purpose of impeaching the decision of the House, but as of shewing its unfitness to be employed as the agent of the Government on the score of its infidelity, and repelling all claim on the part of the institution to the favorable consideration of the Government in whatever arrangement the public interest may call for. And it gives me satisfaction to find from your declarations “that the Bank has forfeited all claims to favor,” “that it has put itself in the wrong, and that the stockholders have not manifested an inclination to inquire into the causes of complaint against the directors,” that in these respects at least we are of the same opinion.

You entertain doubts as to your authority to enter into the proposed stipulations with the state Banks, and you do not believe that they will be willing to enter into the engagements which will be required of them. To the latter suggestion it is a sufficient reply to say, that my first object is inquiry only, and that if the state Banks refuse, there will be an end of the matter. The former suggestion is entitled to more consideration.

I did not suppose that any doubt could exist in regard to your authority to make an arrangement like the one proposed, for the safe keeping and distribution of the public monies after they had once been removed from the Bank of the United States, subject of course to any different disposition of them, which might thereafter be made by law; and you will observe that to avoid any embarrassment in the subsequent exercise of such authority by Congress a power is reserved by the proposed terms to the Secy. of the Treasury to revoke the arrangement with the state Banks at his pleasure. When the public moneys, by the order of the Secretary of the Treasury, shall cease to be deposited in the Bank of the United States, they will stand upon the same footing in respect to their safe keeping, as if the charter of the Bank had never been granted; and it appears to me that the authority given by law to the Secretary of the Treasury to superintend the collection of the Revenue, and to the Treasurer to receive and keep the moneys of the United States, clothes that Department with ample power to enter into the proposed stipulations, subject to the revision of
But you object to the employment of the state Banks as unfit agents: and that objection would be equally applicable whether they are employed by the Treasury or upon the express authority of Congress. The reasons which induce me to favor the employment of the state Banks have been fully stated, and will not be here repeated. Some of your objections, however, require, in justice to myself, a brief notice.

I cannot by any means concur in the opinion, that there is more danger to be apprehended from losses by the state Banks now than there was during the war. The probabilities are in my judgement manifestly the other way. There perhaps never was a period in our history, since the adoption of the constitution, when the state Banks had greater difficulties to contend with than at the time you refer to, and there certainly never has been any, in which they stood upon a better footing than at present, or in which the prospect of their permanent success and stability was more cheering than it is at this moment, whatever may be the fate of the Bank of the United States. That losses were sustained from them is certain; but I think you must admit, that if the proposed arrangements are entered into, the prospect of the recurrence of any losses to the Government from that source will be but very slight, if any. The system, if so it could be called, under which the Government then acted, was manifestly imperfect. some risk must always be encountered in such affairs, and it is but seldom, if ever, that our hopes in regard to the success of public measures are fully realized. Whatever may have been the facilities derived to the Government from the establishment of the present Bank, we at least, cannot differ in the conclusion that they have been infinitely overbalanced by the evils it has engendered and the dangers which it threatens to the purity and stability of our otherwise enviable institutions, and that it would have been most happy for the country if it had never been resorted to.

The substitute I have proposed is indeed, as you say, like all human schemes but an experiment: but I hope as I have heretofore stated to you, I have no doubt of its success, and I hope it will not be thought the less of because I have not assumed its success to be infallible. It is conceded that something must be done, and all new measures must of necessity partake, more or less, of the character of an experiment. It may fail, although I feel the strongest confidence that it will not: but how it can for one moment enter into the mind of a single unprejudiced man, to regard it as a party measure, I am utterly at a loss to conceive. In the proposed plan, the Government seek to employ such banks, and such only, as are of good credit and will do the business required of them with fidelity and despatch: and this selection will be made without the slightest respect to persons or parties, or at least you may rest assured that no ground for such imputation will be furnished with my consent. What those who pre-
fer to misrepresent the acts of the Government may say of it, we cannot help, and should not regard. If it should be the case that there is or should be found any party in the country which makes the maintenance of the Bank a point of orthodoxy, we cannot, on that account, be deterred from pursuing the only course open to us, according to our views of duty, by the apprehension of any such imputation. The adoption of such a course would have led to the abandonment of the policy of the administration in regard to the most important of our foreign relations, to Indian affairs, to Internal improvements, and of a series of other measures, the successful prosecution of which has drawn forth the approbation of our constituents to so cheering and gratifying an extent.

You urge very strongly that the establishment of the substitute ought to be left to Congress, and appear to think that “any proceeding now would seem to arise from an apprehension that the representatives of the people are incompetent or corrupt, and that the people themselves are incapable of preserving the institutions of their country in the event of a general depravity of their agents.” If there was the slightest ground for such apprehension, there would indeed by ample cause for the adoption of a different course. But it appears to me, as I trust it will to you upon further reflection, that the radical error of this view of the matter is demonstrated by the answer that must be given to a single question—Can Congress make any provision for the deposit of the public moneys until after they have been removed from the Bank of the United States by order of the Secretary of the Treasury—and can they consistently with the charter be removed by any other authority? Certainly not. This was the reply given on the floor of the House of Representatives when an investigation was asked at the last session, and it would be renewed with increased force at the next. We may ask Congress for further investigation, and that, whether the deposits are removed or not; but it is now proposed to discontinue them in the Bank of the U. States upon grounds which, by our own shewing, require no further investigation, and instead of the construction which is apprehended from not going to Congress in the first instance, the more natural construction would be that by asking their interposition we evince a disposition to throw on Congress the responsibility of an act which does not belong to them—the authority to perform which has been expressly delegated to a different branch of the Government. After you have exercised the authority vested in you by the charter, we may submit the arrangement to congress for its revision; but until that is done, they cannot act in the matter.

Of the possible disposition and capacity of the Bank to give an injurious shock to public credit, and to cause embarrassment in private affairs I have spoken on a former occasion. I do not allow myself to be deterred from the performance of what I regard as a duty by these considerations, nor have I any apprehension that the adoption of the course I have recommended is likely to produce a reaction in the public mind that may
strengthen the efforts of the Bank to obtain a renewal of its charter. I understand, I think, the character of my countrymen too well to entertain any such fears. Putting out of view all the rest of the long catalogue of the misdeeds of that powerful and dangerous institution, save only the recorded evidence of its deliberate design to frustrate the measures of the Government for the payment of the public debt, its ungenerous attempt to throw the odium of its conduct in this respect from its own shoulders upon one of the Departments of the Government, and when this failed to palliate its acts by two unfounded pretences—the alleged desire to afford facilities to the debtors of the Government which were never rendered—and to guard against the effects of a pestilence which had not yet appeared—taken in connection with a systematic design to deprive the Representatives of the Government of all influence at its board, and in many important particulars of all knowledge of the administration of its affairs—these facts alone, as long as they remain as they now stand, uncontroverted, and incontrovertible, will forever keep down such a reaction as that which you have anticipated. Be assured, Sir, that the people of the United States, instead of estimating the damages which have actually resulted from these high handed measures, or of regarding them as requiring no further notice because some of them are no longer operative, will take a higher and a nobler view of their own duty and of the duties of their agents. They will tremble for the character of their Government in the eyes of the world when they find it continuing its confidence in an institution which has so manifestly proved itself unworthy of public trust.

The danger is the other way. Look for a moment at the past and the probable course of the subject hereafter. The Bank, obviously for the purpose of extending its influence and strengthening its arm for the contest in regard to the renewal of its charter, increases its discounts to the enormous extent of its loans to the enormous extent that in the short space of sixteen months $28,026,766 of additional debt to it is created. Thus armed it comes to the trial, and notwithstanding its immense powers, the Government and the people triumph over all its efforts—it is defeated—and the question of its continuance, so far as the voice of the people can settle it, is settled—the rapidly approaching expiration of its charter renders the early provision of a substitute for it as a Government agent desirable—it throws itself again before the Country and menaces it with evils which are the consequence of the power it has abused. Suppose it successful—suppose the Government deterred from the exercise of its conceded authority and that preferring its ease and quiet to the performance of duty it shall leave matters to remain as they now stand until the actual expiration of the charter. What, allow me to ask, you will be the state of things then? Will not the same menaces be held out? Will not the same danger be portrayed and the same appeals made to the cupidity of some and the fears of others?—and will not their force be
immeasurably increased by the fact, that the Government will be found wholly unprepared for the change and at the mercy of the state Banks or whoever else it is driven to resort to for aid on the spur of the occasion? Will not the temptations to a violation of the constitution by rechartering the Bank be a thousand fold increased, from what they would be, if, by a seasonable and steady exercise of its authority Government had prepared itself for the exigency, in the only way in which I have endeavored to show it has it in its power to do? Shall we be excuseable, Sir, when that period arrives, for having left the Government in so defenceless a state? I fear not. I am therefore for pursuing the only course which I think promises success and safety. If its prosecution draws after it embarrassments (which it will not do, if there has not been, and is not hereafter gross mismanagement on the part of the Bank) we cannot help it. Controversies which cannot be avoided with credit, are always best dealt with by bold and manly encounter at the threshold.

You may rely upon it, Sir, that our Fellow citizens would suffer more pain from seeing their Government thus overawed by a creature of its own making than they would experience regret at any consequences that can possibly flow from the proposed measure. So far as it depends upon me, they shall never be exposed to such humiliation. To say that we condemn the conduct of the Bank and are opposed to a renewal of its charter, is doing but little to prevent this persevering and reckless institution from ultimately succeeding in its efforts. This can only be effectually done by the timely adoption of a substitute which will enable us to satisfy the people that we can do without a Bank of the United States.

Let us then do our duty: The people will do theirs. They have never yet failed to support me when in the line of my duty, and I do not doubt their approbation in the performance of it in the present instance.

You are mistaken in supposing that I desire you to adopt my reasons, instead of your own, for the decision which you may make on the subject. All that was intended by me in this respect was to leave it for you to decide, how far my declared opinion as to the policy which the Government ought to pursue, ought, as being the person more immediately responsible to the people for the administration of the Executive branch, to influence your course on a doubtful point; and that whatever of weight you should think proper to give to it you might be at liberty to avow it as well as the reasons upon which it is founded. I did not then, nor do I now, think it necessary to anticipate the inconveniences that may result from a material difference of opinion between the President and the Head of a Department on a subject of policy deemed vitally important and which in most of its operations is placed under the immediate superintendence of that officer.

The circumstance of your differing in opinion from me and the failure to communicate your views at an earlier period required no apology. That
I am disappointed in the result, I frankly confess to you: for, as I knew that we agreed so well in our general opinions in regard to the Bank, I did not, I admit, apprehend so serious a difference of opinion in the details of our respective duties. Contenting myself with informing you before you entered upon office, on two occasions, that the question of a removal of the deposits was under consideration in my cabinet; that I had asked their opinions in regard to it respectively: and not apprehending that you would understand me as referring to an appeal to congress on the subject, I thought it would be more delicate and respectful to yourself to avoid any thing like a previous stipulation in relation to the manner in which your official duties should be performed. Not having required explanations from you I do not complain that you did not tender them in advance. I reciprocate most sincerely and cordially the assurances you make to me of continued respect and attachment. Although I owe it to candor to say, that, I have been led by the tenor of your letter to fear, that you have suffered erroneous impressions to exercise an undue influence over your feelings, I have seen nothing which in the slightest degree weakens that unqualified confidence which I have heretofore placed in your integrity and honor.

Your call to my cabinet was wholly unsolicited on your part. I will not conceal from you the satisfaction I derived from the reflection, that it might serve to elevate in the estimation of the country, a name, which, though in an humbler sphere, had been conspicuous in the early struggles for those political principles which it has always been my desire to cherish and support.4 I yet owe it to truth to say that your selection was only regarded by me as a tribute justly due to the opinion I had formed of your talents and character. That it may prove a source of gratification to yourself and usefulness to our common country, is the sincere prayer of your friend and obt. sert

Andrew Jackson

LS in AJ Donelson’s hand, DLC (64). LS draft in AJ Jr.’s hand, DLC (43); Bassett, 5:131–40. Copy by Duane, PPAmP-Duane Family Collection (mAJs). Duane Narrative and Correspondence, pp. 59–70. In his 1838 memoir, Duane printed a reply that he drafted on July 19, opposing removal of the deposits as “unwarrantable in itself, and mischievous in its consequences.” But rather than send it, as Duane related, he met with AJ on July 19 and 20 and finally agreed to dispatch Amos Kendall to inquire whether state banks were willing and able to take the deposits on the terms specified in AJ’s first June 26 letter from Boston. Duane then prepared instructions for Kendall and submitted them to AJ on July 22 (Duane Narrative and Correspondence, pp. 71–87). AJ replied the same day (below).

1. AJ’s 1829 annual message proposed a “national” fiscal institution “founded upon the credit of the Government and its revenues” to replace the BUS. In 1830 he proposed a bank “as a branch of the Treasury Department, based on the public and individual deposits, without power to make loans or purchase property” (Richardson, 2:462, 529).
2. HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 1 (Serial 236).
To Elijah Hayward

Washington City
July 20th, 1833—

Sir

The enclosed letters announce the death of that worthy and excellent man Genl Coffee, and recommends James H. Weakly for his successor. The Genl has enjoined this on me in his dying breath. I know Mr Weakly capable & every way worthy. Therefore appoint him Survayor Genl for the District of Alabama. Make this known to the Secretary of the Treasury—shew him the enclosed letters and let the commission be made out for Mr. Weakly as the situation of the Indian Lands require that the business in that Survayors office ought not to be suspended for a day if it could be avoided. yours respectfully

Andrew Jackson

ALS, PHi (23-0163). A temporary commission for Weakley as surveyor general of federal public lands in Alabama was issued this day (DNA-RG 59, 23-0173). AJ nominated Weakley to the Senate on January 20, 1834, and he was confirmed on March 6.

To William John Duane

[On July 22 Duane submitted his draft of instructions for Amos Kendall’s mission of inquiry to the state banks. After some introductory text came ten numbered paragraphs, the first seven of which repeated, nearly verbatim, the numbered points in Jackson’s first June 26 letter to Duane (above). A final paragraph read: “Having thus, sir, placed before you the views of the President, and such suggestions, on my own part, as seemed to be called for, it becomes my duty to myself, in order to guard against expectations, on the part of the banks, that may not be realized, or misapprehension elsewhere, distinctly to say, that my performance of the present act of duty, as an executive agent, is not to be understood as an indication of any intention, on my part, under existing circumstances, to exercise the power vested in me by law. Whether such an emergency may not arise, as may warrant the exercise of that power, it is unnecessary now to anticipate; it is sufficient to observe, that, in my opinion, none such exists at present” (Duane Narrative and Correspondence, pp. 84–88).]

Washington July 22d. 1833

My dear Sir,

I cannot perceive the propriety of the concluding paragraph in the draft of instructions, proposed to the agent of inquiry, which you have submitted to me this morning: unless you are determined not to acquiesce in the
decision which the President, on advisement with his Cabinet, may make after a full view of all the circumstances of the case. You may not be aware that such is the construction which the paragraph authorises; and that it is manifestly at variance with the views which render the inquiry expedient.

The great object to be attained by the inquiry is to ascertain whether the State Banks will agree to become the agent of the Government, on the terms proposed, for the safe keeping and transmission of the public monies. If they will, the ground taken by the President, should circumstances remain as they now are, is, that it will be then expedient and just to resort to them as a substitute for the Bank of the U States as a fiscal agent. But lest in the course of the inquiry something might arise which would justify a different conclusion, it was deemed best by us, at our last interview, that there should be no commitment beyond the inquiry at this time, as to the action of the Government in regard to the change of deposits; and that on the latter point our decision should be postponed until the report of the agent should be received, when there would be a full consideration of the conduct of the Bank and of all the matters connected with the substitution of another fiscal agent.

Previously to enquiry, however, you declare that nothing has yet occurred to render necessary the movement anticipated by it: and thus leave me to infer that should the inquiry establish the competency of the State Banks to perform the agency proposed to them, you will not feel yourself at liberty to carry into effect the decision, transferring the public deposits to them, which the President on advisement with his Cabinet, may make.

Please inform me whether I am correct in supposing that this is your determination. If I am it will then become my duty, in frankness and candor, to suggest the course which will be necessary on my part. I am very respectfully yr. obt. sert.

Andrew Jackson

From William John Duane

Treasury Department,
July 22, 1833.

Sir—

In answer to the letter, which I have had the honor to receive from you, this afternoon, I beg leave to state, that, having understood your present object to be, merely an enquiry into the practicability of the arrange-
ment, which you desire to make, with the state banks, in case it should be deemed proper to employ them as substitutes for the bank of the United States, and that there should be no commitment beyond that enquiry, it occurred to me that it would be prudent to insert, in the instructions to the agent, a paragraph, which would prevent any misconception, that might otherwise be produced, undesignedly on his part, in the minds of the directors of the state banks, or in those of the public: If such misconceptions should be otherwise guarded against, as they may be, I have no desire, on my own account that the paragraph should be retained.

I have already, both in writing and verbally, had the honor to state to you, that, after the fullest consideration, which I had been able to give to the subject, I do not, under existing circumstances, feel myself justified in substituting state banks for the bank of the United States, as the depository of the public money; but that I am ready to make, under your direction, the fullest enquiry as to the propriety of the change. In the discharge of the high trust confided to me, it has been my desire to act according to my best judgment, with all the lights before me; and, although I do not anticipate such a change in my views on the subject, even if the enquiry should establish the practicability of employing the state banks, as will lead me to remove the deposits, for any reasons now known to me, before congress shall have had an opportunity to act upon the matter, yet I am open to conviction, and will not fail to give the fullest consideration to any new facts, which may be presented, and to any information that may be obtained in the proposed enquiry: I shall also be ready to enter into a full examination of the whole subject, when you shall, as you propose, bring it before your cabinet: but, if, after receiving the information and hearing the discussion, I shall not consider it my duty, as the responsible agent of the law, to carry into effect the decision that you then make, I will, from respect for you and for myself, afford you an opportunity to select a successor, whose views may accord with your own, on the important matter in contemplation.

Beyond this conclusion, I respectfully conceive, I cannot go without improperly committing myself, a position in which I understood I was not to be put before enquiry: were I now to say, that I would persist in my present opinions, be the results of enquiry and discussion what they may, I should evince a recklessness to be rebuked; and, on the other hand, were I to pledge myself hereafter to abandon my present sentiments, without knowing whether any thing may arise to justify the change, I should betray a weakness to be pitied, perhaps despised: all that I can promise, therefore, consistently with my respect for you and for myself, is, that, when the moment for decision, after enquiry and discussion, shall arrive, I will concur with you or retire. I have the honor to be with the utmost consideration, Your obt st

W. J. Duane.
From Martin Van Buren

Albany July 22d 33

My dear Sir

Learning from Col Earls letter that you will not leave Washington before Friday I drop you a line to condole with you on account of the loss of Genl. Coffee. I had formed the very highest opinion of him, & sincerely sympathize with you. I am sorry you have been so long delayed in Washington, & sincerely hope you will remain at the Rip Raps as long as you can. Destroy the enclosed after you have noted its contents.1 Make my best respects to Mr Earle, & thank him if you please for sending me the paper. I have not time to read it but presume from a glance that it is replete with the impotent malice of our enemies. I have a very sensible, & friendly letter from Major Barry. He speaks in raptures of the enthusiasm of the people in your behalf. Says Webster was well treated at Cincinnati, & that he admitted that he was indebted for it to your friends.2

Remember me affectionately [to] the Ladies Major Don[elson] Mr Jackson Major Lew[is] & Mr Earle. Your friend

M. Van Buren

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. V Buren—condolence on the death of Genl J. Coffee A. J


1. Van Buren enclosed a July 2 letter from New Haven, Conn., signed “L. C. T.” The writer asked for Van Buren’s aid in becoming AJ’s wife, promising to wield her influence for him in return (Van Buren Papers, DLC). On August 8, New Haven author Louisa Cornelia Huggins Tuthill (1798–1879) wrote Van Buren that an anonymous enemy had written to her confessing that he had written the July 2 letter to embarrass her, mimicking her style and handwriting. Tuthill asked Van Buren to destroy the letter (Van Buren Papers, DLC).

2. William T. Barry had written Van Buren on July 7 from Cincinnati, where Daniel Webster had been given a public dinner on June 19 and had delivered a speech lauding AJ’s handling of nullification. Barry said that Webster was “fully sensible” of his friendly reception by AJ’s friends and the contrasting coldness of “Mr. Clays friends & especially his bank friends” (Van Buren Papers, DLC).
Notes for Letters to William John Duane

[Jackson evidently penned these undated memoranda in preparation for the two July 23 letters to Duane that follow below. The second sheet outlines further alterations in the draft instructions to Amos Kendall that Duane had submitted on July 22.]

The report of the Government directors shew how the funds of the Bank are misused—see them—is this no cause for changing the deposits. The Bank has postponed the payment of the Public debt—and may do it again—is this no cause for removing the deposits to coerce them to their duty. Long since sufficient cause existed for their removal in the opinion of the President and every friend of the administration in the senate & H. of Representatives still for the want of a positive assurance from the incorporated Banks of the State it has been postponed—now the enquiry is to be made—and why make it, if the past conduct of the Bank should be repeated, and it should and continued, if the deposits are not to be removed, when the President and his council think they ought. They ought to have been removed on the discovery of their postponing the payment of the 3 pr cts—and ought to be whenever the public good & safety of the public interest requires—therefore no commitment—

AD, DLC (43; 23-0190).

Substitute—

It is the opinion of the President that hereafter as heretofore, Bank agency will be found convenient in managing the fiscal operations of the government, and as he cannot consistently with his avowed sentiments sanction any national institution organised upon the principles of the existing Bank of the United States, he deems it proper to ascertain whether all the services now rendered by the Bank they may not be performed by the Banks incorporated by the several States on terms equally or more favorable to the Government.¹

The following to be imbraced in the instructions in lieu of the 9th. article of instructions you will not consider yourself precluded by these instructions from making any other propositions to the said Banks for the purpose of ascertaining on what terms they will undertake on what terms they will undertake the service refered to, and you are at liberty to receive any propositions from them which they may think proper to offer²

The 7th. to be out, or confidential to our agent.³

[Endorsed by Aj:] Rough draft of amendment to instructions to the agent appointed to make certain enquiries of the incorporated Banks of the state—A. J
AD, DLC (43; 23-0191). Extract, Stan. V. Henkels catalog 1356 (1924), item 203.

1. This text was meant to replace an introductory sentence in Duane’s July 22 draft of Kendall’s instructions, which read: “It is the opinion of the President, that to conduct the fiscal operations of the government, bank agency is necessary; and, as he cannot, consistently with his avowed sentiments, sanction any national institution, he desires to seek for agents, amongst the banks incorporated by the several states, in their individual capacity” (Duane Narrative and Correspondence, p. 85).

2. The ninth numbered article in Duane’s draft directed Kendall to “ascertain whether the proposed arrangement is practicable” by inquiring of the state banks whether “it will be in the power” of the BUS “to embarrass or interrupt it,” and, if so, “what would be the probable effects of any collision or contest” both upon them and upon the community (Duane Narrative and Correspondence, p. 87).

3. The seventh numbered article in Duane’s draft instructions recapitulated, almost verbatim, the seventh item in AJ’s first June 26 letter to Duane above, down to the sentence therein proposing Kendall as the agent (Duane Narrative and Correspondence, p. 86).

To William John Duane

Washington
July 23d. 1833

Dr. Sir,

I have received your note in reply to the observations which I felt myself obliged to make in regard to the concluding paragraph of the instructions proposed to be given to the agent of the Treasury. It is entirely satisfactory, and manifests a spirit which I trust will enable us, before the time arrives for acting upon the report of the agent, to agree as nearly as may be desireable in the decision which may be made on the subject.

I return you herewith the draft of the instructions with some notes suggesting a few changes which you will doubtless see no impropriety in adopting, leaving out the last paragraph. I am very respectfully & truly yr sert

Andrew Jackson

LS in AJ Donelson’s hand, DLC (64). Copy by AJ Jr., DLC (43). Copy, PPAmP-Duane Family Collection (mAJs). Duane Narrative and Correspondence, p. 91. According to Duane’s narrative, with this letter AJ returned Duane’s draft of the instructions to Kendall, marked with three changes. They corresponded to those in AJ’s memorandum above: an introductory sentence and the ninth numbered paragraph were replaced with new text, and the seventh numbered paragraph was dropped entirely. Duane incorporated all of AJ’s changes and sent the instructions to Kendall this same day (Duane Narrative and Correspondence, pp. 91–92; SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 19–20, Serial 238).
To William John Duane

(Confidential)

July 23d. 1833

The President with his respects to the Secretary of the Treasury, encloses to him for his information and perusal, the report of the Government directors of the Bank of the United States, from which some of its corrupt administration is unfolded.

The Secretary of the Treasury being about to visit Philadelphia and having the power to examine its Books and make enquiry into its administration, the enclosed reports may enable him fully to investigate the management of the Bank in these, and other particulars, to satisfy himself, and the President with regard to the corruption charged. The executive believes this necessary, as one fifth of the sums applied to corrupt Printers, and to buy over members of Congress, if so applied, belongs to the people of these United States over which, we are placed as the public guardians. When the secretary has read & noted the reports, he will please return them.


To Martin Van Buren

—Private—

Washington July 24th. 1833.

My Dr Sir,

I am still here, no Steam Boat offering before Friday next on which day I expect to leave here for the Rip Raps, my health is not good, I am much debilitated, & the hot weather and the business on hand when you left me, which has caused some trouble & labour has debilitated me still more.1 The agent to make the necessary enquiry and arrangements with the incorporated banks of the State has been appointed &c has received his instructions—they are now satisfactory. The first draft was a display in winding up, of the Secretaries views that the change of deposits were not necessary from any view he had taken of the subject, and unless some emergency arose to justify the removal of them he would not sanction such a measure &c &c. This brought from me a frank note, & an explanation, and the thing stands now, that should the President & his council decide, that the Secretary will carry that decision into effect, or withdraw. We can now have no further difficulty upon this subject. I have no doubt but the State Banks will eagerly come into such measures as will secure all the facilities the government may desire as to its fiscal concerns.
opperations; but I have my doubts whether a majority of my Cabinet will coincide with me in this measure. I wish your frank advice, whether I should at once order the change, or come to the arrangement to make the change on the first of January this being the opinion of my Cabinet—and communicate to Congress the arrangement—or in other words, make it known thro the public journals that on that day the deposits was ordered to be made in the State Banks. I want your ideas fully on this point, as I am aware that there will be a diversity of opinion in the cabinet, & perhaps a majority against me for removing the deposits before the meeting of Congress—that they ought to have been removed the moment the Bank postponed the payment of the 3 pr cts. I had no doubt, and that the ought now to be removed, you know, I have as little doubt, still as my health is feeble, & life uncertain, and the administration of the Government on my death may must devolve on you, I would not wish to do an act of such importance, without having your full views upon this important subject. Mr Kendall will set out tomorrow or next day on this agency, and before his return, I shall expect your views on this subject fully hypothecated upon the basis that the State Banks are substantial in capital, and will give every facility that the U.S. Bank now affords, and will even give us better terms than held forth it.

Our mutual friend Genl John Coffee is no more—he departed this life on the 7th. & was buried on the 8th. instant with the honors of war. The vast concourse of people who attended his funeral shew how firmly he was fixed in the affections of his fellow citizens—a better or braver man never existed, and I mourn his loss with the feelings of David for his son Jonathan—it is useless to mourn, he is gone the way of all the earth, & I will soon follow him—peace to his manes.

I inclose you a copy of the Land bill. I had not time to have copied the reasons prepared to present to congress for withholding my assent to it—this I will get the Major to coopy at the rip Raps & forward you from there.2 My family enjoy health & all unite in kind wishes for your continued health & happiness. yr friend

Andrew Jackson
From Lewis Cass

Detroit July 24. 1833

My dear Sir,

I have at length reached the ultimate point of my destination, where I propose to stay three or four days, and shall return thro Ohio to the seat of government. I shall only be delayed by spending a day with my mother, and I am sure you will not disapprove either the motive or the act.¹

On my whole route, there was one universal regret expressed, that you could not have extended your visit further. Every town and village felt they had claims upon you, and were preparing to express their feelings. your tour, to whatever quarter directed, would have called out the same display of popular feeling and attachment, which its progress from Washington to Concord. I am, however, well satisfied, that you turned back, and altho' I regretted and regret the necessity of it, still I am sure you could never have encountered the fatigue of such a journey much further than you went.

I think I shall be able to reach Washington by the 8th or 10th of August. In the mean time may I ask of you the favour of remembering me to my colleagues, to Maj. Donelson and Maj. Lewis, and be pleased to accept the assurances of the respect and regard with which I am, Sincerely, your obliged & ob servt

Lew Cass

[Endorsed by AJ:]


ALS, NjP (23-0211).

¹ Cass’s mother, Mary Gilman Cass (1759–1834), lived in Muskingum Co., Ohio.

To Andrew Jackson Donelson

W. July 25th. 1833—

Memorandum of certain enquiries to be made by Mr A. J. Donelson at the Hermitage for A. J. Senr.—Examine the monument in the garden, whether finished as it ought, or what is necessary to compleat it, if any deficiency.

2nd. as to the treatment of the negroes, and appearance of the farm

3rd. as to the Stock, brood as well as farm—what condition the three, yearling colts are in—their appearance & promise, and whether the citizen colt out of the oscar filly is injured in any way that will be permanant—the appearance of the Stockholder & Arab fillies, whether promising or otherwise.¹ The condition of Sheep, Cattle, & Hoggs, and numbers by report of
Holtzclaw. I want enquiry to be made of Holtzclaw why it is that he has not written me as I requested, once a week, or at once a fortnight, of the health & situation of my farm. I have never recd. but two notes from him.

on your arrival in Tennessee you can form a good idea of the amount of cotton that will be raised on the Hermitage. I wish you to examine the Ginn. I expect it wants a new Brush, if so, say to Mr Holtzclaw to get Mr Chandler or some experienced hand to make it. The Ginn ought to be in good condition for ginning before the cotton begins to open—say to Mr Holtzclaw to have every thing out of his way when the cotton begins to open that all his hands may be engaged in picking out as soon as it opens and half a days picking can be made, so that the crop may be housed all before christmas—one day in september is worth two days in december, and one & a half in november—tell him to be sure to attend to this.

Examine whether he has put up brick stables, at or near the house for our riding & carriage horses—if the mares & colts stables are repaired &c &c—and what you think of the stud citizen and my other colts, what few, remaining.

Present me affectionately to Mrs. Donelson, Stockly & family William & Mr Martins families to Mr McLamore & his—say to Mrs. Martin I shall by my son send to my namesake something as a memento—he will be out in septbr. next. Present me kindly to your dear mother to Mr Sanders & all the family, to Tabitha, your uncle George & all the family say to Tabitha Smith how much I regretted not seeing her when last at home See my old brotherinlaws, Alexander & Levan & present me kindly to them, as well as to John Thomas, Saml & Alexander Donelson, and A. J. Hutchings. Hutchings told me he would write me—he has failed except one letter since he left me—present me to all my neighbours & friends. wishing a pleasant journey & a speedy & safe return to us, I bid you adieu—let us hear from you on your way. A. J.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Memorandom for Major A. J. Donelson when he reaches the Hermitage. A. J.

ADS, THer (23-0219). Donelson left Washington for Tennessee on August 1.

1. The stallion Arab had stood at the stable of AJ’s friend Hardy M. Cryer.

2. Probably William Chandler, who had sold AJ a spinning machine in 1826 and repaired it in 1832.

3. James Sanders was the second husband of AJ Donelson’s widowed mother, Mary Ann Michie Smith Donelson (1781–1857). Mrs. Martin may have been either AJ Jr.’s birth sister Lucinda, the wife of George W. Martin, or Catherine Donelson Martin (1799–1836), who was the sister of AJ Donelson’s wife Emily and the wife of George’s brother James Glasgow Martin (1791–1849). Catherine and James also had a son named Andrew Jackson Martin (b. c1830). Tabitha Donelson Smith (1781–1853) was Emily Donelson’s older sister. Her husband, George Smith (1776–1849), was a son of AJ Donelson’s grandmother Sarah Michie Smith, making him both Donelson’s uncle and Emily’s brother-in-law.

4. Alexander Donelson (1751–1834) was an unmarried brother of Rachel Jackson. Leven Donelson died on August 23. John, Thomas, Samuel, and Alexander Donelson were AJ Jr.’s birth brothers.
To Martin Van Buren

Washington July 25th. 1833—

My dear Sir,

The confidential letter which accompanied yours of the 22nd instant, and this moment received, I herewith return.

With the lady who has written it, I am unacquainted, and I have not therefore the means of estimating the value of the honor she has done me by so unexpected a declaration of her attachment. Whatever, however, may be her virtues, I could make but one answer to any partiality they could form for me, and that is, that my heart is in the grave of my dear departed wife, from which sacred spot no living being can recal it.

In the cultivation of the sentiments of friendship which are perhaps rendered more active by the loss I have sustained I trust I shall always be able to produce suitable returns for the favor of my acquaintances: and if therefore I ever meet this lady I shall hope to satisfy her that I appreciate as I ought her kindness, tho I cannot for a moment entertain the proposition it has led her to make. I am very truly yours

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I wrote you yesterday, I shall expect your frank opinion on the subject to which I referred, and as early as convenient. A. J.

Van Buren replied on July 29 (below).

To Martin Van Buren

Rip Raps July 27th. 1833

My Dr Sir,

I arrived here this morning at 6. AM & found all things comfortable for our accommodataion. I hope this fine air, & salt bathing will brace & restore my health. I assure you I feel much debility.

On my way hither Mr Blair made the communication which I have got him to commit to writing & now inclose you. I have no doubt but it is a sheer fabrication & falsehood, and being the only ground taken by him McKain as his justification for his rude attack upon you in his published letter pending the last Presidential election—if you will authorise Mr Blair to give to his correspondent, & your friend, your contradiction of being the author of the peace alluded to, McKain can be politically put down. The denial sweeps from him all his ground of enmity to you, and he must either become your friend, or be chargeable with malice & fabrication against you—we believe McKeans statement a falsehood, and your denial will either silence him or put it in the power of your friends
in Pennsylvania to put him down by shewing that he has made this false charge as the Tool of Ingham & Calhoun to injure & destroy you.\(^1\)

Please answer this at as early a day as you can & in such away as your denial can be given to the public—it will have a good effect to put down the combination formed to injure you in Pennsylvania.

The Major is well & down with me and all my household join me in kind greetings & good wishes to you yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-0232). Van Buren replied on August 6 (below).

1. Samuel McKean (1787–1841) was a former congressman and militia general and presently Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. In 1832 the Pennsylvania Jackson nominating convention had chosen Senator William Wilkins, rather than Van Buren, to be AJ’s vice-presidential running mate in the state. On September 15, McKean, who headed the Pennsylvania Jackson electoral ticket, had written to the Montrose _Susquehanna Register_ charging that “a deep-laid plot” was afoot to sway electors into casting their vice-presidential votes for Van Buren if Jackson won the state. McKean declared he would never “under any circumstances” vote for Van Buren, who was “a practised political gambler and systematic intriguer,” “devoid of political integrity” and full of “insatiable ambition,” and a political “chameleon” despite his “fawning professions” of loyalty to AJ ( _Susquehanna Register and Northern Pennsylvanian_ , November 2, 1832). In the election, AJ received 219 total electoral votes and Van Buren 189, with Pennsylvania’s thirty electors voting for Wilkins.

[Enclosure]

Mr. Blair tells me that a very respectable friend of yours—(a neighbor of Genl. McKean’s) informed him that McKean, in his conversations endeavors to support the public letter he wrote against you, by pretending that you interfered, when Bernard & himself were spoken of for the nomination of Governor of Pennsylvania. He says you wrote an anonymous article in the Albany Argus against him & in favor of Bernard—that circumstances left no doubt that you were the author—& that in consequence he enclosed the paper to you with the peice marked in it—& that you never denied what he thus left you to infer, he ascribed to you.\(^1\)

McKean’s object is turn from himself, the suspicion that he is actuated in hostility to you, by hostility to me—& to conceal the fact that he is operated on by his connexion with Ingham & Calhoun. Would it not to write me a contradiction of this story of McKeans, if the truth is, as I suppose that you had nothing to do with McKean’s Canvass or the piece in the Argus. Mr. Blair could then write to Mr. Salisbury the fact & enable him to say & shew, that McKean’s story was merely trumped up, to countenance his attacks on you & enlist the feelings of his personal friends among the Democrats to espouse his personal quarrel & give it political effect hereafter.\(^2\)

D in Francis P. Blair’s hand, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-0235).

1. McKean and then-senator Isaac Dutton Barnard (1791–1834) had been leading contenders for the 1829 gubernatorial nomination that went to George Wolf.

2. Salisbury was Seth Salisbury (1801–1859) of East Smithfield, Pa.
From Tilghman Ashurst Howard

Rockville 27 July 1833.

To Gen. Jackson, President of the U. S.

The contest for the presidency has left nothing for your friends to desire on your behalf. Your conduct as a military leader had been already approved by the whole country,—and now that country almost in a body, approves your course, as the ruler of the greatest nation of freemen the world ever saw. The last seal of public approbation has been stamped upon your Career—at least until the seal of Death shall close the lips of envy and detraction. The impress of this latter, it is the ardent wish of those who have ever venerated the name of Jackson, may not be stamped for many years to come. No longer subject to be called upon by your friends through the ballot box, you cease to be, with them, an object of solicitude: they have seen you tried in almost every situation, and each trial has resulted in the approval of the American people,—and now, having sustained you, through a series of severe political conflicts, they now feel, that they may sit down, in unapprehensive quiet, and contemplate the close of your public life. You have doubtless been supported by men actuated by almost every variety of motive. Some from personal friendship, warm, active and untiring; others from a regard to the public good, and others from the prospect of advantage, have combined their efforts in your favour. But aside from this particular classification, there is one distinguishing feature of the Party which has supported you from the beginning—it is, that it is composed of that class, which would in other countries be called the “middle class,” but in our country is entitled to be considered the strength of the community. It is the repository of the principles of our government, and although we may talk vaguely of public sentiment, yet there is nothing amongst us entitled to the name, that is not held by this powerful class; its opinion, indeed, is public opinion. It is rarely, if ever deceived, with regard to principles—it is sometimes misled with regard to men:—a second mistake of this character, however, is rarely, if ever made, in relation to the same individual in our country. Believing that you have been supported by this class, and considering, that, as your friends are furnished with cause of gratification by the past, and have nothing to fear from the future, so far as you are concerned, as one of them, I have ventured to ask of you, your opinion, upon points herein suggested, leaving you to communicate them (if at all) either as public or private as you may dictate. I need not say to you, venerable sir, the estimate in which they will be held. The situation of the U. S. at the present time is one of peculiar interest. The Union has been preserved, but whether it is to be perpetuated is the question. I am wholly mistaken in my views of the feelings of the South, if they are not strong, if not decided, in opposition to the principles upon which the Union must rest. Secession, is not considered as an idle abstraction, which is merely contended for,
from the pride of opinion:—It is the elemental principle of the future policy of the politicians who contend for it, with regard to the slave property. Its object is, to avoid the effect of national legislation upon that property, if, in their opinion, the crisis should arise. I believe the tariff was not the cause of their discontent, but only its occasion—the cause being more deeply seated. It is not to be supposed that they fear direct legislation, upon the question, but the effect of it, when legitimately exercised upon other questions. It is useless to attempt a prediction, as to who will, as leaders, favour this project. If I should say Clay, Calhoun, Hayne, McDuffie, Tyler, “with many others” I would say nothing that might not be believed by those who have observed the operation of motives on human conduct.1 There would be nothing strange in Mr. Clay’s favouring Secession, on the first favourable occasion. It was well said by an ancient historian, statesman and orator, that the love of Power is the most violent of all the affections of the mind: and it may be observed, that no citizens are to be so much dreaded, as those who have aimed at the supreme authority, and been defeated in their views.2 This is the condition of Messrs. Clay & Calhoun. The former has given up the North (which he has found rather a cold country) with his favorite American System; the other has surrendered, at the same time, the presidency, and a latitudinous construction of the Constitution of the U. S. They have been both defeated by the same man, and the same party: That man, and that party, have saved the Union for the present. Now is it to be supposed, that they will not attempt to pull down the administration, although it may bring in its fall the destruction of the States, as a political union? What guaranty is there to the contrary? Are men, thus situated, in the general too honest, too virtuous, too patriotick? He that would believe it, would prove that he had read the history of human conduct to very little purpose. When we look to the leaders of mankind, in matters of government, we find occasionally a patriot, firm, and incorruptible; but while we can boast of this, we find every page of history stained with blood & crime, resulting from the existence of unhallowed ambition. With such men, all the higher principles of humanity fail of their effect—friendship, honour, honesty, gratitude, patriotism and philanthropy, all are swallowed up in the all absorbing matter of self advancement—and when defeat is experienced in this—Vengeance alone extinguishes, with the love of country, every noble principle of our nature. It is doubtful indeed, whether the steel of the noble Brutus, was not accelerated in its passage to Caesars heart, by a mixture of something else with the pure spirit of patriotism. History abounds in examples of disappointed aspirants, who have endeavoured to upturn the government of their country: but how few have distinguished themselves as patriots after having been defeated as political aspirants? Men are but men, even in the present age of the world. The history of the successors of Alexander, is a good exposition and commentary upon human character.
The principle of their conduct is the same, that is to be found in that of all ambitious men when they cannot have supreme power. Machiavel has told us what it is, and what it will be in all times. These men do know, that it was not Mr. Clay’s bill that settled the question of nullification. They know, too, that, it was the mighty voice of public opinion, as expressed through the press, in the crowd, in the country, town, city, village—in a word throughout the nation by the people, in Unison with the “Proclamation”—“The Message”—“The Revenue Bill”—that settled the question. Mr. Clay’s bill was only a measure resulting from what it was seen would be done by Congress, introduced by him, as a covert for a retreat from his position—no longer tenable;—and it was accepted by Mr. Calhoun as the best means of avoiding a conflict which he saw would leave him with a small treasonable band, oposed to the great American Public. These men have got together, and will lead the opposition. The party that has sustained your administration, in its most trying moments, will be attempted to be cut up between distinguished individuals—and it seems doubtful where the true party is to concentrate its powers. I do not presume to ask you, respecting individuals: But I allow myself to ask you, what are most likely to be the leading doctrines, (aside from the fundamental principles that must ever be held by it) that will distinguish it? Where will Pennsylvania be found? How is the party to be United? Union of action it seems to me is indispensable, in order to ensure that transcendency which will keep the government entire through the next administration, after which time, it is hoped that these vexatious questions will be settled, consistently with the safety of the country. I need not enter into all the reasons that have induced me to thus address you. It is asked as a young man would ask advice and instruction, from one who is justly entitled to be ranked among the founders of the revolution. I remain, with the most profound regard, Your most obedient servant.

Tilghman A. Howard

[Endorsed by AJ:] Private—Genl Howard—with answer inclosed—august 1833—A. J.

ALS, DLC (43). Howard (1797–1844) had moved to Indiana from Tennessee in 1830 and had been appointed U.S. district attorney for Indiana by AJ on April 6, 1833. AJ replied on August 20 (below).

1. John Tyler (1790–1862) was a U.S. senator from Virginia.
3. The rivalries of Alexander the Great’s successors sundered his empire after his death. Niccolò di Bernardo dei Machiavelli (1469–1527) was an Italian diplomat, historian, and political philosopher.
From Edward Livingston

Montgomery Place 28. July 1833

My Dear General

On hearing that the Delaware was ready to sail I anticipated the directions I have just received from the Department of State, and immediately came up from New York to conduct my family down in order to meet the vessel on her arrival; we leave this on tuesday and will be ready to embark as soon as the vessel is to receive us.¹

I have lately been much in company with many of our political Friends from So. Carolina, and find them to a man uniting on one opinion; that in order to counteract the mischievous designs of the agitators in that state some steps ought to be taken by the General Government to raise a counteracting interest there in favor of the Union. They say that the union party are zealously attached to national principles, that they are ready to incur any risque in their Defence, but that they are in a minority and that the prevailing party regardless of all consequences are preparing to persecute them by all the means which their command of the State legislation will enable them to Do. that this oppression will produce resistance & resistance will end in bloodshed & confusion That to prevent this the most feasible plan will be to create such a counter interest as may give to the friends of order a majority in the State Legislature. This they think can be done by the establishment of a Navy yard at Charleston where they say the public service requires one—for the more convenient refitting of our West India Squadrons. This operation it is believed would add to the Union party in the city such strength as would command its representation & if that the example & influence of the city would produce a change in the country and render the enemies of the Union powerless Another measure which they no less strenuously recommend is the appointment of a person from one of the Slave holding states to the first vacancy in the Cabinet or other influential place at home for they think that a foreign mission would have no Effect These suggestions come from People who wish for no Office themselves and therefore seem entitled to the greater consideration & the importance of a complete pacification of the South to the happiness & permanence of the union has induced me to repeat them to you.²

As this may be the last time before leave the country that I shall have the honor to address you, I pray you my Dear General to receive my grateful acknowledgements for all your kindness to me and above all for your invaluable Friendship to me and to mine. in praying you to continue it to me, I add with the utmost sincerity the assurance that it will be my first effort to continue to merit it by the most affectionate attachment to your person & the faithful discharge of the public Duties you have entrusted to me

Edw Livingston
Be so obliging as to remember us all very affectionately to Mr & Mrs Donelson.

ALS, DLC (73).

1. Montgomery Place was Livingston’s Hudson River estate. On July 25 Louis McLane, writing for AJ, directed Livingston to repair to Paris “with all possible despatch” and, once there, to “lose no time” in demanding “in bold and energetic terms” the “prompt and complete fulfillment” of the 1831 claims convention (HRDoc 40, 23d Cong., 2d sess., p. 9, Serial 272). Livingston sailed from New York on the warship Delaware on August 14.

2. Charleston had been considered for a navy yard since at least 1824. Joel Poinsett had urged establishing one there on November 25, 1832 (Jackson Papers, 10:617–18), and again on March 23, 1833 (22-0889). A bill to establish a navy yard at Charleston was reported by a House committee in June 1834, but did not pass (HRRep 541, 23d Cong., 1st sess., Serial 263).

From Martin Van Buren

Albany July 29 ’33

My Dr Sir

I have rcd. your last with the enclosure, & will preserve the former, as a document which may, in time to come have a peculiar value attached to it. I allude to the reply to the letter wishes of our female friend. I want to see our friend Mr Wright before I answer your letter about the Deposits, but will do so in season.¹ After you have perused the enclosed, please to seal it, and send it back to Washington, to be forwarded according to its direction if that be the right one, which our friend Campbell can tell. I go to Saratoga to morrow & will remain there a month. Where must I address to you. Remember me kindly to all about you, & to the Ladies particularly.[.] Your friend

M. Van Buren

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-0238).

1. Van Buren consulted Silas Wright and wrote AJ on August 19 (below).

To Martin Van Buren

Rip Raps, July 30th. 1833—

My Dr. Sir,

I inclose a copy of the hasty reasons prepared at the close of the last Congress for my withholding my assent from Mr Clays Land bill. I got the Major to copy it. I have not had time to combine the additional remarks which have occurred to me to have much force & may be added. I am busy, all my working hours, reviewing the Bank question, and the propriety of removing the deposits on the incorporated Banks of the States proposing, & shewing a safe system by & thro them, by which our fiscal
concerns can be well managed—*a strong case can be made out*. So soon as I get thro, I will send it to you for your review, & frank criticism upon it, which I trust you will do with your usual ability & frankness. In the mean time I shall expect your review & criticism on the paper inclosed, with such additions as may suggest themselves to you.

I have been here three days. I think my general health has somewhat improved, altho my feet and ancles have swollen more than usual. Jackson has been quite sick—he is better—the rest of my houshold enjoy health & unite with me in kind salutations.¹

The Major & Genl McComb leave here to day via Richmond v.a. for Washington; and the Delaware sailed this morning at 6, and is just out of sight with a fair wind. I hope Mr. Livingston will get off soon—he ought to have been at Paris six weeks ago.²

Write me often, fully, & freely, upon those subjects submitted to you. I hope it is *well founded*, what you say on the subject of Judge Duval—but Jefferson said, “judges seldom die, & never resign,” I hope this may be an exception from the general rule.³ yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-0241).

1. AJ's household at the Rip Raps included AJ Jr. and family; Emily Donelson and her children Andrew Jackson (“Jackson”), Mary, and John; Ralph Earl; and five servants. They were provisioned from the Hygeia Hotel at Old Point Comfort, near Fort Monroe.

2. The *Delaware*, a 74-gun ship of the line, had been in dry dock at the Norfolk navy yard. AJ had complained since April about delays in fitting her for sea.

3. Supreme Court justice Gabriel Duvall (1752–1844) was in declining health. He resigned in January 1835. AJ quoted a common paraphrase of a line in Thomas Jefferson’s July 12, 1801, letter to New Haven merchants: “if a due participation of office is a matter of right, how are vacancies to be obtained? those by death are few. by resignation none” (*Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 34:556).

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From Samuel Houston

Hot Springs A. T.
30th July 1833.

Dear Sir,

Before this time I had hoped to have paid my respects to you in person, but owing to various causes, I was delayed so long in Texas, that it will not be in my power before the month of January next. It did intend to have addressed you from Texas, but the risk which my letters must have run, and the want of materials, at all times; prevented me—

Texas has formed a Constitution, on free principles, and sent it to the National Congress for adoption. Its fate I have not learned, but will leave here in few days for Texas, where the result must be known by this time. The people will not be satisfied with any thing less, than a Constitution,
and just laws. It has been announced here that the law prohibiting the emigration of North Americans, has been repealed, if so, Texas must flourish, and soon become, a most desirable portion of the Globe. The largest portion of it, has health, added, to every other advantage—

It has afforded me real pleasure to see that you have been enabled to give the Hydra Nullification its death wound! I love my country! and I can not, with-hold my gratitude, and the expression of it, from him, who has done so much, to save it, and preserve, and perpetuate its Glorious Institutions. If Mr Calhoun could, only atone, for the heresies of South Carolina, with his head, I should think it but justice to our country, and its insulted, purity, and character!! It seems from hints in the papers, which occasionally reach me, that, despair, and his ungovernable malignity, may yet push him on, to condign punishment! If the laws, would only justify, one, or more examples, at the present crisis; the integrity of the Government certainly wou’d demand the atonement!

I have been as high up the Arkansas river, as Fort Gibson, and regreted to see, that the commissioners, had been able, to effect so little. The blame then rests, entirely upon Mr Skimmerhorn, and with the Indians, present feelings, nothing can be effected, so long as he remains, a part of the commission. Gov. Stokes was, much liked, by the Indians, and in his integrity, and goodness they have great confidence. They are also aware that him, and Mr Skimmerhorn, did not agree. One, being exclusively Missionary: in his views; while the other comprehended the true interests of the Indians.2

The Government, has some efficient officers engaged in the business of emigration in this quarter—Maj: Armstrong, and Col Rector. The former, you know well, and I can assure you, the latter, will do his duty; whenever it is assigned to him. He possesses, both energy, and decision of character, with good capacity, for business.3

I will ask leave to call your attention to a son, of an old friend of yours, and one, who was always true: I mean Colonel John McKee. He has left a son Alexr H. McKee; connected to the Frasher family of the choctaws. This young man Received, an excellent English education and possesses fine intelligence. He is worthy of Col McKee; possessing all his manly pride of character. If you shou’d be pleased to extend your notice to him as a subordinate of Indian removals, or direct that he be placed, in charge of a school, in the nation, I doubt not, but you wou’d find him, most worthy of confidence.4

When young natives, are qualified to fill situations, and places, of trust with their own people, and they are noticed by the Government, it will arouse a spirit of emulation, amongst them, and do more towards their civilization, in ten years; than a hundred Missionaries could effect in twenty. This is the first relative for whom, I have ever solicited a favor from my country, and I hope you will, at least excuse me for calling your
attention to him. He is certainly more the gentleman; possessing more steady habits, and superior qualifications to numbers, who, are in the department and receiving good wages.

In conclusion, I beg leave to assure you, of the heartfelt pleasure, which I have derived from reading the reception, which you have met with from the “Yankee Nation,” as they are called! I hope will return in safety, and that your days, may be as many, and happy, as they have been useful, and Glorious to your country. With the highest respect I am Your friend

Sam Houston

P.S. of this date I had the honor to make a report to the Secy of War on the subject of the Comanchies, and a peace with them! I am &c &c

Sam Houston

[Endorsed by Aj:] Govr. Houston—recd. august 27th. 1833—to be shown to the Secretary of War  A. J.

ALS, DLC (43).
1. Houston had represented Nacogdoches in the April convention at San Felipe that called for separating Texas from Coahuila and drew up a constitution for it as a distinct Mexican state. The convention also called for Mexican reforms, including repeal of an April 6, 1830, law banning Americans from settling in Texas. The Mexican government rescinded that prohibition in November 1833. The convention commissioned Stephen F. Austin and two others to carry its proceedings to Mexico City.

2. Dutch Reformed minister and missionary John Freeman Schermerhorn (1786–1851), former North Carolina governor Montfort Stokes (1762–1842), and Connecticut lawyer Henry L. Ellsworth were commissioners under the law of July 14, 1832, to negotiate boundaries and settle disputes among western and emigrating Indians.

3. Francis Wells Armstrong (1783–1835), brother of Nashville postmaster Robert Armstrong, was the Western Choctaw agent. Wharton Rector (c1800–1842) was an assistant agent for Choctaw removal.

4. Houston’s first cousin John McKee (1771–1832) had been an Indian agent and commissioner and an Alabama congressman. Alexander H. McKee, son of John and an Indian woman, had been employed as an assistant with the Choctaw removal. The Fraziers were a prominent Choctaw and Chickasaw family.

5. Philadelphia National Gazette editor Robert Walsh had coined the phrase “universal Yankee nation” in calling for united support of John Q. Adams’s presidential candidacy in November 1822.

6. As he had written AJ on February 13 (above), Houston had intended to conduct a Comanche delegation to treat with the western Indian commissioners at Fort Gibson in the spring. On July 30 he wrote Lewis Cass to explain why he had not done so. He was wary of exacerbating Mexican suspicions of American “ulterior designs” to foment Comanche hostility to Mexico and perhaps to supply them with arms; and he feared that the Comanches’ Indian enemies might attack the delegation as it traversed their territory, inspiring the Comanches to suspect American treachery and attack the settlements in Texas. Houston said the Comanches were friendly and eager to treat, and he proposed seeking Mexican permission for a delegation to the U.S. (Writings of Sam Houston, 2:15–18).
From Louis McLane

Washington July 31, 1833.

My dear Sir,

I have the honor, herewith, to transmit a copy of a letter from Mr. Wheaton requesting leave of absence for the purpose of returning to the U. S. In his private letter to me he states as one object of his request the necessity of attending to a suit which he has caused to be instituted in vindication of his Patent right and desires the earliest information upon the subject. There is nothing in the state of his mission that will not permit admit of his absence, and I hope you will feel yourself at liberty to accede to his request.

I take leave, at the same time, to forward you a letter received to day from Mr. Vail which he informs me is of a private nature.

Mr. Silliman is understood to have left Madrid for the U. S. and his arrival may be daily looked for.

I regret to say that the bill for the execution of our Treaty with France has been postponed by the chambers until the next session. We have a despatch from Mr. Harris, dated the 14. June, filled, as usual, with inflated accounts of his interviews & explanations with the King & his Ministers, and anticipating what has happened; but having been written in advance of the sitting of the 18th. gives no intelligence of the final proceeding; which, however, I have cut from a newspaper & enclose for your perusal. I also send some translations of articles in the French papers to which Mr. Harris refers. There is some significance in the declaration of the Minister of Foreign affairs, “that even now some of these documents had not come over from America.” To what documents can he possibly refer, but those called for by Congress? And how could he have knowledge of them but thro’ Mr. Serurier who, giving an intimation of the contents, [waited] for the printing? And of what possible use could these documents be, if the Ministers mean to act fairly with us? Mr. Harris says in his despatch that the subject will no doubt be acted on early at the next session—where there has been so much shuffling, however, the whole subject may be considered to be more or less doubtful.

I hope, you have found benefit in the quiet & relaxation of your retreat, and that you may return to us with renewed health & vigour. I pray my best regards to your family, and have the honor to be very faithfully Your Obedient Servant

Louis McLane

ALS, NjP (23-0244). McLane wrote again the next day, August 1 (below).

1. Henry Wheaton (1785–1848) had been U.S. chargé d’affaires at Copenhagen since 1827. On June 1 he sent an official request to the State Department for six months’ leave of absence to attend to affairs at home. He also wrote McLane privately, asking him to support his request to AJ (DNA-RG 59, M41-4). McLane notified Wheaton of AJ’s approval
on August 8 (DNA-RG 59, M77-50). Wheaton had been the U.S. Supreme Court reporter from 1816 to 1827, and had sued his successor, Richard Peters, for infringing his copyright by reprinting abridged versions of his official Reports. Wheaton returned to the U.S. in November, and the Supreme Court heard the case on appeal in March 1834. It rejected some of Wheaton’s claims and remanded others back to circuit court for trial (Wheaton v. Peters, 33 U.S. Reports 591). Wheaton left to return to Denmark in June. The dispute was finally settled in 1850, after both men had died, by a payment of $400 to Wheaton’s estate.

2. McLane enclosed Aaron Vail’s June 21 letter (above).

3. George Wyllys Silliman (c1807–1842) had been appointed dispatch bearer to Spain in June 1832 (DNA-RG 59, M77-8).

4. Louis Philippe (1773–1850) was King of the French. On June 14 Levett Harris, the U.S. chargé at Paris, reported that the French ministry had finally presented the appropriation bill to implement the claims convention to the Chamber of Deputies, but that action on it at this late stage of the session was “next to impossible.” He said he had met with French foreign minister Duke Victor de Broglie (1785–1870), and would do so again. Harris enclosed translations of the bill and of the Marquis de Lafayette’s June 13 speech in the Chamber urging its approval (DNA-RG 59, M34-29). In Chamber debate on June 18, Broglie attributed the ministry’s delay in submitting the convention to the difficulty of assembling documents to elucidate its provisions, some of which had to be procured from America (Archives Parlementaires, 10th series [Paris, 1893], 85:200). Reports of the proceedings, first appearing in New York City papers on July 29, represented him as saying, “Even now some of those documents had not come over from America” (Globe, August 1, 1833). The House of Representatives had called for the record of the French negotiation on December 11, 1832, and AJ had communicated it on January 17, 1833 (HRDoc 147, 22d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 235).
August

From Louis McLane

Washington Aug. 1. 1833.

Dear Sir,

I had the honor, yesterday, to send you a letter with such intelligence as I supposed you would desire to receive. Since then I have heard of Major Lewis’s intention to go down to morrow and by him I take the liberty of sending a dispatch received this morning from Mr. Livingston. It has occurred to me that some personal conversation with Mr. L. previously to his embarkation may be important in the present posture of our affairs with France, and I will endeavour therefore, if Mr. Duane should return in Season, and Mr. Silliman not arrive so as to make it necessary to wait upon you, to proceed to New York if but for a single day. Presuming it may be of some interest to you I accompany this letter with a “Journal of Commerce” containing the remarks of Genl. La Fayette in relation to our Treaty.

Genl. Van Ness, also, has left with me a letter from his brother which he desires you to see, and at his request I take the liberty of enclosing it.

I also send a letter from Mr. Leiper recommending Mr. Davis to be a commissioner of Bankruptcy in the place of Col. Page who is expected to resign. Mr. Henry Horn also, recommends Mr Davis, and if you see fit I will thank you to signify your approbation at the foot of Mr. Leiper’s letter.

The consulate at Bristol, in England, is vacant by the death of Mr. Visgar, and his son has been recommended in the situation. Doctor Macaulay of Baltimore, however, has been very solicitous for some time past for some situation in England and he possibly might take this for the present. He would be in all respects the fittest person, and although I am not able to say whether he would accept the Consulate at Bristol, if you will be good eno’ to permit me, I will make him the offer of it.

I desire my best regards to the Ladies and the rest of your suite, and tendering my best wishes for your own health & happiness, I have the honor to be, dear Sir, with the highest respect faithfully your ob. Sert

Louis McLane
ALS, NjP (23-0256).

1. Livingston had written McLane on July 28 of his readiness to sail on the Delaware as soon as it arrived. He acknowledged McLane’s July 25 instructions and regretted that Levett Harris had conceded to discuss the merits of the claims convention with the French instead of simply insisting on its fulfillment, but he still believed that France would honor it for reasons of reputation and self-interest. Later, on July 30, after hearing of the Chamber’s June 18 refusal of the payment, Livingston wrote McLane again, offering to come to Washington to discuss its effect on his instructions (DNA-RG 59, M34-30).


3. Washington mayor John P. Van Ness was Cornelius Van Ness’s brother.

4. James Page (1795–1875), appointed a federal bankruptcy commissioner for eastern Pennsylvania in 1832, had resigned on July 29 after being appointed Philadelphia postmaster. Henry Horn on July 29 and William J. Leiper on July 30 had written McLane recommending Philadelphia lawyer Samuel Davis to succeed him. On August 3 AJ endorsed Leiper’s letter “Let Mr Davis be appointed” (DNA-RG 59, M639-6). He was commissioned August 8 (DNA-RG 59, 23-0298).

5. The consul at Bristol, Harman Visger (c1767–1833), had died on June 4. AJ appointed Baltimore physician Patrick Macaulay (1795–1849) to succeed him on August 8 (DNA-RG 59, 23-0299).

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From Richard Mentor Johnson

Choctaw Academy
2 August 1833

Dear Sir,

Winter before last the Creek Chiefs made a treaty stipulation to appropriate 3000$, for ten or twenty years to educate their youth, & vested the control of the fund either in the Sec of War or President. See Treaty. It was made with the express view of sending the Boys to this school. I advised them to make the arrangement & they told me the Boys should be sent. I am informed now, that they are unwilling to send their children out of the nation wishing to have schools at home. If they send out of the nation they prefer this school, which is little inferior to West Point & where they have had 50 of their children educated & now here on this fund.

The object of this letter is to get you, to have the agent directed to get the number of Boys & send them on to the School, where preparations have been made to receive them & where the School is responsible for the expenditure of the money by the rules of the War Department. This has always been the course where the President has the Control of the fund as this is the only School correctly responsible & under the rigid control of the Govt.

1st. you know Sir, that these home schools have never done any good.
2 you know the feeling of the Chiefs has been influenced by some selfish half Bloods, or white men who want the 3000$, & then no accountability whether children have been educated or not, so they get the money.

3. This school is prepared to take them & have been at great expence to prepare for them & others who are expected, & injury will result if not sent

4 There is no other School but this under any responsibility to account for the faithful discharge of the money in education

5th. This valuable institution must fail if the chiefs can stop the expenditure of such appropriations where the power of control is vested in the President

6 While the Chiefs will be gratifyed in reasonable wishes they ought not in that which is unreasonable & injurious

7 If the order is given, the 15 Boys will be sent & no complaint will be made. This school has been in being 8 years & orders have always gone to agents to send so many boys & no difficulty has ever existed—the agents have always had influence to get the children & every thing has been harmony. I hope Sir you will consider this course reasonable if you do it will be done, that I know. The reason I write to you Gov. Cass, the best of men, is absent If he was present I know he would do it. It is certainly the only correct course to keep up a school which the Govt. has founded. Wishing you every earthly blessing I am as I ever have been your faithful friend.

Rh M Johnson

[Endorsed by AJ:] Refered to the secretary of war—A. J.

ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-776). Richard Mentor Johnson (1780–1850) was a Kentucky congressman and later Van Buren’s vice president. In 1825 he had established the Choctaw Academy to educate Indian youths at his Great Crossings estate near Georgetown, Ky. It received funding from Choctaw and other Indian treaty annuities, administered through the War Department. The March 1832 treaty with the Creeks had allocated $3,000 annually for twenty years “to be expended as the President may direct . . . for teaching their children” (Indian Treaties, 2:343).

From Amos Kendall

Baltimore 2d August 1833.

Dear Sir,

On Sunday evening last I came down to this City where I have ever since been employed in negotiating with the State Banks.1 Aware that most of the Banks are in the hands of the friends of the Bank of the United States and might be disposed to thrust upon me arguments and statements designed to further the views of that institution, I concluded my
best course was to address all of them and inquire whether they desired, in case of a change of the deposits to receive them on any terms. If they replied they had such a desire, then they would be in some measure committed to the step, or at least it would show they were not afraid of the consequences; and if they replied they had not, then there was an end of all correspondence with them. I send you herewith a copy of my letter which was purposely made very diplomatic.

From one Bank I have received no reply and one has declined all agency in the matter. Three have expressed their desire to undertake the agency, and absence of Presidents or Directors has, in the other three, prevented a definite answer.2

I have addressed to the three Banks which have signified their desire to undertake the agency, a letter making specific propositions, first after the plan set forth in my instructions, and secondly upon the supposition that the government may prefer to make its arrangements with each bank respectively. The plan laid down in my instructions will be found to be impracticable from want of legal power in the Banks to enter into the requisite obligations. The Bank of Maryland is probably the only one here which possesses the power under its charter, and that Bank is willing to enter into the arrangement. The Union Bank accedes fully to the propositions made by me for a separate arrangement as does the Bank of Maryland also, and both are ready to give ample security in public stocks or otherwise for the safety of the public deposits and the performance of every service for the government now rendered by the Bank of the United States. They are also willing to furnish Exchange on London at cost whenever the government may require it.3

I am not so fully possessed of the views of the other Banks which are favorably disposed; but have no doubt the only difficulty here will be to select between a number of Banks all which will be ready to make the government entirely safe in entrusting to them its deposits.

Mr. Lorman, the President of the Bank of Baltimore told me he saw a letter from a Broker in Philadelphia to a Broker in this City two days ago, stating that Mr. Duane was about to resign. I give it just as I received it.4

Mr. Gilpin has written to Mr. McEldery requesting him to attend with the other government Directors at the Bank to examine the Expence Book. I understand that Mr. Wager was on the last dividend committee, and on looking over that Book fell upon various charges for printing electioneering documents &c, supposed to exceed $40,000. He informed the other government Directors and they have determined to demand an examination of the Book that they may report the facts to you.5

I have been informed here, and I am sorry to say I believe it, that Mr. Toland has discounts at the Bank of comparatively recent date, to the amount of $150,000, and that $45,000 were lately obtained on a pledge of U.S. Bank Stock. I remember his being at Washington during the time your correspondence with Mr. Duane was going on where he remained
but one night. I did not hear what his business was; but now I should be glad to know. I will inquire more fully into the matter of these loans when at Philadelphia and give you the whole truth.

I was here stopped by a call from the President of the Bank of Baltimore who informs me that his Board have this morning unanimously resolved, that they will undertake the service if an arrangement can be made. He will immediately write me officially and I shall then make specific propositions &c.⁶

It is amusing to witness the arts employed by the U.S. Bank partizans to prevent the state banks from meeting me on favorable terms. They abuse the project of removal, abuse me, abuse every body and every thing which has any thing to do with it. But they do not deter the state banks from coming forward, and I have no doubt of accomplishing all I desire.

My impression is, that I shall not stop to do any thing in Philadelphia as I pass on. It is apprehended that most of the Banks there will answer precisely as the Bank U. S. desires, and I think it safer to bring the example of the northern banks to operate upon them than carry their example to the north.⁷

I have found but one friend of the administration here who hesitates in declaring it the duty of the government to remove the deposits, and that is Isaac McKim Esq. He admits that they deserve it—are corrupt—and all that is charged; but is afraid they will make mischief by revenging themselves on the country. When I pointed out all the bearings of the measure as they struck me, he admitted there were some things he had not thought of and that it might on the whole be best to do it. He seems to me to be a plain, honest, direct man.⁸

August 3d. I received last evening the reply of the Union Bank to my propositions, waiving the first on account of doubts about its power; but acceding to the second in full and offering to give security in good stocks for the safety of the deposit as the faithful performance of its duties.

From the Commercial & Farmers Bank I have received a reply declining to accede to either proposition on account of unwillingness to be responsible for other banks or give security.

I believe six out of the eight banks here would be glad to get the deposits; but not more than two or three will be willing or able to give security.

I was ill last evening so that I could not close my business and leave in the morning’s boat; but I expect to go in the evening. With the highest respect

Amos Kendall

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. Kendall 4th. auditor—

ALS, DLC (43). Kendall enclosed this letter to Francis P. Blair on August 3 to deliver to AJ and also, AJ permitting, to read it himself (Blair-Lee Papers, NjP).

1. Sunday was July 28.

3. Kendall’s July 23 instructions, derived from AJ’s first June 26 letter to Duane, would have made the principal deposit banks mutually responsible “for the safety of the entire deposits, wherever made,” and for making payments in specie or its equivalent, without charge, anywhere in the country. On August 1 Kendall submitted the terms of these instructions to the interested banks; but, foreseeing “insuperable obstacles” to a joint security arrangement among them, he also proposed alternative terms that would require them each to give security only for “the probable average amount of public deposit in your city,” and to make payments and transfers only “out of the deposite on hand.” On August 2 the Union Bank accepted the second set of terms but not the first, as did later the Bank of Maryland on August 5. On August 2 the Commercial and Farmers’ Bank rejected both (SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 29–33, Serial 238).

4. William Lorman (1764–1841) was president of the Bank of Baltimore.

5. Hugh McElderry (1793–1856) of Baltimore was a government BUS director, first appointed in 1832. Wager told Gilpin of his discovery on July 2, and Gilpin wrote McElderry on July 29 (Gilpin Diary, PHi). AJ wrote directors Sullivan, Gilpin, and Wager on August 3 (below).

6. Lorman wrote Kendall on August 2 that his board lacked a quorum, but that members present were “decidedly friendly to such an arrangement as may be found practicable.” Kendall had sent him his August 1 letter proposing alternative terms, and on August 30 the Bank of Baltimore accepted the second set but not the first (SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 28, 34, Serial 238).


8. Isaac McKim (1775–1838) of Baltimore was a congressman in 1823–25 and again in 1833–38.

[Enclosure]

Beltzoovers, Baltimore. 1

30th July 1833.

Sir

I have been appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury, at the request of the President of the United States, to confer with such state Banks as I may think proper in relation to the future deposit and distribution of the public revenue.

It is deemed probable by the Government that the present Bank of the United States will not be rechartered, and that no other institution will be established by Congress, to supply its place as an agent of the Treasury.

As it is now less than three years to the expiration of its charter, the President thinks it his duty to look to the means by which the service it now renders to the government is thereafter to be performed.

Should sufficient reasons exist the government may desire to employ another agent or other agents for the performance of that service, at an earlier period.

The sole object of my appointment is, to ascertain on what terms the several state banks may be willing to perform the services now rendered.
by the Bank of the United States to the government, should it become necessary or expedient to employ another agent, or other agents; for the performance of that service at an earlier period. The sole object of my app
that the Secretary of the Treasury, may, in that event, be able to make a judicious selection.

In pursuit of the object of my appointment, I have the honor to inquire whether the Bank, over which you preside, is desirous, should a change take place, of undertaking that agency for at the city of Baltimore. If this enquiry be answered in the affirmative, I am authorised to confer with you further on the subject. It is however to be distinctly understood that nothing which may pass is to be considered a pledge on the part of the government to remove the deposits from the Bank of the United States, before the expiration of its charter, or to employ your Bank in any event, or to make any final arrangements upon the conditions which may now be proposed or received.

If it be convenient, I should be happy to know the disposition of your board of Directors on this subject; if not, will you do me the favor to give me your own, leaving an expression of the wishes of the board to the first convenient opportunity.

I design to leave this city on Friday morning and hope for the favor of an early reply.2


1. Kendall stayed at the Fountain Inn in Baltimore, operated by George Beltzhoover (c1774–1848).
2. Friday was August 2. Kendall left for Philadelphia on August 3.

To John T. Sullivan, Henry Dilworth Gilpin, and Peter Wager

Rip Raps August 3rd. 1833—

Gentlemen,

I am informed that there is a Book of expences kept at the Bank & which comes before the dividend committee semianually.1 If any of you have had, or can have access to that Book, I should be glad to learn what were the expences of the last year, and also the preceeding year; for what particulars incurred—all directors have a right to see & inspect this Book, and if refused to the government directors report the same to me.

Mr. Walch admitted in his paper, that his publisher had received about $1000, for printing newspapers calculated to operate in the elections—this leads me to believe that a considerable sum of the expences of the Bank, has been incurred in this way.2 As it is my duty to see that the funds
of the Govt. entrusted to the institution are not misapplied, and for which purpose you are appointed, and as it is your duty as the Representatives of the government in the Board of directors to furnish the Executive Branch of the government such information as will enable it to act understandingly in protecting & guarding its interests, I desire that you will obtain & furnish me a statement of the Bank account, expences; They can in no sense be considered private accounts. They are the accounts of a public Institutions expenditures, upon the honest & proper appropriation of which, must depend to some extent, the confidence which the administrators of the General Government may feel at liberty to repose in it. I should consider proper, & even your duty, if an examination of these accounts should be denied by the officer keeping them, to demand a view of them by motion at the Board of Directors. If it be refused, then report the same forthwith to me, and at the same time give me all the information, and knowledge in regard to these accounts, which you may have acquired in the discharge of your duty as a directors. I am Gentlemen with great respect yr mo. obdt. Servt

Andrew Jackson


1. AJ’s informant was probably Reuben M. Whitney, who wrote Blair on July 30 that it “ought to be known to the President” that there was a Bank expense book that did not come before the board, but “only before the dividend committee semi-annually” (Blair-Lee Papers, NjP).

2. Robert Walsh (1785–1859) was editor of the Philadelphia National Gazette and Literary Register, published by William Fry (1777–1855). Repelling Globe accusations of massive corrupt BUS subsidies, Walsh stated in the July 2, 1831, issue that Fry had been paid “less than one thousand dollars” for printing fewer than forty thousand National Gazette supplements with pro-BUS material, no more than “a bare compensation.” On June 17, 1833, the Globe cited this admission to counter Walsh’s renewed denial on June 15 of BUS subsidy to the Gazette. The government directors reported to AJ on August 19 that the BUS had paid Fry $1,830.27 in 1831 for more than 50,000 copies of the Gazette and supplements, and $4,106.13 in 1832 for other pro-BUS materials (SDoc 2, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 30–31, Serial 238; Bassett, 5:162–63).

From William Carroll

Nashville Tennessee
August 4th 1833.

My dear Sir;

Your letter of the 15th of July came to hand by due course of mail and should have been replyed to sooner, but I was desirous to see and converse with Doctor Hogg and General White in relation to the circumstances
which gave rise to the opinion that the watch word and countersign of the
British army, on the morning of the 8th. of January 1815. were ‘Beauty
and Booty.’ Those gentlemen and myself agree that the first knowledge we
had in relation to the subject was obtained from a letter written by Judge
Poindexter and published in a news paper at Washington Mississippi,
which was received at the encampment about ten days after the battle.¹
I recollect that some of my men found one or two orderly books of the
enemy which I think were handed to you at Head Quarters; but what
they contained I do not remember at this distant day, though afterwards
I heard it repeatedly said that the order containing the watch word and
countersign was found in orderly books taken on the battle ground as
stated by Major Eaton in his life of Jackson. I have examined every book
and paper in my possession on the Orleans campaign, but am unable to
find a single word in relation to the subject.

For some years after the battle of New Orleans, I entertained the belief
that an officer like Sir Edward Packingham who had rendered such impor-
tant services to his King and Country could not have given to his army
the watch word and countersign attributed to him. But after the subject
had been mentioned from year to year in almost every news paper in
the United States and by Mr. Cobbett in England, without contradic-
tion, I was inclined to think that the imputation was not wholly without
foundation.²

I wish I could be more explicit, but I have said all, which at this time I
can remember. Most sincerely Your friend

Wm. Carroll

[Endorsed by AJ:] Govr. Carroll To be answered and Mr Vaughans letter
to be returned—

ALS, DLC (73). Carroll wrote again on August 9 (below).

1. On January 25, 1815, the Natchez Mississippi Republican had printed a January 20
letter from George Poindexter at New Orleans, saying: “The watch-word and countersign
of the enemy on the morning of the 8th was, BEAUTY, & BOOTY.” Poindexter gave no
source, but said that the day before, January 19, he had personally received the surrenders
of about ninety soldiers from the departing British army (Nat. Intelligencer, February 13,
1815). Samuel Hogg had served as a surgeon and William White (1783–1833) as an aide-
de-camp with Carroll at New Orleans. Felix Grundy wrote AJ of White’s death on August 7
(below).

2. English journalist William Cobbett (1763–1835) had countenanced the “Booty and
Beauty” story in his 1830 History of the Regency and Reign of King George the Fourth (sec-
tions 378–79), on the authority of the 1824 edition of Eaton’s Life of Andrew Jackson.
To Andrew Jackson Donelson

Rip Raps August 5th. 1833—

Dear Andrew,

Major Lewis reached us on the evening of the 3rd. instant & handed yours of the 1rst. advising that on that day you set out for Tennessee—he handed all the accompanying papers entrusted to his care

We got down safe having a very agreeable passage, & pleasant weather and landed on these rocks where we are very pleasantly situated, and all now enjoy good health. Jackson and Mary, both, had an attack of bilious fever—wit our own knowledge, and the aid of Doctor Archer, they are now quite well, and will soon begin to fatten here. Emily at times is a little desponding & regrets she did not go with you. I rally her by bringing to her view that John & Mary could not have bore the fatigue, & she has become reconciled. you may rest assured they shall be as well attended to, & made as happy as it is in my power. We all now enjoy better health, altho mine I think is improved, I cannot yet boast of great improvement, altho' good health, my appetite has improved, and I think my digestion better, all the other branches of my household are in good health, & improving, and increasing in flesh. Andrew Jackson junr. has much improved in flesh.

I need not say to you how anxious we will be to hear from you, & that often, even if you have only time to say where & how you are.

I wish you to inquire of Mr Holtzclaw how it has happened that altho I have so often requested him to write me, that I have not had a line from him since the one that informed that he had just pitched his cotton crop & had a good stand—he must know that I have great anxiety to hear as well of the seasons & prospect of crop, as of the health of my family & condition of my stock—please inform me where Hutchings is that I may write him. Genl Coffe having passed away poor little Hutchings has lost in him a father & a friend who would have admonished him as such. I now am more anxious to write him as I know not any one who will act the part of a friend & admonish him if doing wrong.

We all unite in good wishes for your health & happiness and speedy return, & request our kind salutations to Mrs., Widow, Donelson & every branch of our connection.2

accept my prayers for your health & happiness & a speedy return to your dear little family & believe me yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Donelson Papers (23-0272).
1. Robert Archer (1794–1877) was an Army assistant surgeon at Fort Monroe.
2. The widow Donelson was Emily’s mother, Mary Purnell Donelson.
From Roger Brooke Taney

Private

Washington Augt. 5. 1833

My Dear Sir

After reflecting on the conversation you held with me on the morning you left Washington, it seems to be proper that I should state to you without reserve my opinion on the present condition of affairs in relation to the Bank.¹

In my official communications I have already expressed my conviction that the Deposites ought to be withdrawn by order of the Executive, provided a safe and convenient arrangement can be made with the State Banks for the collection and distribution of the Revenue. And I have advised that the step should be taken before the meeting of Congress because it is desirable that the members should be amongst their constituents when the measure is announced and should bring with when they come here the feelings and sentiments of the people. I rely at all times with confidence on the intelligence and virtue of the people of the United States—and believing it to be right to remove the Deposites, I think they will sustain the decision.

The obstacles which have recently come in the way of such a proceeding have without doubt greatly strengthened the hands of the Bank and increased the difficulties to be surmounted by the Executive. They have not however changed my opinion on the course proper to be taken. My mind has for some time been made up, that the continued existence of that powerful and corrupting monopoly will be fatal to the liberties of the people, and that no man but yourself is strong enough to meet and destroy it—and if your administration closes without having established and carried into operation some other plan for the collection and distribution of the revenue, the Bank will be too strong to be resisted by any one who may succeed you. Entertaining these opinions I am prepared to hazard much, in order to save the people of this country from the shackles which a combined monied Aristocracy is seeking to fasten upon them.

But although it is my duty frankly to state to you the opinions I hold on this subject, yet I do not desire to press the measure upon you. I am every day more and more sensible of the power and influence exercised by the Bank; & I should feel deeply mortified if after so many splendid victories, civil and military, you should in the last term of your public life meet with defeat. You have already done more than any other man has done or could do, to preserve the simplicity and purity of our institutions—& to guard the country from this dangerous and powerful instrument of corruption. And after a life of so many hazards in the public service—& after achieving so much for the cause of freedom in the field & in the Cabinet,
I have doubted whether your friends or the country have a right to ask you to bear the brunt of such a conflict as the removal of the deposits under present circumstances is likely to produce.

With these feelings and opinions I cannot wish you to adopt this measure unless your own judgment is clear and decided that it is your duty to order the removal—and that the public interest requires it to be done. If you have any doubts on the subject I would advise you not to proceed further until the meeting of Congress. For although my own opinion is firm in favour of the removal as soon as the proper arrangements could be made, I have far more confidence in your decision than I have in my own. And if you determine against it, I shall most cheerfully acquiesce, and shall cordially support any other course of proceeding which you may think preferable.

But if you should finally make up your mind to adopt the measure and should as you intimated find it necessary to call for my services to aid in carrying it into execution—they will be promptly and willingly rendered—and I have thought it my duty after what passed between us on the morning of your departure to give you this assurance.

I should greatly regret the necessity for any change in your Cabinet. You will do me the justice to believe that I do not desire the station you suggested. For as I have already said to you I do not think myself qualified even for its temporary occupation. But I shall not shrink from the responsibility, if in your judgment the public exigency requires me to undertake it.

I have now my dear Sir laid before you all of my thoughts & feelings on this subject. And with cordial wishes for your health & happiness I am with the highest respect & regard yr. obt. St.

R. B. Taney


1. AJ had left Washington on July 26, arriving at the Rip Raps the next day.

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From Felix Grundy

Nashville, Augt 6th 1833
Confidential

Dear Sir,

We have receivd. the accounts of the persons elected to the Assembly in most of the Counties in West Ten, the result of the Election for Senator, may be considered very doubtful, unless Foster should be weaker in East Ten, than is anticipated. My friends in this County lost the election, by the bad conduct of some men towards me—this is past; and cannot be altered.1 Should Foster be elected, I think he will vote well, it will take him
some time to be able to do more. Whether I am in public or private life, I shall wish success to your Administration. In regard to yourself & your Administration, my feelings and opinions have undergone no change; they are just what you know them to have been—should my impression be changed as to the result of the Senatorial election—you shall be advised of it—this requires no answer—still I should like to know the State of your health from yourself[.] yr. friend

Felix Grundy

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr Grundy—private—to be answered A. J.

ALS, NjP (23-0284).

1. Tennessee’s state elections were held on August 1 and 2. In Davidson County, Grundy senate and assembly candidates Joseph W. Horton and John P. Hickman lost to Foster candidates George S. Yerger and William E. Anderson, respectively.

From John T. Sullivan

Philada. Augt. 6th. 1833

Dear Sir

I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 3d. this morning by the hands of Mr Leiper, by which the Directors appointed by the Govt. are requested to furnish information on the subject of expenditures, which do not properly belong to the Bk; and no doubt have been incur’d with a view of producing political results in the late Presidential Election.1

Upon a hasty glance at this “Book of expences”; it appeared, that large amounts have been paid for printing tracts, Speeches, Essays &c. It will afford me great pleasure to cooperate with the other gentlemen, in placing before you a detailed list of these accounts, and I am very sure they will enter on this business, not only because you require it: but also from a sense of duty to the Executive, and to themselves. We shall enter on this duty without delay, and report the result to your Excellency as speedily as practicable.

With best wishes for your health and happiness I have the honor to remain very sincerely your obt st

John T Sullivan

[Endorsed by AJ:] recd. august 1833—Mr. Sullivan acknowledges the receipt of my letters & promises an early report on the expence fund of U. States Bank. A. J

ALS, DLC (43). Sullivan wrote again on August 14 (below).

1. AJ had sent his August 3 letter via William J. Leiper of Philadelphia (Leiper to AJ, August 7, DLC-43).
From Martin Van Buren
Saratoga Springs
August 6th, 1833

My dear Sir

The enclosed letter from Mr. Croswell will put to flight McKeans pretence. I am almost sure that I wrote a letter to Ingham, & have among my papers his reply, but as in this I may be mistaken, I have thought it best, for the present, to say nothing about it. Your letters have I believe all been recd. & shall be attended to. Mr Slidell is here—of course under very considerable excitement, but preferring to behave well, (I think), if he can do so if he could be honorably relieved from the injurious effects upon the public mind of his displacement. I told him that an acknowledgment of injustice on your part was out of the question, & that a measure of revenge agt. Gordon, if within his reach, ought not to be desired by him. 

I then stated that I had proposed to you to appoint him Commissioner under the French Treaty, but that the Consulate to Havannah had also been spoken of—that the first was had been rendered impracticable by a previous committal, & that we concluded he would not take the latter—but that from the manner in which you recd. the suggestions I was satisfied, that you entertained no prejudices or unfriendly feelings agt. him. I stated my reasons in making those suggestions to be, to protect him agt. the inference which might arise from the failure to reappoint him, & as the only remedy which the case admitted of. I told him further that I was not able to say, whether or not, subsequent events had worked any change in your disposition towards him, but if not, I thought it possible that some such step might yet be taken. Those views, with an assurance that any supposed effect which the dissatisfaction of himself or his friends might have upon the politics of the state would not weigh a feather in the your ultimate decision, seemed to have a favorable effect upon him. He informed me that his business in N. Orleans was worth $10,000 a year to him & that he meant to continue in it at all events—that there was positively no office in the gift of the Government which he could aspire to that he would take but that he would not conceal from me, that the offer of any place of sufficient respectability to wipe away the effect of what had been done such as a Chargé, would be very grateful to his feelings. I promised to converse further with him. I am rejoiced to find by the tenor of your last letter that there is every prospect of a speedy & effectual restoration of your health. God grant that it may be so. I go to Nyork on Friday to put Smith under the care of Mrs. Livingston for Paris, where I have deter[m]ined to send him to complete his education. The vessel sails positively on Sunday. I hope to return to this place on Tuesday. Remember me very kindly to your son & daughter to Mrs. Donelson and
her children & to Mr & Mrs Blair & to Major Lewis & Col Earle & believe me your friend

M Van Buren

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. Van Buren acknowledges my letters & enclosed one to Mr Blair from the Editor. McKain of P.a—defeated—accounts from P.a—V B. popularity increasing A. J.

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-0286).

1. Van Buren wrote in the margin here: “Mr Blair may do with Mr C’s letter what you & he think best but I should prefer to have no publication.” Edwin Croswell (1797–1871) was editor of the Albany Argus.

2. AJ had first nominated claims commissioners under the 1831 French convention in July 1832. On May 1, 1833, he had appointed Romulus M. Saunders to fill a vacancy on the commission. On April 24 he had appointed Nicholas Trist consul at Havana.

3. Van Buren arrived in New York City on Sunday, August 11, and the Delaware sailed on August 14. Smith Thompson Van Buren (1817–1876) was Van Buren’s youngest son. Livingston’s wife was Louise D’Avezac Moreau de Lassy Livingston (c1781–1860).

From Felix Grundy

Nashville, Augst 7th 1833

Dear Sir,

The excitement growing out of the recent election has, in a good degree subsided, and things begin to look calm.

Genr’l Wm White died of fever, last night.

The last mail brought correct intelligence of various elections, which has changed the aspect of things very much to Mr Fosters disadvan-
tage, he cannot be elected, without some accidental occurrence—my own strength will be equal to my expectations in West Ten. The East part of the State not heard from.

Polk has demolished Bradford literally, Polk, Bell, Johnson, Payton & Inge are certainly elected. The rumor is, that Forester has beaten Isacks, and that Crockett is elected over Fitzgerald; the last I will not beleive, until the proof is full & complete.¹ yr friend

Felix Grundy

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. Grundy—recd. 19th august 1833—A. J. privat—

ALS, DLC (43).

1. In Tennessee congressional elections, James K. Polk had received 4,751 votes to Thomas Porter’s 1,512 and Theodorick F. Bradford’s 671. Balie Peyton (1803–1878), William Marshall Inge (1802–1846), and incumbents John Bell and Cave Johnson won election. John Brown Forester (d. 1845) beat incumbent Jacob C. Isacks, and David Crockett (1786–1836) narrowly defeated incumbent William Fitzgerald (1799–1864).
To Robert Johnstone Chester

Rip Raps August 8th. 1833—

My dear Sir,

Having repaired to this healthful spot, on the Rocks, to enjoy the fine sea breeese & saltwater bath, I did not receive your kind letter of the 22nd. ultimo, until the evening of the 6th. instant. My health has improved in some degree, but still, my appetite & digestion is bad, I still hope for greater improvement by a continuation of the sea bath, & this wholesom air.

It is with heartfelt sorrow I learn, from your letter, that the pimple on Mrs. Hays face has changed into a confirmed cancer—her suffering must be great, but I trust in a kind providence that the application made may cure it, & that she may be restored to health—if it be the will of god to terminate her earthly existence by this dreadful calamity, I trust she will be resigned to his will & be prepared freely to resign this troublesome earthly tabernacle for an eternity of bliss, for which her present suffering is designed by her heavenly father to prepare her, therefore I trust she will be resigned to her present sufferings & chastisement, altho severe—present to her my ardent prayers for her restoration to health, & that she may long live as a blessing to her children & friends.

I am happy to hear that Col Butler & family are with you & his health is restored. I knew travelling would relieve him & recommended last year that he should visit the French broad springs—present me kindly to him & Rachel & his dear family all of whom I would like to see, & would be happy to hear from.

I am happy to learn that you Betsy & your sweet little ones, with Doctor Butler & his family are all in good health, with all the our connection, to whom present my kind salutations—and say to all, that nothing could afford me more pleasure than to see them all. Whether providence may grant me length of life, health & opportunity he only knows—next year if living I will visit the Hermitage if my health permits, & will endeavour to reach you—but of this depends upon many conincincies over which I have no controle.

What is Samuel about. I have had but one letter from him since he left me. I would like to hear how he & his dear little Frances and the children are, & what he is doing. I am fearful nulification has turned his head a little—tell him, from me, to throw from him that absurd and wicked doctrine, that must in the end if not frowned down by every lover of liberty & a government of laws destroy our happy form of Government that secures to all prosperity and happiness; whilst nullification leads to disunion wretchedness & civil war. South Carolina has ruined her own prosperity & drove from her state one fourth of her wealth & population to gratify a few wicked designing demagogues, whose ambition would be,
with to reign in the lower regions than be subordinate in heaven—but the eyes of the citizens of So Carolina are opening their eyes and many will be the curses that will light on those designing damagouges who have brought the evil upon her.

On the subject of the Bouyer claim I can only say manage it, the best way you can for your interest and that of little Dick Hickory—if the land could be found, established, & recovered it would be more valluable than a warrant. manage it as you think best.

I thank you for the call at the Hermitage & the information of its situation communicated—it is the first intelligence I have had from it since early in May, altho, I have charged my overseer to write me weekly—he has failed to write me monthly. a good crop by me, is much wanted, for the two last years my farm brought me greatly in debt—please write me often & believe me yr friend

Andrew Jackson

From Martin Van Buren

Saratoga Springs
August 8t. 33

My dear Sir

I enclose you a letter from our friend Forsyth, which, as you may not be able to read I will interpret for you. It seems that he is going to Georgia to meet his enemies, & thinks it preferable with that view, that the arrangement proposed to him in respect to the Russian Mission should be rescinded—trusting that when a vacancy occurs you will, if you think his services important not give him the option. To all which there cannot I presume be any objection. Remember me to your Household. I am Dr Sir very truly yours

M. Van Buren
[Endorsed by AJ:] —Private—Mr V.B. enclosing Mr Forsythes letter answered 16th August 1833—A. J rough copy within to be filed A. J.

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-0302). AJ replied on August 16 (below).

1. Forsyth had written Van Buren on August 4, asking AJ to regard the question of his appointment to the Russian mission “as if it never had been stirred.” He said that when a vacancy arose, “if there is any thing in the state of affairs which induces him to wish me particularly to go, then, I shall feel of course complimented by the offer of the appointment & what I desire is that it should be understood that I am to have the offer. If any explanation of the change in my wishes should be thought called for, you can say that I have thought better of my own position & of the state of affairs in Georgia. I shall brave the opposition which has been got up against me there & if I am driven from publick confidence I shall go home” (Van Buren Papers, DLC).

From William Carroll

Nashville, August 9. 1833.

My dear Sir;

A few days ago I made you a communication on the subject of the watch word and countersign of the British army on the morning of the 8th. of January 1815. I regret that I could not be more explicit, but after a lapse of so many years, without the aid of written documents, I find it difficult to remember any of the particulars.

Our election is over, and we have received information of the result from almost every county in the State, and I believe that I may venture the opinion that Major Eaton has not lost any strength—indeed his more sanguine friends say that he has gained. That however will be better known in a few days, as measures will be taken to ascertain precisely how the matter stands. The state of feeling which the late election has engendered between Grundy and Foster and their immediate friends renders it certain, that no coalition can be formed between those gentlemen. This will be favorable to Eaton as no unkind feelings exists against him, and the weak party will ultimately give him its support. We shall have a very different state of things to what we had at the last Session. Then the necessity did not positively exist to make an election, but now it must take place to effect which the friends of some one of the candidates must give him up, and I know that some of the supporters of Foster have come to the determination to quit him the moment his chance is doubtful, and go for Eaton. To secure his success however it is absolutely necessary that he should be here, and I would advise him to set out immediately and pass leisurely through East Tennessee. It will Stimulate those who are now his friends and make new ones. I will most cheerfully give to Major Eaton my support—in doing so I am actuated by two considerations. First, I believe that you desire his election, knowing from long experience that you can in all respects confide in

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him. Second, it is proper that his own State should give some unequivocal proof of its approbation, of the conduct of one, against whom so much unjust slander has been levelled. I request that you will be kind enough to write me on this subject, and if you deem it proper express your wish for the success of Major Eaton. You may rest positively assured that it will be used only, under any restrictions you may think proper to impose. Indeed the only use that I would think of making of it, would be to shew it confidentially to a few of the members with whom I might believe it would have influence.

From the returns already received I have no doubt we shall have a convention. This I regret, for I incline to the belief that the opinions of the people at this time are not favorable to the formation of a sound constitution. And indeed we have got along very happily for almost forty years under the present constitution, which could be amended in some particulars, but in amending its present defects, we have no surety that it will not receive some fatal stabs in its most important parts. A few of us who feel a deep interest in the formation of a constitution which will alike insure energy to the government and liberty to the people, have come to the conclusion that it will tend greatly towards securing those ends, that you should be a member of the convention. This may start you at the first view, but I beg you to think of it. A time can be selected for the meeting of the convention when you could with convenience visit Tennessee, and which perhaps you will be disposed to do independent of this consideration. It will not be necessary to require of you either much time or labor. It is the weight of your name and authority which we want, and I do honestly believe that you will have it in your power, to render a most signal service to your State. One which will go down to posterity among the most brilliant of your public acts. There is time enough for reflection on this subject, and I intreat you not to decide hastily against it.

On friday night last our old friend and fellow Soldier General William White was taken ill with fever, and on tuesday he breathed his last. I have no doubt you have heard of the death of General William Arnold. He was a strange man—full of great plans that could never be realized, and at the time of his death was indeavouring to procure a large grant in the Provence of Texas with about as much probability of success as if his application had been made for lands in the moon. Yet such was the infatuation of the people of Tennessee that previous to his departure he had sold in small portions, in the expected grant, to the amount of sixty or Seventy thousand dollars for notes payable in one two and three years the principal part of which is good.

As it seems to be understood that Mr. Stephenson is to be sent to England, I have thought it probable that the friends of the Administration had begun to think of a suitable successor as Speaker. I have heard Judge Wayne of Georgia spoken of and also Richard M Johnson. I presume that
either would do tolerably well; but it would it seems to me promote the interest of the Administration better to select a gentleman from some one of the large States. If you have any views on this subject that I can aid in effecting, it will afford me pleasure to contribute my mite on learning what they are.

Wishing you good health, I am most respectfully and Sincerely, your friend

Wm. Carroll

ALS, DLC (43). Carroll wrote again on September 12 (below).

1. In December 1831 the Tennessee legislature had recommended that voters authorize a convention to revise the state’s 1796 constitution. A referendum on holding a convention passed at the August 1833 elections, and in November the legislature provided for election of delegates in March 1834 for a convention to meet in Nashville in May.

2. William Arnold (c1795–1833) had been a lawyer and major general of Tennessee militia. In early 1833, Arnold had left for Mexico to represent the Ross Company, claimants to an 18.4-million-acre Texas land grant made by the Mexican government to Reuben Ross shortly before his death in 1828. In payment for the mission, the company had given Arnold title to half of Ross’s claim. Arnold divided it into four hundred shares, each representing 23,000 acres, which his agents then sold on credit for as little as $250 a share. Arnold died in Velasco, Texas, in June. The Ross grant was never confirmed. The Tennessee supreme court later ruled that although the shares were worthless, notes given to purchase them were still due, as the sale, while clearly speculative, involved no fraud (Alderson v. Cheatham, 18 Tenn. 304).

From Edward Livingston

(Private) New York August 10 1833

My Dear General

I have been here ten Days waiting for the Ship to be ready, knowing your desire that I should be at my post this delay has given me much uneasiness although had I set out the day after my appointment I could not have arrived in time to remonstrate against the unaccountable postpone-ment of the appropriation for our treaty. Mr. McLane had given me some hope of conferring with him and receiving your further instructions since the last account from France, but he has not had it in his power to come here, and to would not risque any delay by permitting me to join him in Washington. The spirit however of the instructions I already have will enable me I believe to adapt my conduct to the present position of affairs.¹

Capt Ballard informs me that he will sail on Monday which I hope he may be enabled to do as every Detention when you are in complete readi-ness is disagreeable.² Repeating once more my Dear General the assurance of my grateful & sincere attachment I have the honor to be Most respect-fully your Friend & Hbl st

Edw Livingston
To Roger Brooke Taney

Rip Raps, August 11th. 1833—

Dr Sir

your letter of the 5 instant has been received, perused with much pleasure, & the contents duly noted.

I am still of opinion that the public deposits—ought to be removed, provided a more safe depository, & as convenient, for carrying on the fiscal operations of the Government can be found in the State Banks, as is now found in the U.S. Bank.

The United States Bank attempts to overawe us—it threatens us with the Senate & with congress, if we remove the deposits—as to the Senate—threats of th[eir p]ower cannot control my course, or defeat my operations by. I am regardless of its threats of rejecting of my [no]minations. If Mr. Duane withdraws, [you can,] under an agency carry on, & sup[erin] tend the Treasury Department until nearly the close of the next session of Congress, before which the battle must be fought, & all things settled, before your nomination would be sent in.¹

As to the threats about congress; it may be observed; the Bank having been chartered contrary to the powers of Congress as defined by the constitution, may find, when once the deposits are removed for cause, that Congress is not competent to order the deposits to be restored to this unconstitutional & corrupt depository, but must find another, and that can only be the state Banks, there is none other— but—more of this when we meet.

I have no doubt of receiving, in a few days, in a report from the directors appoint[ed] by the government, proof that about $40,000 have been paid by the U.S. Bank for printing essays, pamphlets, &c &c, in favor of the Bank, & in abuse of the Executive, & in subsidising & corr]upting the public journals. When [this] proof is furnished, of which I [have n]o doubt, it will be considered [by me] sufficient cause for remo[ving] the deposits. If the Bank can apply $[80]00, (being ⅕ of $40,000) out of the public funds without any appropriation by law, it may one, or ten millions. Therefore the deposits cannot be safe in such an institution—it might use the whole mony of the Govt., and stop its wheels.
I have been recently advised that a large amount of the 6 percents which have been paid off three & four years ago, remains uncalled for & the evidence of debt not surrendered to the Gov’t., therefore the Government still bound for the debt to the holder of the scrip, whilst the Bank has had, & still has, the use of the money. I have directed the secretary of the Treasury to make a strict enquiry into this matter & report the real facts of the case to me, that such steps may be taken to coerce the surrender of the stock, & to have the Government exonerated from the its liability as may be in our power to adopt. If it be, that the original holders of the scrip are dead, it can only be justice to their representatives to publish to the world the fact that it appears from the Books of the commissioners of loans that to A. B. & C. there is money due, which will be paid to the individuals who [will] present the evidence of debt, & make satisfactory proof that he is legal heir or assinee. The Bank has no claim to this money—if the proper [owner is dead, without h]eirs or representatives or legal assinees, it belongs [to the Government & not to the Bank. I have suggested] to the secretary of the Treasury the propriety of calling in the loan office Books, & put an end to this agency of the Bank, & having this duty performed in his own Department, that when the debt is paid the evidence may be surrendered, & put it out of the power of the Bank to make any more secrecte arrangements for posponing the payment of the public debt. To this it is intimated that the act of the 3rd. of March 1817, which abolished the old commission of loans, & transfered it to the Bank, will prevent the exercise of this power by the Government. This is not my idea of the law—I may be mistaken as I have not refered to it lately & I have it not with me, you will find it in the 6th. vol. of the laws, page 192, and I ask your opinion on its proper construction, & power of the Government in this particular. If the government have no power to call for these Books, & put an end to this Bank agency, how can we know when the national debt is paid, or how much is, & has been posponed by the Bank & remains unpaid by the Bank, altho, it has been thought by the people & reported, by the secretaries of the Treasury that the whole public debt has been paid except, about seven millions, when seventeen, may have been posponed by the Bank, & the government now liable for the same—should I be mistaken, then I can only add, that all legislation from the charter establish[ing the bank], & in the charter must have been to [increase its powers, open avenues for its spec[ulations and frauds, to the great neglect of the security of the Government, and the interest of the people. Should we remove the deposits, I would not be surprised if the Bank would rebel against our power, & even refuse to pay to the order of the Government the public money in its vaults, and lay claim to all the money that remains uncalled for on the Books of the loan office—every investigation gives us evidence of the assumed power of this monster—it must be thought by Mr Biddle that it is above the law, & beyond any
control of the Executive government—he has boasted that it is—we must
meet this matter, and meet it fearlessly, & boldly, and no doubt remains on
my mind, but we will be sustained by the people.

I write in haste for the mail & keep no copy. My health is improving,
but I am much pestered with business which is sent after me—this will
hasten my return to the city, where the burden of so much writing will
be lessened. I shall remain here 8 or ten days more, perhaps a fortnight.

My little family all, now, enjoy health & all join with me in [a tender]
of kind salutations to you & [your amiable] family. I am very re[pectfully]
your frien[d,]

Andrew Jackson

ALS, MdHi (23-0317). Memoir of Roger Brooke Taney, pp. 198–202. The manuscript is
deteriorated. Text in brackets has been supplied from the Memoir.

1. Under the constitution, temporary commissions to office issued by the president in the
recess of the Senate automatically expire at the end of its next session.

2. The U.S. had borrowed large sums by issuing stock bearing six per cent interest during
the War of 1812, culminating in a loan of more than $18 million authorized in March 1815.
This stock was redeemed as it came due in the 1820s. More than $9 million was redeemed
in 1828, and another $9 million in 1829. With the payment of $6.4 million in 1830, all of
the six per cents were ostensibly retired. On August 9, two days before this letter, Duane
had written Henry D. Gilpin to find out from Biddle how many six per cents were still
outstanding, who held them, and why they had not been paid (Gilpin Papers, PHi). Duane
wrote Biddle himself on August 13, inquiring about $1,245,589.09 in unclaimed federal
debt (DNA-RG 56). Biddle furnished a list of holders on August 15 (DNA-RG 56), and on
August 16 Gilpin reported that the bulk of the unclaimed six per cents belonged to a single
investor in Portugal (Gilpin Diary, PHi). On August 17, Duane wrote Biddle, “my attention
having been called to the subject by the President,” asking whether any of the unpaid certifi-
cates “are held by the bank, or are within its control, or whether the bank has in any way
interfered to retard or prevent a surrender of the certificates” (SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 2d sess.,
pp. 275–76, Serial 267). Biddle replied on August 24 that “no portion” of the certificates
were held by the Bank or under its control (DNA-RG 56).

3. An Act of March 3, 1817, had abolished the office of federal loan commissioners and
transferred their duties to the newly chartered BUS (Statutes, 3:360–61). AJ cited Volume
VI of Laws of the United States of America (Washington, 1822). Taney’s annual Treasury
Department report on December 17, 1833, called for transferring “all the books and papers
relating to the national debt” from the BUS to the government. He reported that the BUS still
held $773,111.98 which the government had advanced to retire debt, including $332,694.98
to cover six per cents redeemable from 1826 to 1830. Taney surmised that some non-
redemptions were attributable to death of the holders and ignorance of their heirs. Once
the books were obtained, “proper inquiries could be made as to the cause of the delay, and
measures taken to ascertain who is entitled to receive the money” (SDoc 9, 23d Cong., 1st
sess., pp. 9, 46–49, Serial 238).

4. McLane’s annual Treasury report in December 1832 had stated the national debt at
the start of 1833 at $7,001,698.83 (HRDoc 3, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 4, Serial 233).
Dear Sir,

I arrived here last evening after spending six days in Philadelphia. The Banks there I found to be better disposed than I had expected. Four are willing to undertake the public business, two declined and from three I have received no final answer. As to giving security according to my suggestion, they hesitate: for they have not the means of doing it readily. Some of the Banks in Baltimore hold stocks which they can transfer to the Secretary as security; but most of them in Philadelphia own none, and to buy them would lock up so much of their capital. The four Banks which have offered are believed to be entirely safe and they are not only willing but anxious to undertake the government business.¹

I found the case of Mr. Toland to be precisely as I had heard in Baltimore. He got a loan recently on a pledge of U.S. Bank stock for $45,000 and had about $100,000 before.

Mr. Livingston recently got a loan of $18,000 upon a pledge of ground rents in New York payable in produce, stock and poultry. Mr. Biddle stated at the Board, that he could not go to France without it.²

I left Mr. Mc Eldery in Philadelphia where he was waiting for Mr. Gilpin who returns from this place tomorrow. They intend forthwith to make an examination into the expense account.

There were rumors of expressions used by Mr. Duane indicating a determination not to remove the deposits in Philadelphia and I hear similar rumors here. Whether there is truth in these rumors I know not; but most business men there and here appear to understand the condition of things at Washington almost as well as I do, and I am frequently embarrassed by their questions.

Mr. Gilpin has been with me today and informs me, that at Mr. Duane’s request he inquired of the Cashier of the Bank U.S. whether they would have all the certificates of the three per cents by the first of October and was informed that they were using every effort to get them and hoped to effect it.³ You will perceive what would be the probable result if the removal of the deposits be made to depend on that event, and you may recollect my remarking to you when you mentioned to me that such a suggestion had been made, that I feared the design was, as I had no doubt the result would be, to defeat the removal altogether.

Since I commenced this letter I have received from the Post Office replies from eight of the Banks in this City, seven of which are willing to undertake the public service. I am told there will probably be no difficulty in getting them to give security and even pay an interest if required—at least some of them. If I can get them to give security here, there will be no difficulty in effecting the same object in Philadelphia.⁴
I shall not spend more than three days here when I shall go direct to Boston. There I have no doubt four will suffice; but as I shall then be within 34 miles of my paternal roof, I must take one to visit my good old father, especially as my mother has gone to her long home since I last saw him. But I expect to be in Washington by the evening of the 24th.5

I think it all important that the final decision of the government shall be made as soon thereafter as possible. It is due to the country that the matter shall be put at rest, the one way or the other. What way that should be I have not in the least changed my opinion. The intelligent men connected with the state banks laugh at the idea of danger to them from a change of the deposits, and say they will break some two or three of the U.S. B. Branches in 60 to 90 days if it be indicated to them that it is desirable.

I learnt an interesting fact in Philadelphia. The Union Bank of Tennessee early in April last, commenced issuing notes payable at the Girard Bank in Philadelphia. By the middle of June they had issued near $80,000 and on the 31st July only $11,000 had found their way to the Girard Bank. A merchant told me, that these notes were received by all the merchants and Banks in Philadelphia and were considered a better currency than the notes of the U.S. Br. Banks, because they can be exchanged for specie there when the Branch notes cannot. The plan of the Union Bank is to keep $1,000,000 on deposit in the Girard Bank at an interest of 3 per cent or more. They then issue its notes in payment for domestic bills of exchange, and by the time the notes get to Philadelphia the bills become due and the proceeds are ready to redeem those notes. The Bank thus uses its capital twice during the same time. It gets the interest and difference of exchange upon the bill and at the same time gets an interest on the deposit prepared to pay the notes issued to purchase it with.

But the most interesting portion of this process is, that it furnishes a paper currency of general credit, even without the aid of the government, which the Bank of the United States never did. It furnishes a currency in better credit at this moment in Philadelphia, than the branch notes of the United States Bank. And being in good credit at the centres of commerce, their credit will soon be good throughout the United States.

Here we have a commencement of a general currency, that desideratum which some gentlemen think can only be furnished by a Bank of the United States.

With the exception of a few friends of the Bank, a few timid politicians and now and then a merchant, the whole mass of our political friends appear, so far as I can learn, to be in favor of a removal of the deposits. I believe every Republican paper east of Pennsylvania, many of them in that state and most of them in the West have come out in strong terms. Your friends have multiplied and magnified the difficulties; but, sir, the greater the difficulties overcome, the greater the glory of conquest. The Bank is in terrible alarm and every engine is at work. By one motive and another, they will move many of our friends. Once done, however, the proud and
haughty Bank will be at the feet of the state banks in less than 90 day, begging for terms, and men will wonder that they ever considered it so formidable.

Mr McLane and Mr. Forsyth were in the City this morning and have gone up the river. Mr. Van Buren arrived here this morning and they dined with him. I saw Mr. and Mrs. Livingston this evening. The Delaware is to drop [anchor to]morrow and they expect to go on board the next day.

I forgot to mention, that I had a conversation with Mr. Sutherland in Philadelphia whom I was surprized to hear say, that Mr McLane had procured the appointment of Mr. Duane, and by so doing, placed himself at the head of two departments. I found he disliked them both. But, said he, you will not get the deposits removed—those men are determined to prevent it and will prevent it. I told him Mr. Duane said his mind was open to conviction; but he shook his head.

You will judge what importance is to be attached to these matters; but I have felt it my duty to mention them to you that you may compare them with events as they occur. With the highest respect

Amos Kendall

ALS, DLC (43). Kendall enclosed this letter within another written the same day to Blair, which said that “if we do not now overcome this Bank influence and carry the point of removal we may give up all for lost.” But “if the point be carried, we shall have a firm, zealous party and shall have put down the Bank forever” (Blair-Lee Papers, NjP). Kendall wrote AJ again on August 14 (below).


2. Biddle had written Livingston on July 23, approving an eighteen-month $18,000 loan secured by a mortgage on 73 farms and to be repaid from their rents (Livingston Papers, NjP).

3. Gilpin had written Duane on August 2 that cashier Samuel Jaudon had told him that the Bank intended to pay off $2,000,000 in postponed three per cents by October 1. Of this, certificates for $1,630,000 had been received, and “urgent letters” sent to Barings for the rest. Another $500,000 had not yet been called for (Gilpin Diary, PHi).

4. Kendall had written the New York banks from Philadelphia on August 7. So far the Phoenix Bank, Mechanics’ Bank, Bank of America, Manhattan Company, National Bank, Union Bank, and Merchants’ Bank had replied positively, and the City Bank had declined (SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 52–56, Serial 238).

5. Kendall was born in Dunstable, Mass. His father was Zebedee Kendall (1755–1839). His mother, Molly Dakin Kendall (1758–1833), had died on March 29.
To Martin Van Buren

(Private)

Rip Raps August 12th. 1833—

My Dr. Sir,

You will receive herewith inclosed the rough draft of my views on the subject of withdrawing the deposits from the U.S. Bank, which I intimated in my last I would forward for your inspection & free criticism, which I wish you freely to bestow & return it with your comments on it, and any alterations & additions you may think proper to suggest. I have thought that such an expose would be proper to make to my executive council, when it is made known the determination to remove the deposits—if when such determination is made. It is predicated upon the ground that the State Banks, from their agreements & exposure, are not only willing, but able, to become safe depositories for the money of the people that these views are based—it is founded upon the views heretofore taken, and those of Judge White, Ellicot & judge Ellis, with the expose of Mr Taney, Mr Berry & Mr Woodbury, all of which you have seen, and the substance will be on your mind.¹ Let me hear from you soon in reply to this, as well as to the other points heretofore submitted for you consideration. I have been lately informed by one of the Govt. directors that he got a slight view of the expence account of the Bank—one item he discovered of $40,000, for printing essays pamphlets, &c &ca, in favour of the Bank, and in subsidising the public journals to villify the Executive and praise the Bank. I have directed the directors appointed by the Government to examine the expence accounts & make to me a special report upon this subject. If the report substantiates the facts it will be sufficient cause for removing the deposits, as the Bank has without any authority applied $8,000, (being one 5th. of 40,000) to purposes of corruption, she may apply one or more millions, drain the Treasury and stop the wheels of Government—surely such an institution so corruptly administered, cannot be a safe depository for the peoples money.

It has recently been made known to me, that the testimony of Mr Bevins director before the committee of Congress is true; towit, that a great part of the 6 percents, which have been paid off three & four years ago remain uncalled for, and the evidence of the debt not surrendered to the Government. Whether this has been an arrangement by the bank, or whether it arising from the holders being dead, & their heirs and representatives uninformed of the existence of the debt I cannot say. I have called upon the secretary of the Treasury for a report of the real facts in this case, that the Government may adopt such measures as will coerce the delivery of the scrip & the government be relieved of its responsibility.²

I have again urged on the Secretary of the Treasury the propriety of calling in the loan office Books & putting an end to this agency of the
Bank by having it transacted under his own eyes in the Treasury department, that we may know when we really have paid off, & closed of our national debt—but here again I am met by the suggestions that the act of the 3rd. of March 1817, abolishing the old commissioners of loans, and transferring this duty to the Bank will prevent the exercise of this power. This construction I will carefully investigate. If the construction intimated be the true one, then indeed Mr. Biddle was right when he boasted the Bank was beyond the controle of the Government, and I would not be astonished if we order the deposits removed, that it he will rebell against our power, & refuse to yield the public money in their vaults, to the order of the government. Every investigation develops some more corruption of this mamoth of power, & brings to view the necessity of seperating it from the Government as early as possible. I am determined as to myself to meet it boldly, & fearlessly, regardless of its threats of the Senate to reject my nominations, or that congress will order the deposits to be restored to it. This is a power that does not belong to Congress—it will be found that when the deposits are removed for cause (corruption) that congress cannot order them to be restored to this unconstitutional corrupt depository, but must find some other place, if it attempts to interfere with the powers of the Executive Branch, it must, be, to be successful, have two thirds—and where can the public funds be deposited but in the State Banks—there are none others.

I have called on Mr Taney for his opinion of the law of the 3rd. of March 1817, and on the power of the Executive Government over the loan offices. I would like to have yours. If I have the power I will change this agency.

My health is somewhat better but I am laboured much with business sent after me which will induce me to return to the City earlier than I intended. I will return so soon as I hear that Mr Kendall is returned to Washington; before then, I shall be happy to hear from you. I write in haste, keep no copy, nor have I time to correct it. In haste yr friend

Andrew Jackson


1. Advices on deposit removal from Hugh L. White (April 11), Powhatan Ellis (July 2), Roger Taney (cMarch and April 29), William T. Barry (cApril), and Levi Woodbury (April 2) are all above. Thomas Ellicott had written on April 6 (DLC-42; Bassett, 5:49–52).

2. Matthew Lawler Bevan (1779–1849) of Philadelphia was a BUS director, elected by the stockholders. In testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee in February, Bevan had surmised that some debt remained unpaid because agents holding the certificates lacked power of attorney to receive the money or, especially with the unredeemed six per cents, because holders preferred to leave the money unclaimed until they found new places to invest it (HRRep 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 73, Serial 236). AJ noted his request to Duane for a report on the six per cents in a September 3 memorandum on the Bank (below).
From Henry Dilworth Gilpin

Philadelphia 13 August 1833

Dear Sir

On my return last evening from New York where I was detained by business longer than I expected, I found your letter addressed to Mess. Wager Sullivan & myself relative to the Expense Account of the Bank of the United States. I had some time previously proposed examining it and with that object had written to Mr. McElderry to join us. Finding him here when I arrived, we took up the subject without delay, and have been engaged this morning in a thorough examination of it. It has resulted as I expected in disclosing proceedings on the part of the Bank utterly unwarranted and improper. In a few days we shall communicate them to you in an official form.

I was truly glad to hear in New York from the Secretary of State that you had derived much benefit from the retirement and sea air at the Rip Raps, and I hope ere long to have the pleasure of seeing you in Washington restored to your usual health. Very respy. & truly Your obliged & obt. Servt

H. D. Gilpin

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr Gilpin 14th. of august, recd. 25th. 1833—A. J


From James Alexander Hamilton

New York Augt 13th 1833

My dear Sir

I am gratified to learn from various sources that your health is much improved since I had last the pleasure to see you & I trust the air and relaxation of the Rip Raps will fortify you sufficiently to encounter your approaching labours. As you have now leisure to read it I propose to myself to write to you a gossiping letter.

Our friend van Buren is here at this moment to take leave of his son Smith; who goes out with Mr Livingston to Paris in order that he may be put to and kept at school there his father being unable to keep him at his work here. He is a very fine lad and will be a pleasure & credit to his friends, if with industry he should take a right direction Van Buren is as fat & happy as any one could wish to see him, & as successful by his amiable and courtly manners in making friends as his virtues and talents entitle him to be. McLane has just past through here for West Point to see his son I had not the pleasure to see him but hope to do so to day.¹

¹
The Delaware has dropped down to the Hook & will probably sail with the first northerly wind. Livingston his lady & family are well. He is sufficiently impressed with the importance of his mission at this moment to be induced to put forth all his talents and energies. France has behaved with bad faith, and deserves to be spoken plainly to. We owe her nothing but fair words & plain truths and to tell the latter with firmness and effect would be creditable to the Minister, The Government, & the Country. He ought not to go there to ask explanations but to demand the fulfillment of the Treaty. The unpleasant employment of explaining and apologising belongs to them. But I must stop; I intended to write a letter of Chit Chat & here I am running into Policks. I had the pleasure yesterday to see Kendall and to offer to him my services in his particular employment in any way in which I can be useful; as I presume he keeps you informed of his movements I will not touch upon them further than to say that he has every prospect of success. The alarm of the Bank & its sustainers is so great as to induce me to believe that suspect & hope the opinion I had formed that this measure would not be essentially injurious to it was erroneous—as I told Kendall yesterday if it would injure, nay destroy this curse of our land; there is no measure I would look to with so much pleasure. I have only doubted at times its expediency as you know because I feared it would give power instead of producing feebleness to the monster.² By the way; speaking of Kendall—I will make a suggestion I have long entertained but which I have not communicated to him or any other person. The Comptroller is old and I assure you from my personal observation incapable. The errors he commits are numerous and quite ludicrous, Their effects are serious as they tend to disturb the regular business of merchants and to bring the decisions & course of the Treasury into disrepute. I feel the utmost kindness towards the Judge but pursuing the rule I have established for my government—not to allow my regard to however great it may be to any one to stand between me and my duty and affection for you & the Country—I do not hesitate to say that he ought to be removed and at the same time that you could not find a more industrious intelligent & faithful man for (the place requires all these properties in an eminent degree) than Amos Kendall. The change would give him a station more dignified than that he now holds, altho not one equal to his merits; and it would add what he needs 500 Dolls to his salary³

I am happy to inform you that my health is better than it has been. I have as you may have seen been compelled to exercise the virtues of Patience, & forbearance under the attacks that have recently been made upon me under the direction of the noted defrauder of the Revenue Joseph Barlow & a set of merchants who hate me because I have brought them to Justice & for other causes equally well founded I need not say I hope they have not in the least degree impaired your confidence in me.[.]⁴ with the best wishes I remain your sincere friend

James A Hamilton
ALS, DLC (43).

1. McLane had been in New York on August 11. His son Robert Milligan McLane (1815–1898), later Maryland congressman and governor, had just entered West Point.

2. Hamilton related in his 1869 memoir that when AJ was in New York in June, he had at AJ’s request reviewed several papers urging removal of the deposits, and had given AJ his “first impression” that “the measure proposed was a very questionable one, and must lead to great disturbance in commercial affairs” (Hamilton Reminiscences, p. 253).

3. First comptroller Joseph Anderson resigned in 1836. His salary was $3,500. Kendall’s as fourth auditor was $3,000.

4. In 1830, U.S. attorney Hamilton had libeled a cargo of sugar entered for export by merchant Joseph Barlow (c1796–1864), charging him with falsely representing it as refined sugar to obtain a customs drawback. The U.S. district court acquitted Barlow of fraudulent intent, but on appeal the circuit court reversed it, upheld the charge of fraud, and ordered forfeiture of the sugar. The Supreme Court affirmed the ruling in Barlow v. U.S. (32 U.S. Reports 404) in February 1833. Recent New York papers, including the pro-Jackson Evening Post on July 18, 20, and 24, had blasted Hamilton for incompetence and for obstructing commerce with nuisance lawsuits to enrich himself with fees.

From William Berkeley Lewis


My dear Genl.

I should have written to you before now, but for the desire of being able to communicate to you, Mr. Bradys final determination with regard to the proposition of his living with you. I named to him your wishes soon after my return to this city, but he desired, before giving an answer, a few days to reflect upon the subject and consult with his wife. This morning he informs me he is afraid he cannot comply with your wishes, without making a greater sacrifice than he thinks his friends would ask. There is nothing, he says, he would not do, in reason, to oblige and serve you; but he says he has just been able, by economy, to fix himself up snugly to housekeeping, and to brake up now and sell his furniture at, perhaps, a great sacrifice, would be ruinous to him and his family. He has a wife and three children, and before the end of your presidential term, he thinks he may have one or two more, which would be too large a family with which to encumber an establishment like the Presidents House. But his principal objection seems to be the unwillingness of Mrs. Brady to undertake the business. In addition, he thinks neither he nor his wife has sufficient experience—particularly as it regards the furnishing and arranging the dinner tables on large dining occasions, to do justice to you and the establishment.

He has requested me to offer you the foregoing reasons for declining to take charge of the Presidential Mansion, and desires me, at the same time, to say that he is much gratified at this additional mark of confidence, which you have manifested, in his integrity, industry, and good management, which, he says, he will ever endeavour to merit.

We have very little news here, that you do not get thro’ the news papers
of the day. The Globe of this morning has in it some items of the latest foreign news, but it is not of much interest.

We have nothing yet from the Tennessee elections, and but partial returns from the first days elections in Kentucky. I wrote to Mr. Blair yesterday that I was afraid our friend Moore would be beaten. To day the news is more cheering. I recd. from him the enclosed note by this mornings mail, by which you will see at the close of the polls on the first day of the election, he was 248 votes ahead in the District. I think he will be elected; but still it is by no means certain, as there is as large a proportion probably to vote in Garrard, Letchers strong county, as there is in Mercer, where Mr. Moores principal strength lies. I rest my hopes, however, upon Anderson which, I think, will bring him out triumphantly.2

I recd. a few days ago the enclosed letter from Col. Hamilton of New York, which in justice to him I take the liberty to enclose to you. I have not yet shown it to Mr. McLane, as requested by Col. Hamilton, in consequence of his having left this City for New York, before its receipt. I do not know now that it will be necessary, as it is probable, an explanation will take place between the gentlemen before Mr. McLane leaves the City of New York. I wish tho’ after reading it, you would send it back to me, as Col. Hamilton may still expect me to show it to him—and especially if no explanation should take place in New York.3

Every body at the Presidents house, I believe, is well; and every thing in the house, and around the house seems to be getting on very well. Mr. Lecky will have his ditches and reservoirs filled up in a few days, which will be a very comfortable thing.4 The grounds in front of the House, are getting in very good order, and they are progressing very well with those in the rear. I should like to be advised, a few days beforehand, of your return, as the Upholsterer has the House, at present, pretty much lumbered up, with carpets, curtains &c &c.

Your horses seem to be well taken care of, and, I think, have improved in their appearance considerably. Charles, agreeably to your instructions, turns them in the lot to grase every night. Mr. Belongey informed me on my return that he had discharged one of the under cooks—indeed he has but one now, as the Cook is at present in Philadelphia. When you return, I think it would be well to reorganize the domestics of the House, and I would advise that as to the number, and arrangement of the Servants, Mr. Brady be consulted.5

Please present my kind regards to your son & daughter, Mrs. Donelson, Col. Earle, and Mr. & Mrs. Blair, and believe me, my dear genl., to be truly and Sincerly Yours

W B Lewis

P.S. I have written, as you requested, to Mr. Toland to send you a quarter cask best Sherry wine.

WBL
I have this moment returned, with Mary from a visit to Mrs. Serurier, who returned a few days ago from Philadelphia. She looks thin, but says she is getting well again. She has had a painful time of it, and I doubt, myself, whether she will ever recover her good looks again, altho she may recover her health. She and Mr. Serurier, both desired to be kindly remembered to you. The latter says he has just recd. Dispatches from his government, upon the subject of the Treaty, which he hopes will be satisfactory to you. He requested me to say that he is very desirous to have a private interview with you in relation to the matter. He thinks he will be able to satisfy the American government, that there is not only the best feelings on the part of his own, but a determination, as far as the king has the power, to act in good faith towards the United States. He says his Government assures him that there will be very little difficulty, perhaps no opposition whatever, to the appropriation at the next session of the Deputies. I enquired of Mr. Serurier, what papers the Ministry expected to get from this country, which as it was said, would throw additional light upon the subject of the Treaty? He told me he did not know—no application had been made to him for papers, nor had he promised any. He seemed to be as much at a loss to know what the Ministry meant, when they spoke of getting papers from this country, as the people of the United States themselves. The Treaty, he says, was very unpopular in consequence of a belief that more, by 10,000000 of francs, was allowed than was right, or claimed at one time by the American Minister, and he thinks the Ministry has had no other object in view but to gain time, with the hope, in the mean time, of reconciling the nation, and the Deputies, to the provisions of the Treaty. Mr. Serurier, said, as neither the President nor Secretary of State was at the seat of government, he made this explanation to me with the hope I would do him the favour of communicating it to you, who he was sure would give it that consideration to which it was entitled. I have complied with his wishes, and thus ends my diplomacy.

ALS, DLC (43).

1. Peter Brady (1792–1856) was a Treasury clerk and a former porter at John Gadsby’s Washington hotel. His wife was Ann Rainsford Brady (c1788–1846).

2. In Kentucky’s August 5–7 election, Thomas Patrick Moore (1797–1853) won an apparent narrow victory over Robert Perkins Letcher (1788–1861) for Congress in the fifth district. Letcher contested the result; and on June 12, 1834, the House of Representatives, unable itself to determine the winner, ordered a new election, which Letcher won.

3. Hamilton had written Lewis, to show to McLane, defending his and New York customs collector Samuel Swartwout’s conduct against recent public criticism (Hamilton Reminiscences, p. 260).

4. In 1832 Congress had appropriated $5,700 to provide the White House and nearby offices with running water. Engineer Robert Leckie (c1775–1834) oversaw the project, which involved a system of pipes, reservoirs, and pumps fed by a nearby spring.

5. Joseph Boulanger (c1788–1862), a recent immigrant and trained Parisian chef, had been White House steward since May 2. The cook was probably John Prevaux of Philadelphia, with whom AJ had contracted in December 1832 (Jackson Papers, 10:725). An
undated list by Boulanger of 18 White House servant posts and proposed reassignments “to make the House a little more comfortable” (DLC-58; 21-1234) was likely drawn up around this time.

**From Lewis Cass**

Washington
Aug. 14. 1833

My dear Sir,

Having looked into the general operations of the Department, I have the pleasure of reporting to you, that they proceed as usual. There are several matters, requiring your consideration and sanction, with which I will not trouble you at present. We anticipate the pleasure of seeing you return ere long with renovated health, and no inconvenience will arise from reserving these questions, until then. I am very unwilling to trouble you with business, when you are seeking strength in retirement, after the terrible labour you have been exposed to. Tho’ I am well aware, that this is a consideration, which weighs more with your friends than yourself, as you never look to your own strength, when the publick business is to be done.

Our Indian relations go on as usual. We have definite information respecting the Cherokees. The enrolling has but just commenced, and it is doubtful how long the dominant few will be able to sacrifice the good of their people to their own ambitious views.1 From the report of the Comptroller, it appears that Maj: Phagan has been guilty of very fraudulent conduct. He has produced a number of altered vouchers. The persons, to whom the payments were made, have been written to. Some of them have answered, and state, that the amount received is less than the amount upon the face of the altered voucher. By the time you return, it is expected the other answers will be received, when the whole matter shall be laid before you. The case certainly presents the most flagrant appearance.2

Our recruiting for the cavalry proceeds well. Probably more than half the men are raised, and from all the reports, such recruits never joined the Army. They are said to be of the very best description.3

I understand Gen. Gratiot has proceeded, agreably to your directive to join you. I trust he has been able to report himself to you before this.4 I am, Dear Sir, With high regard Your ob servt

Lew Cass

ALS, NjP (23-0331).

1. In lieu of a general removal treaty with the Cherokee Nation, AJ had approved enrolling individual Cherokees for westward emigration in July 1831 (Jackson Papers, 9:386–87). On June 22, 1833, the War Department had ordered emigration superintendent Benjamin F. Currey to proceed with the enrollment, promising emigrants payment for their improve-
ments, moving expenses, and a year’s subsistence upon arrival in return for their surrender of interest in eastern Cherokee lands (DNA-RG 75, M21-11). Currey replied acknowledging his instructions on July 11 (DNA-RG 75, M234-113).

2. On August 29, Treasury second comptroller James Bonaparte Thornton (1800–1838) reported to Cass that Florida Seminole agent John W. Phagan had fraudulently altered twelve payment vouchers to increase their amount by $397.50 (DNA-RG 75, M234-800). The next day, August 30, the War Department informed Phagan of his dismissal at AJ’s direction (DNA-RG 75, M21-11).

3. The U.S. Army peacetime establishment had included no mounted units. On June 15, 1832, during the Black Hawk War, Congress had authorized a battalion of mounted rangers for frontier defense. On March 2, 1833, Congress reorganized the unit as a regiment of dragoons (Statutes, 4:533, 652). Cass detailed the regiment’s organization and deployment in his November 29 annual War Department report (SDoc 1, 23d Cong., 1st sess., p. 18, Serial 238).

4. Brevet Brigadier General Charles Gratiot (1786–1855) headed the Army Corps of Engineers.

\[ \text{From Amos Kendall} \]

New York 14th Aug. 1833

Dear Sir,

I avail myself of the opportunity afforded by Mr. Niles to drop you a few lines in relation to the progress of my business.\(^1\)

Of nine banks here from which I have received answers, eight have signified their willingness to undertake the public service. I have a good prospect of inducing some of them to offer the personal responsibility of their Directors in addition to that of their Banks as security for the government. This would have a conclusive effect on public opinion.\(^2\)

Mr. McLane has been here and left this morning. He suggested to Mr. Van Buren the idea of making all arrangements for a transfer and giving a positive order to take effect on the 1st of January next, the arrangement and the reasons to be laid before Congress at the commencement of the session.

As one individual I should be delighted with this, provided Mr. McLane and Mr. Duane will exert their influence in Congress to sustain the measure. But if that influence should be used to defeat it, there is a probability that they and the Bank could carry two thirds against it and we should be in a worse condition than ever.

The only certain course, it seems to me, is to make up an issue at once; but if they will give assurances of support on which reliance can be placed, it may be better, for the purpose of avoiding other difficulties, to take the step suggested.

Excuse me for making these suggestions. They arise solely from a desire to see the removal take place in such a way as to be sustained. The whole cabinet acting with you in good faith, can sustain it in the House of Representatives, and that result, if attainable, if devoutly to be wished.
But to make delay expedient, it seems to me, that the dispositions of those gentlemen in that respect, should be *undoubted*.

This evening I leave for Boston. On reviewing the prospect, before me, I am persuaded I shall not get back quite so soon as I last wrote you. But it may be safely concluded, that I shall get back before the first of September. With the highest respect I am your friend &

Amos Kendall

ALS, DLC (43).

1. Nathaniel Niles (1791–1869), late acting chargé at Paris, was on his way to see AJ at the Rip Raps.

2. Since writing to AJ on August 11 (above), Kendall had received a positive reply from the Tradesmens’ Bank (SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 1st sess., p. 57, Serial 238).

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From John T. Sullivan

*Confidential for the present*

Philada. Augt. 14/1833

Dear General

The “examination” to which you directed the attention of the Govt Directors was commenced yesterday morning and was persevered in until 3 Oclock in the afternoon, during which time, *all* the Govt Directors were employed in taking extracts and copying bills & Vouchers. This examination could have been commenced earlier but it was deemed prudent to have all of our little band present for the double purpose of keeping each other in countenance if not in Spirits, and also to give Our Report the most imposing aspect.¹

The examination has resulted in exhibiting a much longer & a much blacker Catalogue of “fair business Transactions” that I had anticipated. In a little more than two years, about $60-000 Dollars have been expended in *printing*, and publishing Speeches—Tracks &c.: of which, about *$25,000*, was paid to the order of Mr. Bidde, upon his own drafts on the BK—for one dollar of which, *No Voucher* could be procured, although they were required of the Cashier, who stated the money was paid to Mr Biddle under *an order* of the Board in 1833. This “order” we have copied, These I have no doubt form but a small portion of the money expended for electioneering purposes—and are entirely independent of fictitious loans.² We have taken detailed extracts—of every thing; and shall make a formal report early in the Week, if not on *Saturday*, We intend making an attempt to *recind* the resolution, under which, the “Secret Service Money,” was authorised to be drawn by Mr Biddle, on *Friday next*³

Knowing the deep interest you have taken in this question, I have deemed it proper to give you this short history of our proceedings so far;

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¹ This "order" we have copied, These I have no doubt form but a small portion of the money expended for electioneering purposes—and are entirely independent of fictitious loans. We have taken detailed extracts—of every thing; and shall make a formal report early in the Week, if not on *Saturday*, We intend making an attempt to *recind* the resolution, under which, the “Secret Service Money,” was authorised to be drawn by Mr Biddle, on *Friday next*.

² Knowing the deep interest you have taken in this question, I have deemed it proper to give you this short history of our proceedings so far;
and at the same time to assure you, that all of those who have the honour
to represent the Government, were prompt, faithful and decided in carrying
your request into effect, (always of course excepting myself. When you
shall have rec’d the detailed list of items, you will be astonished, how freely
they expended the funds placed at their disposal for other purposes—and
all this done, without the knowledge of the Board—since I have been a
member of it. With great Respect & Esteem I have the honour to be Your
frnd. & fellow Citizen

John T Sullivan

[Endorsed by AJ:] recd. 19th. august—Mr. Sulivan—on the Bank expence
account—$60,000 expended for writing in support of the Bank & in
abuse of the President. A. J.

[Endorsed by AJ:] an extract taken & sent to Mr V. B. on the 20th.
August A. J4

ALS, DLC (43). Government BUS directors Gilpin, Sullivan, Wager, and McElderry reported
officially to AJ on August 19 (SDoc 2, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 28–32, Serial 238; Bassett,
5:160–65). They stated that their examination of BUS accounts showed that its expenditures
for stationery and printing had risen from an annual baseline of about $7,500 in 1829 to
$43,204.79 in 1831 and $38,677.88 in 1832, mostly for printing and distributing reports,
articles, and speeches favorable to the Bank. Stationery and printing expenses in the most
recent two-year interval, from July 1, 1831, to June 30, 1833, totaled $60,996.34. AJ laid
their report before his Cabinet on September 10 (below).

1. Gilpin, Sullivan, and Wager were Philadelphians. McElderry lived in Baltimore. The
fifth government director, Saul Alley of New York, did not participate. Gilpin wrote AJ
about him on August 20 (below).

2. The government directors’ August 19 report quoted the minutes of a BUS board
meeting on November 30, 1830, which authorized Biddle to circulate a pro-BUS article,
and another on March 11, 1831, at which he was given blanket authority “to cause to be
prepared and circulated such documents and papers as may communicate to the people
information in regard to the nature and operations of the bank.” Undocumented payments
of at least $23,911 had since been made under this order.

3. The BUS board of directors met on Friday, August 16. As detailed in their August 19
report to AJ, the government directors at this meeting submitted a resolution rescinding
the authorizing resolutions of November 30, 1830, and March 11, 1831, and requiring an
itemized report from the cashier of expenditures made under them. The board rejected this
resolution and passed a substitute avowing “confidence in the wisdom and integrity of the
president” and in the “propriety” of the authorizing resolutions, and declaring the board’s
“full conviction of the necessity of a renewed attention to the object of those resolutions, and
that the president be authorized and requested to continue his exertions for the promotion
of said objects” (SDoc 2, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 31–32, Serial 238; Bassett, 5:163–64).

4. AJ wrote Van Buren on August 20 (below).
To Mary Donelson Coffee

Rip Raps August 15th. 1833—

My dear Mary,

Having retired to this spot, for the benefit of my health, by sea bathing, & to get free from that continued bustle with which I am always surrounded in Washington, & elsewhere, unless when I shut myself up on these Rocks—I did not receive your kind and affectionate letter until day before yesterday, rehearsing to me the melancholy & bereavement which you have sustained in the loss of your dear father. I had received this melancholy & distressing intelligence by sundry letters from his friends who surrounding him in his last moments.

It is true my dear Mary, that you have lost an affectionate and tender father, and I a sincere friend. When I shook him by the hand at Washington I did not then think it was the last adieu to a dear friend, nor would I have taken the trip to the north, had I knew his disease was approaching to such a crisis—no Mary, had I been advised of his peril I should have hastened to have seen him once more before he left this troublesome world, and yielding to him all the comfort in my power. But why these reflections, he is gone from us, and we cannot recall him—we must follow him, for he cannot return to us, and it becomes our duty to prepare for this event. His example will be an invaluable legacy to his family, and his dying admonition a treasure, if adopted, beyond all price. True religion, is calculated to make us not only happy in this, but in the next & a better world, and therefore it is, that his regret that he had not joined the church, is a profitable admonition to his family, that they may all become members of the church at an early day, for it is in religion alone that we can find consolation for such bereavements as the loss of our dear friends—it is religion alone, that can give peace to us here, & happiness beyond the grave—it is religion alone that can support us in our declining years, when our relish is lost for all sublunary enjoyments, and all things are seen in their true light, as mere vanity & vexation of spirit—your fathers admonition on his dying bed to you, all ought to be cherished by you all, and practised upon.

My dear Mary, his request for my prayers for his dear wife & children will be bestowed with pleasure—they will be constantly offered up at the throne of grace for you all—and our dear Saviour has spoken it—“that he will be a father to the fatherless, and a husband to the widow”—rely on his promises, they are faithful and true, and he will bless you all in your out goings and incomings & in your baskets & in your store—rely upon, & trust in his godness and mercies, & prepare your minds, in the language of your dear father, always to be ready to say with heartfelt resignation, “may the Lords will be done.

If I am spared to next spring, and my health will permit, I will visit your dear mother, and mingle my tears with hers over his silent grave—till
then my dear Mary if I can be of any service to her, & the family, in any way, I hope you & her will make it known to me.

To your dear mother & all the family tender my blessing and prayers for their health & happiness here & hereafter.

Emily & the children, with Andrew & Sarah, are with me, & all in good health, & all join me in best wishes to your mother & the family, & join me also in a tender of our sincere condolence on this very distressing, & mournfull occasion. Major Donelson is in Tennessee we left him Washington and he was to set out in two days after we left, and we are advised he did so.

It will give me much happiness to hear from your mother & the family often—do my dear Mary write me occasionally. Your father whilst living knew the deep interest I felt in every thing that related to his, & their welfare—he wrote me often, and accept from him & yourself, I have not received a line from any of our connections except announcing the death of your dear father, for twelve months—do write me occasionally and believe me to be with the highest esteem your affectionate uncle

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THi (23-0334).

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To Aaron Vail

Washington August 15th. 1833—

My dear Sir,

I have to make you my acknowledgements for your private letter of the 21rst. of June acquainting me with the friendly interest expressed by the Dutchess of Kent in the prosperity of the United States, and in my individual health & happiness.

I am not a stranger to the public character of the Dutchess of Kent, and have heard with pleasure and admiration of her wise and examplary devotion to the preparation of her daughter, the princess victoria, for those important duties which the course of events may devolve upon her. The conduct of the Dutchess in this respect justifies the high confidence manifested by parliament, and in the tenor of her conversation with you, I am gratified to perceive an assurance, that the friendly sentiments cherished towards us by the present King, will be continued to be cultivated by his successor.

I will thank you to take some suitable opportunity to make known, informally, and verbally to the Dutchess the sense I entertain of the interest she has been pleased to take in my Country, and me personally; and you will add my wishes not only for her individual happiness, but that the part she may be called to take in the governmen[t] may redound to the
welfare of the British people, and to the true glory of herself, and of her illustrious daughter. I am sir, with due respect your most obdt. servant,

Andrew Jackson

ALS, Royal Library, Windsor Castle (23-0340). ALS draft of August 12, DLC (43).

To Martin Van Buren

Rip Raps August 16th. 1833—

My Dear Sir,

your letter of the 8th. covering one from Mr Forsythe to you, has been recd. I can have no objections to recind all promises made or conversations held with Mr Forsyth on the subject of the Mission to Rusia. Mr Buchanan intends to return this fall, and on his return arrival, it will be time enough to select his successor, when we will think of Mr Forsyth.

I have just recd. a letter from Mr. Kendal at N.york dated the 11th. He has been as successful in his mission as he could expect, & has no doubt of a safe & satisfactory arrangement with the State Banks. He informs me that in a conversation with Doctor Southerland, the Doctor said that Mr. McLane had procured the appointment of Mr Duane that he might control the two Departments, and that the Deposits would not be removed. I cannot believe that Mr. McLane recommended Mr Duane knowing his sentiments upon this subject—but it is truly mortifying to me, that the public has taken up this idea, and that Mr Duane's course has been such, as to confirm it in public opinion. But this belief in the public mind will induce me to act with more promptness and firmness in this matter, to prevent the injury it is doing Mr McLane and particularly your popularity, it being well understood the confidence and friendship that exists between you & him—it is already hinted that you are opposed to the removal of the Deposits, and of course privately a friend to the Bank. This must be removed or it will do us both much harm. It will be unpleasant for me to differ with these two gentlemen for whom I have such high regard—but when duty points the way, my private friendships must yield to public good, and if I should lose twenty more friends as highly prized as they, my feelings being now as it was on the Maysville Road bill, and the Bank veto; “that it is a duty I owe to my country, my conscience & my god” to put down this mamoth of Corruption & to seperate it from being the agent of the Government as early as possible for the safety of its fiscal concerns

I inclosed you the other day a review of the views heretofore taken on the propriety of removing the deposits. I wish you to criticise it, & return it with your corrections & criticisms I think it will be well to lay such a paper before the heads of Departments such a paper & preserve it on file for future use, if it should be necessary
Should Mr Duane refuse to yield to the wishes of the Executive, & retire, I pledge myself that no one superintends that Department hereafter but on whose whole opinions I know, correspond with my own. I will give the agency to Mr Taney who is right, & with me ion all points.

Let me hear from you, & have your criticism upon all subjects refered to you by the 24th. current. Mr Kendal is to be at Washington

AL, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-0344). The last page is cut off at bottom. AL draft, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-0351).

From Samuel Swartwout

New York 16 August 1833

Dear Sir,

This letter will be presented to you by Mr Joseph Ballestier, formerly a very extensive, but unfortunate merchant, in this City. After years of prosperity and high credit, he was compelled to yield to adverse circumstances, and he failed. Amongst other distressing and embarrassing demands was a heavy responsibility to Government. This deprived Mr. Ballestier of the liberty of action and of all personal efforts to amend his fortunes. But, notwithstanding this, the most embarrassing part of all his difficulties, he has recently received a final discharge from the Treasury, after the most strict & full investigation of his affairs, being most honorably discharged under a full conviction of his perfect integrity and honor. Under these circumstances, Sir, I cannot withhold the expression of a deep interest in this gentleman’s affairs I therefore recommend him to your Excellency’s favorable consideration for the situation of consul at La Guira.1 I am Dr Sir, most sincerely & respectfully Yr obt Sevt.

Saml. Swartwout

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr Swartwout recommends Mr Balester N.Y. Refered to the Secretary of State A. J

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-2). Swartwout (1783–1856) was the collector of customs at New York City, appointed by AJ in 1829. Merchant Joseph Ballestier (c1788–1858) had been released on August 9 under terms of an 1831 insolvent debtors’ law from a debt to the government of $160,689.93 for unpaid custom bonds (HRDoc 239, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 3, 17, Serial 257). His other recommenders included James A. Hamilton and New York congressman Churchill C. Cambreleng (DNA-RG 59, M639-2). On October 11, AJ appointed Ballestier consul at Bintan Island, near Singapore.

1. La Guaira, Venezuela.

To Nathaniel Macon

[In a July 31 circular to his constituents, North Carolina congressman Samuel P. Carson included a letter written to him on February 9, 1833,
by former longtime Jeffersonian North Carolina congressman and senator Nathaniel Macon (1758–1837). Macon’s letter was widely reprinted, and appeared in the American Beacon and Norfolk and Portsmouth Daily Advertiser on August 17. Macon said that the constitution had been dead since 1824, replaced by “oppression.” He denied the legitimacy of nullification but defended the right of secession as “the best guard to public liberty and to public justice that could be desired.” He charged that Jackson’s December 10, 1832, proclamation against nullification “contains principles as contrary to what was the Constitution, as Nullification. It is the great error of the administration, which, except that, has been satisfactory in a high degree, to the people who elected the President” (Richmond Enquirer, August 13].

Rip Raps August 17th. 1833—

My dear Sir,

I have read in the Norfolk paper of this morning, for the first time, a letter addressed by you to Mr Carson, in which you say “the proclamation contains principles as contrary to the constitution as nullification.”

Our early acquaintance and long continued regard (at least on my part) will justify me, I trust in your eyes, for requesting you to point out specifically what principles are advanced in the proclamation contrary to the doctrines avowed by the republican party with which you & I have so long acted, (and which we advocated, as the true reading of the constitution) and which, however poorly I may have succeeded, it has been my purpose to maintain throughout my administration.1 The proclamation as carried out by the measures suggested in my message to congress, is but a repetition of the precedent established by Mr Jefferson administration in relation to the resistance of the embargo laws. This precedent had your sanction, as appears by journals & proceedings in congress, and if there be any difference between the steps then taken and those proposed by me to give effect to the laws of the Country, there is no one, I am sure, from whom I could receive elucidation, and correction of the error into which I have fallen, if error there be, more respectfully or kindly than from yourself.2 Many have denounced the principles of the proclamation & its consequent measures—some denounces the whole without specifying the objections—others by wresting it entirely from its meaning by the most unfair interpretation. You I am persuaded will construe my expressions according to their obvious meaning and import, will construe my expressions according to their obvious meaning and import, will mark no sentiment with your censure unless the terms used by me lead without doubt to the meaning you impose upon them, and that meaning, to a conclusion adverse to the Republican principles which we have both so long professed.

As the chief magistrate of the union, called to execute the trust reposed in me and looking to the constitution under which I am sworn to act, I have not been able to find any clause which provides for such a contin-
gency as *nullification* or secession. I see nothing in any law, usage or principle which appear in the annals of our government, to authorise an Executive officer to recognise such a state of things and which would justify him in considering the Government extinguished in any one of the states, upon the declaration of any convention of Citizens of such state, however respectable and with whatever form surrounded—no declaration of any body of men in or out of convention, except as pointed out & recognised by the constitution can the Executive be bound to obey or in the performance of his duties acknowledge. I consider the constitution which I am called to administer as forming a government—a government formed by the joint consent of the people of the several states respectively—a government in which all have an interest & which is obligatory on all & extends its sanction over the people of each State & over all independently of the State governments. To allow that the people of one State have a right at mere will or pleasure to secede to sever & dissolve such a government, is in effect to admit that it is no government & that the general interest which the more perfect union based upon the confederation was created to subserve are at the mercy of the caprice or passion of the smallest member of the confederacy—for unless all are bound, none are bound—not even Louisia, for which it cost the other states so many millions, to make a part of this union & confederacy.

I am fearful sure you have not given my proclamation that calmn and impartial reading to which I think it entitled, or you could not have said of it, what you have in your letter to Mr Carson, there is no part of it that can justify such a remark—your old republicans friends of the old school say you are mistaken. I beg you to read it again, give to its text, & context, its true & appropriate meaning and then with your usual cander point out to me wherein, any part, of my proclamation “*which contains principles as contrary to the constitution, as “nullification”*”

I shall expect your reply as a friend, and with your usual candeur nothing extenuating, or naught set down in malice, but your calm deliberate review of the proclamation compared with the constitution & the precedents set by Washington & Jefferson. Those by Washington as it regarded Pennsylvania, those by Jefferson to enforce the embargo laws sustained by the vote of the whole republican party—the south and west united with one exception.³

Accept my dear Sir my kind salutations and good wishes for your health & happiness & believe me as usual your friend

Andrew Jackson

[Endorsed by AJ:] Copy of letter to N. Macon Esqr 17th. august 1833—to be kept on file—A. J. Private to be carefully put away at Washington & preserved A. J

ALS draft, DLC (43). Macon replied on August 26 (below).

1. AJ had briefly served with Macon in the House of Representatives in 1796–97.

3. AJ bracketed this paragraph and wrote “shortened & changed” in the margin. In 1794 President Washington had called out troops to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania. AJ’s “nothing extenuating, or naught set down in malice” paraphrased *Othello*, Act 5, Scene 2.

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From Margaret Dysart Nichol Armstrong

August 17th. 1833

My much respected friend

The friendship which has so long existed with us for you I hope will be a sufficient apology for my intruding tresspassing on your time with my triffling letter but having just returned from visiting the Hermitage I feel my heart is so full of melancholy reflections that I will feel some comfort in addressing one that I reverence as a father do allow me the liberty of addressing you as a father / alas since I had the pleasure of seeing you, I have been truly afflicted in the death of my dear dear father & my much lamented Motherinlaw, the poor old Lady had come to the determination to end her days with us & travelled over the mountains for that purpose her life was just spared long enough to receive our cordial welcome when she was attacked by that truly alarming disease she lived only a few hours after she was attacked & was in Nashville only 3 days before her death but amidst all our troubles we have reason to thank God that she did not die on the road.¹ I visited the Hermitage in company with Majr. Armstrong and his Lady Capt. Page Lieut. Philips & Liet. Lane²— they all set off a few days ago for their different post, they were much pleased with their visit to the Hermitage I took the liberty of shewing them the garden & the spot where my ever lamented friend is laid is buried oh what a melancholy day that was to me, there hangs the likeness of one that I owe, with yourself, all the earthly happiness that I ever have been permitted to enjoy in this world / she is gone, but I trust I cherish her memory in my heart and will do so with every feeling of gratitude and affection as long as my life is spared I visited the old house where I was married it looked solitary oh what a fine likeness Mrs. Jackson’s is I could look at in allways—it looks like she looked when I was married / oh how times have changed, she with my dear father and Mother in Law has paid the debt we all have to pay. I do pray to the Lord that we may all be as well prepared to die as I think they were and I do pray that they Lord may spare you to return to the Hermitage & live to a great old age. I hope to have the pleasure of shewing you my little Rachel Jackson I feel proud to call her by that endeared name but I feel sorry that I did not name one of my oldest daughters by that name as I flatter myself that Mrs Jackson would have been pleased.³ I hope Majr. Armstrong set off yesterday with his family to Arkansaw he was detained here much longer than

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² Majr. Armstrong
he expected to have been by sickness they went off in good spirits Robert’s health has not been so good I suppose it is owing to being so much confined both night and day, he set off yesterday to meet the Post Master General. I hope the ride will be of service to him—remember me kindly to Mrs. Jackson & Mrs. Donelson—I hope you will excuse me for taking the liberty of addressing you when I tell you that I respect you next to my dear lamented father & I hope that will be a sufficient apology for my intruding myself into your notice[.] I am respectfully your sincere friend

M. D. Armstrong

P.S. Old Dick—has just left here he came in from the Hermitage to market he says they black people are all well except some few little negroes that have the fever, but are getting well

[Endorsed by AJ:] Margaret D. Armstrong to be answered—answered 1rst. of September 1833  A. J.

ALS, Swann Galleries, sale 2432 (November 17, 2016), lot 272 (mAJs; 23-0357). Armstrong (1798–1834) was the daughter of AJ’s late business agent Josiah Nichol and the wife of Nashville postmaster Robert Armstrong. She wrote again on December 10 (below).

1. Armstrong’s mother–in-law, Susannah Wells Armstrong (1761–1833), had died on May 29, and her father, Josiah Nichol, on May 31.

2. Major Armstrong was Robert’s brother, Western Choctaw agent Francis W. Armstrong. His wife was Ann Monica Millard Armstrong (1808–1889). Army captain John Page (1795–1846) and lieutenants Joseph Augustus Phillips (1804–1846) and John Foote Lane (1809–1836) were in Nashville to receive funds as disbursing officers for the Choctaw emigration (SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 1, pp. 412–13, Serial 244).

3. Margaret’s daughter was Henrietta Rachel Jackson Armstrong (1832–1870).

4. Francis W. Armstrong had been detained in Nashville by illness since early June on his way from Washington to the Western Choctaw agency at Fort Smith. He reached the agency in mid-September.

From John Donelson Coffee

Flor. Ala. Augst. 17th 1833

My dear Uncle

We received your very kind & affectionate letter a few days since, the subject of which was the death of my dear father, & believe me, my dear uncle if any thing could make us love you more, it was the kind manner in which you spoke of him who was dearer to us far more than any thing upon earth, and whilst we read your letter, it brought to our view in the most lively manner, the death of a dear father, we felt at the same time with heart felt pleasure, that we had one, yet one friend who for his sake would not forsake us, one who had so soon proven himself an able efficient & kind friend. We have not yet found “this world to be cold & heartless,” for we have found many friends to advise & assist us, & by
their kind aid we have a very good prospect of getting on tolerably well, although we feel every day that we want his management.

As you probably know the Estate owes about eight thousand dollars of security debt, but my dear Sir, by your kind appointments, our crops &c, we hope to liquidate them without much trouble and in a very few years. As for myself, I have taken charge of the Post office in Mr. Pearson's name & will commence writing in the Land Office as clerk in a very few days.

You expressed a great desire that brother Andrew should prepare himself for College; it was always my father's intention that all of his children should have a collegiate educations, & in pursuance of his intentions & our own wishes, both of the boys Andrew & Alex are going to school to Mr. Lorance, an excellent preparatory school, as I know from experience; & will remain there with him untill fully prepared to enter College, when it is our intention to send them to the Nashville University, which I consider as little inferior to any in the United States. My little Sisters Rachel & Catherine are going to school preparatory to an Academical course.¹

Andrew J. Hutchings has been residing in Ala for some time & will in all probability remain here; it had been the earnest wish of my father to have a complete settlement with him before his death, but such was the nature of his disease that it was impossible for him to attend to any business, however Mr. Pearson has scince made a settlement & I believe, one fully satisfactory to both. I believe it was your request that B Smith should be present, but I believe that Andrew was aware that the old man would be dissatisfied right or wrong or at least expected it & requested that he should not be present; as he thought that you had merely requested it for his (Andrews) sake.²

I expect that Mr Pearson will call on you, as he is now on his way to Phila. & intended going by Washington & from him you will learn the particulars of the business.

We were rejoiced to hear from yourself that you expected to visit this country within a year, it will afford your friends & relations much pleasure to see you.

My mother & the family all join in love to yourself & family & believe me dear Uncle your affectionate nephew.

Jno D Coffee

N.B. It may afford you some pleasure to know that your firm able & tried friend Col. McKinley has been elected to the House of Rep. from the 2nd Congressional district in Ala.

J. D. C.

[Endorsed by AJ:] J. D. Coffee—to be answered. answered 31st. of August 1833—A. J

ALS, DLC (43). AJ replied on August 31 (below).
1. The four children at school were Andrew Jackson Coffee (1819–1891), Alexander Donelson Coffee (1821–1901), Rachel Jackson Coffee (1823–1892), and Catherine Harriett Coffee (1826–1881). John Lorance (1787–1846) was a Florence schoolteacher. John D. Coffee had attended the University of Nashville but not graduated.

2. AJ had advised John Coffee on March 16 (above) to have AJ Hutchings’s grandfather Bennett Smith attend the settling of his accounts.

From Louis McLane

Washington, Sunday, August 18th.

My dear Sir,

It was my intention when I left this for New York to proceed after seeing Mr. Livingston to join Mrs. McLane at the Springs. On the eve of my departure from New York, however, I met with Mr. Silliman who had just come up from the ship but leaving his despatches on board. Under these circumstances I directed him to take a send his letters immediately to Washington, and determined myself to come here to examine them. On my arrival here, and upon an examination of the despatches I discovered that a definite answer could not be given to Mr. Van Ness without a full consultation with the President; and, indeed, that he would most probably desire to submit one a two points in the discussion negotiation for the deliberation of his Cabinet. Learning from Major Lewis that you will probably be here on friday next I perceived no necessity, nor even any propriety to make an effort to go to the Rip Raps, and I therefore concluded to leave the matter for your return. In this state of the case I concluded also that I might without impropriety proceed to join Mrs. McLane for the purpose of bringing her home and with the intention of returning here this day week. This arrangement can occasion no greater delay than for the time which may intervene between your return and Monday; at most perhaps but three days. On Tuesday I can take your final instructions, and prepare and send off my despatch to Mr. Van Ness in conformity with them on Wednesday.¹

The negotiation with Spain appears to be reduced to a single point.

In Mr. Livingston’s despatch—Number 31—to Mr. Van Ness each class of claims was examined and Mr Van Ness was informed that $500,000 would fully cover and pay all the claims embraced in three classes including the claims on account of Captures; and that the whole amount of the fourth & remaining class comprehending those both of a clear & doubtful character would not exceed $800,000. Mr. VN. was instructed to propose payment by a gross sum in preference to a mixed commission, and to agree to take $800,000. He accordingly proposed to receive payment in a gross sum to which Spain acceded; and he moreover consented to accept $800,000. Spain declined to give this, but, after offering $500,000, has ultimately proposed to give us stock to the nominal amount of $600,000 and bearing an interest of 6 5 per cent, and this offer Mr. Van Ness has referred to his government for the President’s further instructions.²
In his private letter accompanying his public despatch Mr. VanNess expresses a hope, & indeed a belief that Spain would probably give stock for 700,000, but no more: and I take the liberty of leaving both the public & private despatch for your personal examination and deliberation during my absence.

I take leave also to suggest, that if Spain would agree to pay absolutely in cash the sum of $500,000 it would be a larger proportionable amount of our claims than we have obtained either from France or Denmark, or from Naples, and that if he could get her stipulation to pay $600,000 at her convenience, and bearing an interest of 5 per ct. until paid there ought to be no hesitation in accepting it. But the opinion expressed in Mr. VanNess’s private letter may make it advisable to push the negotiation still further as to the sum.

I would respectfully suggest for the President’s consideration therefore that Mr. VanNess should be instructed:

1. To accept the sum of $600,000 in stock bearing an interest of 5 per ct. payable in Paris, provided, Spain will make it absolutely reimburseable at the expiration of ten or even 15 years from the exchange of the ratifications.

2. If this cannot be done to insist upon stock upon the terms proposed by Spain to the amount of 700,000, the interest payable in Paris.

3. If neither of these propositions be practicable then it will be for the govt. to consider whether it will embrace the proposition of 600,000 as made by Mr. Bermudez.

I confess I should be inclined to accede to this, if it turn out to be the best that can be had; tho’ previously to doing so, I would prefer, after the 1. & 2. proposition be found impracticable, proposing to receive $500,000 in cash, in order to avoid the risk of a war in which Spain may probably be a party.

I think, however, if the 1 & 2. propositions be rigorously pressed, it is probable they will succeed. If Spain expect a war for Portugal she will not desire to be embroiled at the same time with the U. S. & will have great reason to apprehend the embarrassment we might give her commerce.

These propositions, moreover, involve contain a full answer to the idea the Spanish Ministry appears to entertain of the disproportion between the amount of our claims and that we have actually received in payment from France, Denmark, & Naples. For, in each of these cases, even if the amount was less than the sum really due the payment of the amount stipulated to be paid, though given by those governments, although it may be admitted to be less than the sum really due, was guaranteed at short periods, those of France & Denmark in four annual instalments and that of Naples, I believe, in ten.

Mr. Bermudez having declared moreover his fixed determination to comply with his engagements, and securing the inadequacy of the amount offered on the ground of the exhaustion of the Treasury, he cannot
with propriety refuse to guarantee within a reasonable period the certain payment of the sum he professes himself willing to give. His pride would prevent him from insinuating the inability of Spain to pay 600,000 in ten or fifteen years; and even if Spain should be unable at the end of that period to reimburse the debt, out of the then existing means of the Treasury, she would have the recourse of a new issue & sale of stock to the amount of 120,000 dollars in the market at London or Paris. I merely throw out these hasty suggestions Sir, for your better judgment, and will with great pleasure adopt any course which you may deem more advantageous.

It was fortunate that I went to New York, for I had not only an opportunity of having some important conversation with Mr. Livingston—which, as I will personally & confidentially explain to you, was very necessary—but was enabled to get the ship off some days earlier than she otherwise would have sailed.

Tendering you an apology for this long letter, and my best wishes for your safe return & for your health & happiness, I have the honor to remain most faithfully your Servant

Louis McLane

[Endorsed by AJ:] Instruct that any proposition that will secure $500,000, in speci or its equivalent to the claimants to be accepted. $700,000, in stock would do this certainly—$650,000, would in all probability do it. Therefore if the minister will not come up to the $700,000—he will spit the difference—and give $650,000.

P.S. If nothing better can be obtained, you may finally accept the sum of $600,000 as offered by Burmudez, it being understood that the interest is to be paid at paris.6

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0367).

1. McLane had met Silliman in New York on August 13. AJ returned to Washington on Friday, August 23, and McLane wrote Van Ness on Tuesday, August 27. McLane’s wife, Catherine Milligan McLane (1790–1849), was at Lee’s Springs near Warrenton, Va.

2. Cornelius Van Ness was seeking indemnity from the Spanish government for admitted illegal seizures of American ships and cargoes since 1819. On April 25, 1832, then secretary of state Livingston had instructed Van Ness to propose settling the claims by a lump sum payment to the U.S. rather than through a mixed Spanish-American commission. He authorized Van Ness to accept $500,000 for three categories of captures: those for alleged breaches of Spain’s colonial laws; those “arising from other unfounded allegations and irregular condemnations”; and those “arising from neglect or misconduct of Judges when the right of the claimants has been acknowledged.” A fourth group of miscellaneous and unverified claims Van Ness was to either leave out of the agreement or, if Spain insisted, include for an additional $300,000 (DNA-RG 59, M77-8).

Van Ness reported on June 12, 1833, that on May 18 Spain’s foreign minister Francisco de Zea Bermúdez (1779–1850) had offered $500,000 in 5 per cent stock to satisfy all American claims. Van Ness rejected it, and on June 9 Bermúdez offered $600,000, still in 5 per cent stock. Van Ness replied on June 10 that, since this fell far short of what he was

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authorized to accept, he would need to write Washington for further instructions (SDoc 147, 23d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 64–68, 72–78, Serial 269).

3. On December 19, 1832, Van Ness had stated the “nominal amount” of American claims to Bermúdez as $2.5 million (SDoc 147, 23d Cong., 2d sess., p. 70, Serial 269).

4. As Van Ness had explained on June 12, Spanish 5 per cent government stock traded for only 50% of face value in Madrid and for about 76% in Paris, where its interest was payable. He thought that stock issued to the U.S., given its origin in an international agreement, would be worth 80% in Paris or London, giving a $600,000 payment in stock a “cash in hand” value of $480,000 (SDoc 147, 23d Cong., 2d sess., p. 67, Serial 269).

5. The 1830 claims convention with Denmark stipulated payment in three installments ending in September 1832. The conventions with France in 1831 and the Two Sicilies (Naples) in 1832 required payment in six and nine annual installments respectively, beginning in each case one year from the exchange of ratifications.

6. Pursuant to AJ’s direction, McLane instructed Van Ness on August 27 to seek $750,000 but if necessary to accept $600,000 in 5 per cent stock, with interest payable in Paris and, preferably but not indispensably, with a provision for redemption in ten or fifteen years (SDoc 147, 23d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 20–22, Serial 269). On February 17, 1834, Van Ness concluded a convention accepting $600,000 in 5 per cent stock to satisfy all outstanding claims.

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From Martin Van Buren

Saratoga Springs
August 19th, 33

My dear Sir

I rcd. yours with its enclosure last evening & am happy to hear that your health is improving. I beg you to remain as long as you possibly can. The first weeks in September are you know the worst weeks in Washington. I shall give a seasonable & thorough attention to both the papers you have had the goodness to submit to my consideration. The Land question is a matter of great importance and cannot be treated with too much care. If I do no good, I shall try to do no harm to your reasons. In respect to the Bank I regard the only open question to be—whether an order shall be given for the discontinuance to take effect at the commencement of the fiscal year?, or whether to take effect before the meeting of Congress. Much is to be said on both sides of the question & you shall have my opinion definitely on the point in due season. You know the estimation in which I hold Mr Wright’s opinion. You have not had sufficient opportunities to know him but you may be assured that there are but few men in the Country whose advice can be relied on with more safety. He resides some distance from here. I sent for him & had an interview with him yesterday. He went to Albany last night to advise with two or three of our most discreet friends there & then to write me his own views to be transmitted to you. Since seeing your letter I have written to him inviting him to accompany me Oswego where I go tomorrow via Canada & shall be absent from Albany about two weeks. If he goes we will discuss the two subjects at full length & let you have the benefit (if any of our cogita-
This Bank matter is to be the great _finale_ of your public life & I feel on that account a degree of solicitude about it but little less than that which is inspired by the public considerations connected with it. I hope we shall in the end see the matter in precisely the same light; but be that as it may inasmuch as I know no man in whom the purity of whose intentions as it respects the public I have greater, if as great confidence, as I have in yours, & as I cannot but look upon you, as incomparably the most faithful, efficient, & disinterested friend I have ever had, so I go with you agt. the world, whether it respects men or things.

I have as I informed you I would do, sent Smith to France. Mr & Mrs. Livingston took charge of him with much apparent pleasure & will I doubt not do him justice. They went off in tolerable spirits although I fear from the demonstrations I witnessed that harmony may not be preserved between the Madam & the Captain till the end of the voyage—one thing is I think pretty certain—& that is that the good old man is in a fair way to spend his fortune. We have had Gov Hamilton here for some days—indeed he is still at Ballston but goes off soon I understand to return direct to S. C. by the Western road. Forsyth & myself stumbled upon him at Balston on your return from Nyork very unexpectedly as his passage through the Country has been so noiseless that we supposed him to be at Nyork. He looks badly, is very low spirited & was not a little embarrassed—as I confess to you I was myself after his late conduct—& particularly that which relates to yourself. When I see you I shall inform you of some conversation that took place that will amuse you. He said without reserve that he had done with public life & had made up his mind unchangeably to devote the rest of his time to his children—that two Districts had offered to send him to Congress, & that Miller did not desire to remain in the Senate, & that his friends would be willing to send him there—that he had declined all; & would on no account change his determination. We shall see. If he does it will the signal for disbandment amongst the nullifiers in S. Carolina. I regret to hear that Mrs. Donelson children have been unwell & hope they are better. Remember me affectionately to her & them—to Mr & Mrs Jackson—Mr & Mrs. Blair & to _Genl_ Earle. I left Kendall in Nyork in high health & spirits occupying your rooms there in the style of a nabob. I am Dr Sir very truly yours

M. Van Buren

P.S. The Major is with me & desires to be cordially remrd to you—& your Household

ALS, DLC (43). Van Buren wrote again on August 30 (below).
1. Silas Wright wrote Van Buren on August 28, and Van Buren enclosed his letter to AJ on September 4 (below).
2. Hamilton was former South Carolina governor James Hamilton Jr. Saratoga Springs and Ballston Spa were neighboring resorts in Saratoga County, N.Y.
3. Senator Stephen Decatur Miller (1787–1838) of South Carolina had resigned two years into his term due to ill health. William Campbell Preston was elected to replace him.

4. Kendall had lodged in New York at the American Hotel. Some opposition papers had derided its opulent furnishings when AJ stayed there in June.

To Tilghman Ashurst Howard

Rip Raps August 20th. 1833—

Dear Sir,

your letter of the 27th. ultimo, reached me at this place a few days ago. I thank you sincerely for the kind estimate you have made of my public life. I feel very sensibly, how much I owe to the favour of that public, (which you justly call, “the greatest nation of freemen on earth”) for “the last seal of approbation with which it has stamped my career.” The people have overvalued my services—greatly overpaid, in their grateful and affectionate enthusiasm all the labours of my life & have considered in their recompence what I have wished, & what I endeavoured to do, & not what I have done for my country. The high station to which I have been again called by their suffrages has no other attractions for me, than as it manifests the approbation of my fellow citizens & furnishes the opportunity to make some requite by devoting my latest energies, in the endeavour to secure, as far as it is possible for me, their power permanently over their Government—if I can restore to our institutions their primitive simplicity & purity—can only succeed in banishing those extraneous corrupting influences which tend to fasten monopoly & aristocracy on the constitution & to make the Government an engine of oppression to the people instead of the agent of their will, I may then look back to the honours confered upon me with feelings of just pride—with the consciousness that they have not been bestowed altogether in vain.

I look to the overthrow of the system (which have been engrafted upon our government to bring in a new & controlling influence, not springing from the popular will), as the principle means of defeating the machinations of these men, from whom you apprehend future distractions to our country. It is only when they can identify themselves with privileged joint Stock companies, with stockholders in a national Bank, or the log rolling system of internal improvements, squandering the taxes raised on the whole people, in benefitting particular classes and maintaining a personal influence by partial legislation in congress, that these men have the power to be mischievous. It is immaterial whether artful intriguing & ambitious persons are enabled, to divert the treasures of a country to the purpose of creating a standing army or of embodying political forces, to act in concert against the unsuspecting undisciplined classes of the community. The trained band, whether of military or political mercenaries, is but too
apt to prevail. And whenever political machinery is successfully employed to destroy the great radical principles of freedom—equality among the people in the rights conferred by the Government—then aspiring demagogues & individuals, can avail themselves of the selfish, interested classes to aid in promoting an ambition which is naturally prone to multiply the advantages & increase the strength of the predatory portion of the community—my great hope of avoiding the evils of which you speak, arises from the prospect of being able to restore the equilibrium of the government—equality in the condition of the people, so far as it depends on legislation.

It will undoubtedly, as you observe, form a part of the policy of the disappointed as well as some of the aspiring politicians “to cut up the party” which has sustained the administration, by coalitions between distinguished individuals—creating divisions among the people as to men, is one of the artifices, essential to the success of the few over the many. It is therefore of the utmost importance, that the majority should adopt some means to prevent such divisions. The Democratic party of Pennsylvania, and of several other states, have adopted the plan of calling conventions of Delegates, elected by the people themselves & charged with their instructions for the purpose of selecting candidates for important trusts and thus producing concert among the friends of the same principles. This plan has had the most beneficial operation in preventing distraction amongst the people of these States in selecting agents to give effect to their wishes, & in maintaining their controle in the Government. It strikes me that this is the only way or mode by which the people, will be able long to retain in their own hands, the election of President & vice President. It is doubtless, as you say, the design of those who are opposed to the principles and measures of the present administration, to divide the majority supporting it, by dissensions as to individuals & to bring the election of President again into the House of Representatives, in the hope, that it may there be decided by the sinister influences, to which I have already adverted. I trust the good sense of the people will prevent such result; and in reply to your question as to Pennsylvania, give it as my impression that she will be among the first states to guard against the effects of divided counsels. She has seen the advantage of her State usages at home, and the disadvantage of a contrary course in relation to the general interests; and with the sound sense & patriotism for which she has been ever distinguished, will act for the common good, from the experience conclusions she may draw from that experience.

Accept the assurance of my high respect & esteem & my best wishes for your health & prosperity

Andrew Jackson

To Martin Van Buren

Rip Raps August 20th. 1833.

My dear Sir,

I have just recd. a letter from one of the directors of the United States Bank appointed by the Government dated the 14th. of august, headed “confidential for the present.” The following is an extract. “The examination has resulted in exhibiting a much larger & a much blacker catalogue of fair business transactions than I had anticipated. In a little more than two years, about $60,000 dollars have been expended in printing, & publishing speeches, tracks &c &c of which about $25,000 was paid to order of Mr Biddle on his own drafts on the Bank, for one dollars of which no voucher could be produced, although they were required of the cashier, who stated the money was paid to Mr Biddle under an order of the Board in 1833. This order we have copied. These, I have no doubt form but a small portion of the money expended for electioneering purposes, and are entirely independent of fictitious loans. We have taken detailed extracts of every thing; shall make a formal report early in the week, if not on Saturday—we intend making an attempt to recind the resolution, under which the secrete service mony was authorised to be drawn by Mr Biddle on Friday next.”

When this report reaches me I will make it known to my Cabinet, and see if there is one of them, that will say that this Bank is a safe deposit for the mony of the people. If $60,000 dollars can be applied to corruption, by Mr. Biddle at will, so can 600,000, or six millions—and there can be no safety under such direction, & such corruption. Mr. Biddle it appears holds a chart blank to use the public money ad Libitum and his draft on the Bank the only voucher, and he can apply what he pleases to his own private use. We must cut the cord of corruption by removing the deposits—and leave Mr Biddle and the directors to corrup political men, & the public presses.

I shall leave here tomorrow or next day, & shall expect to hear from you at Washington in reply to all the matters & things upon which I have written you. My household salutes you[.] yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-0438).

1. Quoted from John T. Sullivan’s August 14 letter above.
2. AJ left the Rip Raps on August 22 and reached Washington early the next morning.
From Henry Dilworth Gilpin

Philadelphia 20 August 1833

Dear Sir,

We completed today the official report which you requested us to make, relative to the Expense Account of the Bank of the United States, in your letter of the 3d. inst. The examination has resulted in ascertaining, that expenditures have been made to an amount, in a manner & for objects which I could never have conceived, and notwithstanding our remonstrances, they are not likely as you will see to be either discontinued or changed. The report has been made as fully and carefully as our means admitted and I trust will embrace all the information you desire. Mr. McElderry, for whom we sent and who assisted in the examination, but left here a few days since, expressed a wish to sign it and I therefore transmitted it to him by a careful messenger with a request that he would forward it to you without delay.¹

I will take the liberty while writing on the subject of this institution to add a remark, which I am led to solely from my knowledge of its course and the interests of the government. It is highly desireable that we should have as generally as possible the influence and the united judgment of all the government directors. The distance of New York or other engagements have prevented Mr. Alley from meeting us except on one occasion. Since then, upon a request from me that he wd. come on, he informed me that “he had written to the Secy. of the Treasury to decline again taking his seat at the Board.” There is no gentleman to whose judgment talents & correct views we could more readily look for aid than Mr. Alley and whose cooperation we would more anxiously retain. But I deemed it probable from his language that he had resigned his seat—and it is only under that impression that I now say what I do: Should it be so, it would be useful to the government and gratifying to me, and I am sure to my colleagues, that his place shd. be supplied, should you so think proper with a gentleman residing as near as possible. The number from Pennsylvania being full, one from Delaware would be able to attend with the greatest frequency & certainty. Mr. James A. Bayard a lawyer of great eminence there, a decided and tried friend of the administration, a gentleman of promptness, talents & eloquence in whose firmness and readiness to cooperate with us (at the present moment so necessary) we might I am sure entirely rely—has occurred to me as a person highly suitable & he could always be with us on a few hours’ notice. Last winter I believe Mr. Bayard expressed some reluctance to serve in this office—but, though I have had no opportunity to speak with him on the subject, I think that if appointed he would not decline.²

I beg, Sir, that you will pardon these remarks, which have no object, but a desire faithfully to communicate my views relative to the institution.

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in the direction of which you have placed me and to protect the interests
of the government there in the most effectual manner. They are communi-
cated solely to you, for your own consideration in the result of which we
have all learned to entertain such entire confidence. I remain with great
respect Your obliged & obt. Servt

H. D. Gilpin

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. Gilpin recd. 23rd. 1833—A. J.

ALS, DLC (43). ALS copy, PHi (24-0434).

1. The report of the four government directors was dated August 19 (SDoc 2, 23d Cong.,
1st sess., pp. 28–32, Serial 238). AJ wrote Gilpin on August 25 that he had not received it.
Gilpin replied on August 27 promising a duplicate copy. AJ wrote Gilpin on August 29 that
the original signed by McElderry had arrived on August 28.

2. The BUS charter allowed no more than three of the five government directors to be
from the same state (Statutes, 3:269). Saul Alley (c1777–1852) of New York had been a
government director for 1832 and 1833. On December 17, AJ nominated Delaware lawyer
James Asheton Bayard (1799–1880) to replace him for 1834. Bayard was confirmed but
declined serving, and AJ nominated Alley again on May 13, 1834.

From Richard Gilliam Dunlap

Mr John Ridges
Cheerokee Nation
August 25th. 1833

Dear Sir

My business lead me to this nieghbourhood, and my solicitute to
relieve the Cheerkees of their embarrassments, and the Country of the
question induces me to drop you these hints. The leading men of the treaty
party many of whom are now here, have requested me to give you certain
information. This I hope will satisfy you that I write without a wish to be
viewed as either an intermedler or counsellor.¹

The treaty party are very anxious to for the nation to treat. On a full
view of all the surrounding circumstances they are well convinced that
further resistance to a treaty tends only to accumulate difficulties which
with if not remedied by a treaty will terminate in the ruin of their nation.
They therefore suggest that you recommend to the nation, to select some
fit persons of their own nation at their next Counsel to go an examine
the Country, which has been offered them. They say that the impression
prevails among the indians generally that the Country assignd for them
will not afford them a permament subsistence. Should this exploring party
give a different account it would have a powerfull effect on the common
indians. They also suggest this idea—that should this Country be not
altogether acceptable whether it would be possible or practicable to obtain
for them Washington & Crawford Counties in the Arkansas territory. If
a suitable Country could be obtained they would no doubt on fair repre-
sentations of the fact treat on the basis offered them by the Government.

The persons who have heretofore visited that Country and returned,
have been generally suspected for being under pay to tell fair stories about
it. Jealousy is a strong feature in the character of the common indians—
and they are now the most stubborn in the nation to yield to the wishes
of the Government. The certainty of a good Country & a permanant
Government for their nation would not doubt amidst their oppressions,
incline them to exchange their lands. I have conversed with both parties I
believe this to be the most practicable step. It will be one movement on the
part of the nation to appoint agents to examine & report relative to the
Country. This one movement will have a general circulation and almost
imperceptably incline their minds to look for their final homes west of the
Mississippi. This invitation to the general Counsel would give the treaty
party much aid. They would say let us go & see if the U. Sts offers us jus-
tice, there can be no harm in this—&c.

With a view to have all the wieght of their party the treaty party object
to the enrolling system. They say this is only an argument, to the other
party that the Government does not intend to deal fairly with us. It keeps
up a constant excitement and exertion in the nation, and combines both
parties against the enrolling agent. The treaty party think it does not do
them justice as its whole tendency is to weaken their side. The preserva-
tion of the nation as an independant people, seems to be the object of both
parties. Hence each are catching at every thing to weaken the other, and
gain or keep the ascendency, for the furtherance of their ends.

I have conversed freely with John Ridge the leader of the treaty party,
and with John Ross—who is on the opposite and dominant side. I do
sincerely believe that the ultimate views of both these men are the same
in regard to the final destiny of their nation. They both have enlarged &
enlightened views, and their whole energies are bent on the establishment
of their nation on certain & immovable principles, such as will eventually
redeem their Countrymen from the savage to the civilised life.

I have been through the north Carolina, Georgia & Tennessee parts
of the Cheerokee nation—and none of them look to the hunters life as
the means of subsistance, all have their fields, some its true are on scanty
systems others and many yes a large number farm it quite neatly. I was
myself astonished last summer & this season at their great advancement
in agraculture. Their habits have changed more rapidly in the last 15 & 20
years that has ever been the good fortune of any savage people. In these
things with their consequent endearments we can find, reasons piled upon
reasons why the Cheerokees have so long & so tenaciously clung to their
rights—and so reluctantly agree to abandon their homes.

I have assured all of the Cheerokees with whom I have met that you
were very anxious to have it in your power, to prove to them, that their
final good was an object of great solicitude with you—that you wishd to place them beyond the troubles & annoyances of State authority—where they could build up a government every way suitable to the intellectual growth of their nation—and finally when a proper period arrived that they should be admited into the federal union. This seems to be their great object & ambition. They say they care not for reservations, the comfortable settlement of their people is all they desire. This hope is in my opinion a just one, that should be kept alive by the Government. If they be pressed into a treaty without some adequate return filled with the best hopes for the future, their feelings will be alienated from the U. Sts. and prepare them to be our enemies. This feeling aided by the policy of the Government which places all the indian tribes west together would enable them to annoy the frontier settlements—which would give us as a nation no glory and the end in their ruin.

Another view of the subject at this delicate crisis urges a speedy treaty with the Cheerokees. The slave question which Mr Calhoon is publickly urging in Georgia tends to increase the nullifiers. He says slave labour is the cheapest in the world and that the yankies have anticipated that the tariff protective policy will force the south into the manufacturing system. Hence it is that they are determined to free our slaves—and this must cause the slave states to rely on the doctrine of state interposition to protect their property. This lowers the proud chivalry of the south from a wild spirit of liberty into a contemptable appeal to the mercenary passions. The old Troup party a changing into nullifiers and as they change they utter the bit-terest denunciations against you and your proclamation. I am sure at this day that you have but a small majority in Georgia. I beleive that disunion has been planted in the South—and its leaders are determined to wreck every thing with their own fall. The Cheerokee Country is generally poor and will be settled with common labourers of the soil, which will furnish a check to the mad schemes of the aristocracy, and finally poise the govern-ment upon the Constitution. These reflexions may seem ill timed but they flow naturally from a view of the whole case, as it occurs to my mind.

I have been in the midst of a Georgia system of discordant politicks for several months and I am sure no just observer could form any other opinion. Since I wrote the above I read it to Mr John Ridge—who prefer that it should not be viewed as a suggestion from his party, as the answer or the invitation to the Counsel coming from his party might tend to unite the opposition to the scheme. He therefore prefers that your invitation to the nation should be spontaneous, and appear to come about from you, without an expression of any wish on the party of the treaty party. So you will consider this as confidential. The opposition to the treaty it is believed design to baffle a treaty and out live your administration. Herrings letter to Ross done much harm as it again awakend hope to the common indians of protection from the Govermt. Every little things is used with much industry. It is further believed that it is in contemplation to memorialise
Congress the next Session on the Indian question. If the dominant party here should do so—the printing of the documents, Speeches & reports will furnish fresh argument that as the matter is before Congress it would be wrong for the nation to act untill a decision be made by Congress. If the real friends of the Indians would act for their ultimate interest they will pass this over as a mere silent reference. But the jealousy of the north at the growth of the south will not do this, aside from other party views & their misguided philanthropy. Hence the importance of inducing the nation to make one movement for a treaty before this period. This one act would induce Congress not to act on any memorial, which might appear to interupt a negotiation already begun. A mere hint will give you the full fource of this matter. Great art and care is required in a diplomacy with the Cheerokees. They are a shrewd people and have talents among them.

It is moreover suggested that if you could get some person whose friendship to the Indians are know to them to attend the Counsel which sits the 10 of Octr. next that it might have a good effect. Judge McLain has been mentioned by some of the treaty party as every way suitable. At all events they do not desire any who have heretofore decided against their right, and in favor of Georgia. They moreover desire that you should write yourself to the nation and not by your agents or ministers—your Character to the Cheerokees—with your avowed determination to do them justice would have more weight at the Counsel than all the acts of your clerks & secretaries. You can understand the import of these things without supposing any want of respect to others.

I shall be at home in a few weeks and will give Judge White more in detail altho this may seem sufficiently so. I give you these hints with an adent desire that something may be done to relieve the Cheerokees from thier cruel imbarrassment. The love of political power will never allow Georgia to yeild, the certainty of a revolution will not permit of the Governt. to drive the Georgians from the Country. They only want a decent apology to join the nullifiers of S Carolina. These may seem small matters yet they are pregnant with great results. Excuse my haste & prolixity. I am Respflly

R. G. Dunlap

P.S. I open the seal to read the whole letter to Ridge, and then sealed it.

R. G. Dunlap

[Endorsed by A.J.:] To be shewn to the Sec. of War. A. J.

ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-75). Dunlap (1796–1841) was a Knoxville lawyer and recent Tennessee legislator.

1. John Ridge (1803–1839) and his father, Cherokee chief Major Ridge, were leaders of the “treaty party,” Cherokees who saw continued resistance to removal as futile and favored negotiating a treaty on the best terms they could get.
2. Washington and Crawford counties were in northwestern Arkansas, bordering the western Indian reserve.

3. Calhoun had spent much of the summer in Georgia, espousing nullification. On September 5 the *Globe* printed an unsigned letter, dated from Lumpkin County in July, relating a public discussion held some weeks earlier between Calhoun and Dunlap in a Nuckollsville (later Auraria) tavern. When Dunlap assured Calhoun that slaveholders had nothing to fear from northern interference, Calhoun rejoined that “slave labor was the cheapest in the world, and that the southern people could beat the North in manufactures, and that the only way to keep the ascendancy in the North was for them to emancipate the slaves of the South.” George Michael Troup (1780–1856), governor of Georgia from 1823 to 1827 and present U.S. senator, headed the state’s-rights faction in Georgia politics.

4. Governor Wilson Lumpkin had written AJ on April 22 (above) complaining about a March 14 letter from Commissioner of Indian Affairs Elbert Herring (1777–1876) to the Cherokees, which they had interpreted as promising federal protection against Georgia.

5. Supreme Court justice John McLean (1785–1861) of Ohio had counseled the Cherokees to conclude a removal treaty in the spring of 1832 after the *Worcester* decision. At that time, Georgia congressman Daniel Newnan had urged Cass to appoint McLean as a removal negotiator, and Cherokee delegates John Martin, John Ridge, and William S. Coodey wrote that if a commissioner were appointed, there was no one “for whom we have a higher esteem, or who would be as acceptable to the Cherokees to listen to, as that gentleman” (McLean to Ross, May 23, 1832, Ross Papers, OkTG; *Papers of John Ross*, 1:245–46; *SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, pp. 296–97, 303–5, 313–14, Serial 246). The Cherokee General Council convened on October 14, 1833, at Red Clay, Tennessee. It authorized an anti-treaty delegation to Washington headed by John Ross.

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**From Amos Kendall**

New York August 25th 1833

Dear Sir

This morning I arrived here on my return. A most painful occurrence in my father’s family detained me with the old gentleman two days longer than I expected. It was the mysterious disappearance of my youngest brother, of whom nothing positive was known when I left.1

In Boston some of the Banks are not only willing to undertake the government business on the same terms that the Bank United States does it but to give the personal responsibility of their Directors and all they possess, for the security of the government.2

The Maine Bank at Portland has made the same tender.3

I expect to receive a similar offer from Portsmouth.

Here there seems to be some hesitation as to the security; but I hope to carry that point.4

If it can be effected here, I have no doubt of effecting the same object in Philadelphia.

I shall probably be detained here two days and in Philadelphia one. On Friday or Saturday next I shall very certainly be in Washington, should I meet with no unexpected obstacle.

It is very important that the question of the deposites should be speedily settled. The U.S. Br. Bank here makes no discounts and cashes all
its balances against the state banks. It is said that a million of dollars is payable for duties this week. Not being able to get accommodations at the U.S. Br. Bank, they merchants go to the state banks, and if these lend their notes to pay the duties with, they go at once into the Branch which turns about and demands specie of them. If the state banks refuse to loan as their own safety will soon compel them to do, many of these merchants who have calculated on the usual facilities, will probably stop payment.

This power the Branch possesses solely from being in receipt of the government money. It is this and this only which enables it to rule the mercantile community here with a rod of iron. If the bonds were payable in the state banks, no balances or very light ones, would arise against them in the U.S. Br Bank, and generally the balances would be the other way. They would also have means they do not now possess to accommodate the merchants.

These considerations make it important that the question of the deposits should be settled. If the money-tyrant finds that he is to retain all his present power, it may be that he will have mercy on the free people of this City; and if, on the other hand, he is to be stripped of the means which give him that power, they will at once be relieved from his oppression. The course the U.S. Bank is now pursuing makes it all important that whatever is resolved on, shall be done at once; for delay will but enable it to increase the public distress. If the transfer of the deposit be placed at a distant day, it will during the whole interval, pursue its present policy and the state banks can grant no relief; but an immediate transfer will strengthen the state banks and give relief at once. The only question, therefore, seems to me to be an immediate removal or no removal. Any compromise between the two will but inflict unnecessary injury upon the country.

It will be my duty to report some interesting facts and opinions I have picked up while on this tour which I think I can do in three days after my return, so that all may be prepared for final action by Wednesday the 4th day of September.5

If what I hear from Philadelphia be true, I do not perceive how any man can say the deposits are any longer safe in the U.S. Bank. If there be a resolution of the Board of Directors authorizing Mr. Biddle to spend the money of the Bank as he pleases, and if he has under that resolution spent tens of thousands of dollars without rendering an account or a voucher, what security have the people for the millions of their money which are thus put at his disposition? But if this be true, I presume the government directors have reported it to you.

August 26th. As the mail closes for the South at 1 o’clock P.M. on Sunday in this City, of which I was not aware, I failed to communicate with you as I intended.

I have since heard verbally from two of the Banks, one of which will give the requisite security. There can be little doubt that others will do the
Amos Kendall

ALS, DLC (43). Kendall enclosed this letter to Francis P. Blair on August 26 for hand delivery to AJ (Blair-Lee Papers, NjP).

1. Kendall’s youngest brother was Timothy Kendall (1802–1888). A report in the Lowell Journal, reprinted in the US Telegraph on September 19, charged that he had absconded with several thousand dollars of other people’s money and a 20-year-old girl named Abby Winship, leaving a wife and three children.

2. Kendall had addressed the Boston banks about becoming government depositories on August 7. Three declined outright and six more required a definite and detailed proposition before deciding. Two, the Oriental Bank and Commonwealth Bank, replied favorably. Offered the same two sets of terms as in Baltimore and Philadelphia, both rejected the first set requiring acceptance of liability for all government deposits wherever made; but the Commonwealth Bank accepted the second set and offered “the personal obligations of its directors” as security. The Oriental Bank refused responsibility for accepting deposits of BUS notes payable at distant branches and converting them to specie, and declined giving security other than furnishing monthly statements and allowing inspection by a Treasury agent (SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 78–85, Serial 238).


4. On August 12, Kendall had sent his two sets of propositions to the New York banks that had replied favorably to his initial overture on August 7. The six banks that responded all declined the first set. The Union Bank, Mechanics’ Bank, and Manhattan Company accepted the second set without reservation. The Phoenix Bank, National Bank, and Bank of America accepted in principle, but objected to the requirement of providing security for the safety of the deposits as both impractical and unnecessary, especially given the provisions of New York’s “safety fund” law (SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 60–78, Serial 238).

5. Kendall submitted his report to Duane on September 4, and Duane forwarded it to AJ on September 9 (below).

From Nathaniel Macon

Buck Spring 26 August 1833

Sir

I have this minute received your letter of the 17. instant & answer it with all the friendly feelings with which it was written; Before I do this, permit me, to say, that I have no documents, having given all mine away, not even the proceedings of South Carolina relative to nullification nor the proclamation

The Governments of the United States & of the States are governments of opinion & not of force, this opinion was held when the Hartford convention was in session & has not changed & that a conquered State, was not in the Union, nor could not be without an act of Congress to admit her; foreign sovereign power cannot commit treason or rebellion or be subject to the laws relating to either; hence a State being sovereign to a
certain extent, as well as the United States, cannot commit either. The people alone in our country possess unlimited sovereign power, & they delegate it to their governments as they please.

Force applied to a State government, as well as I recollect is not hinted at in the constitution of the United States, because she cannot commit treason or rebellion, it goes on the ground, that every state will perform her duty. The case of South Carolina, was not like the insurrection in Pennsylvania, the people of South Carolina acted under State authority, & the people of Pennsylvania under no legal authority.

If South Carolina would not permit the laws of the United States to be enforced within her limits, she was out of the Union & ought to have been treated as a foreign power; The union is a matter of choice & interest; without these it cannot be lasting, but if the federal Government be justly & wisely managed, it will be as lasting as the Atlantic, the Allegany or the Mississippi.

No confederation or league can last long, after the States which formed it begin to fight, people were never satisfied by being beaten, & freemen whenever conquered, loose their energy & boldness.

The history of Religion, proves that force cannot change opinion, & in this country political opinion would be as difficult to change, as that of Religion: You will perceive that I do not approve the enforcing act, though I have not seen it, the contents have been stated to me, I take no newspaper, of course know but little of any thing from home.

Permit me to say, I have no recollection of the law you mention nor of my vote, though no doubt, is entertained, but that they are correctly & truly stated, & it may be that both Mr. Jefferson & myself, may have acted done wrong, in the very hot times, in which we acted; I however never approved of construing the constitution by precedent, & have constantly thought, that every department of the Government, had always the same right to construe it, as those had, who were before them & that each ought to correct the errors of the former if any were made.

Last Wednesday for the first time, I heard, that my letter was published; I believe it was an answer, to one received, but I am become so forgetful, that I cannot say positively. Since I quit public life, my rule has been only to acknowledge letters, except to one person.

The ratifications of the constitution by the States are all I believe different from each other; I do not recollect enough of them, to say much about them; but none of them, I imagine gave up the right to secede, & this right is the only one that can prevent bargaining legislation, whenever that shall become common, liberty must be nearly gone.

If law could have controlled opinion Mr. Jefferson would never have been president.

That the Constitution of the United States must depend on opinion, the following facts, will demonstrate, a few of the large states perhaps a half
dozen, can put an end to it, by not passing laws to elect representatives or not passing them to elect electors of President & Vice President, & thirteen of the smallest, can do the same, by not electing Senators

Whenever a State becomes uneasy under federal legislation, the act which causes the uneasiness, ought to be reviewed with the greatest care, & if it contain the least injustice it ought to be altered

As far as I have heard, Virginia acted with great propriety & great dignity toward South Carolina, her doings no doubt had some good effect

I never wrote a letter, expecting it to be published, in one case, I was not so attentive as I might or ought to have been; to one received, in which a modest request was made for an answer to be published; the request escaped my observation

Perhaps it may not be amiss to say, that I never thought Genl. Washington had an authority to issue his proclamation declaring the neutral situation of the country, that it seemed to me, belonged to Congress1

If it shall ever happen, which God forbid, that the United States & a State be at war, the constitution of the Union, may considered as gone, as dead, Since 1824 I have thought that by construction it had become almost unlimitted; no one disapproves of the tariff more than I do; & my hope has been, that Congress knowing its unjust operation would relieve those who suffered; In truth since 1824 I have considered it dead and a new one made by construction2

It has been my lot, to differ in some things with every administration; but I hope never for the mere sake opposition

The fame of an administration, which has paid the public debt & adjusted the claims of the people on foreign governments for wrongs done them, will be as lasting as the fame acquired by the battles of New Orleans, though it may have committed some errors in the opinion of a part of those who have generally & sincerely supported it, to err is common to man, & who knows, when men differ in opinion, which is right

Accept my best wishes for your health & happiness, & believe me to be very truly & sincerely your friend

Nath Macon

N.B. On reading over this letter, I believe, I have made a mistake, in saying, that the legislatures of a few great States, could put an end to the federal government, by not passing laws to elect representatives, I now think that Congress may pass a law for that purpose but if the people of such States should refuse to elect, then the case would happen

N. M.

ALS, DLC (43). AJ replied on September 2 (below).

1. On April 22, 1793, President Washington had issued a proclamation enjoining neutrality upon Americans in the war between Britain and France and threatening prosecution of violators (Richardson, 1:156–57).
2. In 1824 Congress had passed a protective tariff and a law authorizing surveys for internal improvements, both decried by Jeffersonian strict constructionists.

To Andrew Jackson Hutchings

Washington August 29th. 1833

My dear Hutchings,

I received last evening by the hands of Mr Pearson your letter of the 14th instant. I well recollect Mr Pearson, and was instrumental in aiding him in closing Genl Coffees accounts & getting him the money thro Major Lewis, and he has proceeded on to Philadelphia

Mr Pearson has delivered me your receipt for your Estate, notes &c. I hope you will find on a careful examination of the whole business, that your interest in the management of the estate has been our only aim.

Amongst the notes received by you, you name one of Mr William Eastons and ask me what you will do with it. This requires explanation and I have gave Mr Pearson a written statement of the facts as far as my memorandom here & recollection serves me. This debt of Mr Eastons to your father never came to the knowledge of Genl Coffee or myself until after Genl Coffee had fully administered on your fathers Estate & the property returned in the Inventory by him as Executor had been delivered to me & receipted for by me as guardian. I think Mr James Jackson gave me the Evidence of this debt—(ask him about it.)—Genl Coffee & myself thought it best to file this note with the other evidence of your Estate & collect the mony from Mr Easton the best way we could.

Mr Easton had moved to Florence & established a store there. I had got from Simpson & Co, all the supplies for your farm, until the time Mr Easton had established himself at Florence. That this debt might be collected from Mr. Easton with little distress to him, we agreed that he should furnish the farm with all the necessaries required, and annually the amount so furnished should be creditted on this note, and in part you will find three mules and some other articles creditted on it. I have given Mr Pearson as I said before, a memorandom in substance as above, and all you have to attend to in a settlement with Mr Pearson the surviving Partner of William Easton, is to see that the amount furnished by that House and charged to me as Guardian up to the time of Mr Eastons death is credited by that note until it is paid—after the death of Mr Easton if the advances for the farm does not amount to the full payment of the note you must loose it, because it was not in my power to secure the payment of that debt better than we did, after it came to our knowledge. I think it was in 1824 or 1825—that this agreement was made with Mr Easton by Genl Coffee & myself, and we calculated that the supplies that would be wanted & furnished by him until you came of age would fully meet the
debt—you therefore are entitled to a credit for all necessaries furnished
your farm by Messhrs Easton & Co, to the amount of the note, or to the
time of Mr Eastons This you have a right to and so I have stated to Mr
Pearson, and I am sure you will have no difficulty in settling it in this way.

I hope Doctor Hogg has either paid you in cash or good notes. I learn
that he was called to Genl Coffee—he surely will give you that debt in
part. This is a debt of honor and I am sure Hogg will pay it—for I give
up the lean upon his property for his benefit & trusted to his ability and
honor & I pray you to say so to him if necessary.

I have time but to say one word more, that is my dear Nephew remem-
ber my advice, act with due occonomy, & refrain from all bad company,
live within your means, & never be in debt. Write me on the receipt of this
& often—and may that god who holds us all in the hollow of his hands,
guide & direct you in all things—as to matrimony recollect my advice in
Washing[ton.] yr affectionate uncle

Andrew Jackson

P.S. all well & all have their respects to you & all our connections.

ALS, THi (23-0488). AJ wrote again on September 15 (below).

1. From 1819 to 1828, AJ had purchased farm supplies for Hutchings from a succession
of Florence merchant firms headed or co-headed by John Simpson (1790–1865). AJ had
written John Coffee on October 24, 1823, that William Eastin had supplied Hutchings with
three mules, to be credited against his note (Jackson Papers, 5:310).

From Martin Van Buren

On Board the Canal Boat between Oswego & Utica August 30th. 1833

My dear Sir

I send you the “Expose,” with such modifications as have suggested
themselves to my mind. The It goes over in part the same objections
which are contained in your letter to Mr Duane, and but this circum-
stance is of no importance, if explained as I have attempted to do. The
correspondence with Mr Duane ought I think by all means to be made
a part of the submission. Taken together, they will constitute, in regular
connexion, a series of arguments which cannot fail to produce a decided
and overwhelming effect upon the public mind. I have attempted an apt
introduction to the very strong remarks upon the subject of Aristocracy,
& which will may be of some service in giving full weight to those very
just suggestions—with other modifications of the propriety of which you
will judge. The whole will make a sett of very strong papers. It was my
intention to have given you at the same time my views upon the question
of time, but Mr Wright has not met me at Oswego, or written me there—
one of which I confidently expected. You shall hear from me immediately
after my arrival at Albany, which will be in a day or two, & in season for
before you call your Cabinet together; as you will doubtless insist upon
having them altogether together. The reasons upon the subject of the Land
Bill I will bring with me in October when I come down to set my house
in order. I rejoice to hear of the improvement in your health & beg to be
affectionately remembered to all your Household. Your friend

M. Van Buren

ALS, DLC (43). Van Buren likely returned his corrections on AJ’s August 12 draft and also
a draft of his own of what became AJ’s Cabinet paper of September 18 (below). He wrote
again from Albany on September 4 (below).

To John Donelson Coffee

Washington August 31rst. 1833.

My dear Nephew,

I have received your kind letter of the 17th. instant, that of your sister
Mary was handed to me by Mr Pearson on the 27th. instant. Mr Pearson,
after closing the account of your father with the government and receiv-
ing the balance due your estate left us on the evening of the 29th. for
Philadelphia.

I have to tender to your sister Mary, thro’ you, my thanks for her
affectionate & intelligent letter—say to her I will answer it the first leisure
moment, & will be always happy to receive a letter from her.

The intelligence of the death of your dear & much lamented father was
a heavy stroke of grief to me, but the bereavement to his family irreparable.
I must soon follow him, and I trust that these examples & precedents set
to him by him will prove a lasting benefit to every branch of his family and
that the smiles of a just & all wise providence will direct their ways in this
wicked & unfriendly world, so that the close of eachs career, will be as
happy as the exit of your dear father, who is lamented by all; to the care
of this providence, who has said, “he will be a father to the fatherless, & a
husband to the widow” I resign you all, with the assurance to all, that as
long as I am permitted to remain on this earthly tabernacle you will find a
friend in me.¹

I regret to hear that your fathers estate will be made subject to the secu-
rity ship for William Easton. I am of the opinion that the security cannot
be made liable for the interest, & from the concealment of the bond, if
well defended, not even for principle—but I am not sufficiently advised of
the circumstances to give a correct opinion—and but I hope if compelled
to pay, it you may be able to meet it without real injury to the estate.

I feel happy that you are placed in a situation in which you can benefit
yourself and the Estate. You are the only male of your family capable of
doing a fathers part to your mother and the family—and I trust, all your
energy, & industry, will be turned to your mother and the family that can be spared from the duty of your situation, and by your affectionate & dutiful course, the great bereavement by the death of your amiable father, will be lightened on the family.

I have recd. by Mr Pearson the receipt of A. J. Hutchings for all his Estate—it will be preserved & when I visit you will take it on & have it placed on record. I am happy to find the estate closed and, delivered to him, & hope he will manage it well, & become a useful member of society. I have a great regard and deep solicitude for his prosperity & happiness. I am pleased to hear that Col McKinley has been elected to Congress—he is a valuable member.

Present me kindly to your mother Mary & every individual of the family—say to Andrew I expect he will attend to his studies, & be an obedient and affectionate child to his dear mother sisters & brothers, and believe me your affectionate uncle.

Andrew Jackson

P.S. It is Saturday, my busy day, & I write in great haste. My health is improved by my visit to the Rip Raps. Emily & children are with me & well. Andrew & Sarah with their sweet little pet is at Philadelphia. Emily Joins me in kind salutations to you all. Major Donelson is in Tennessee—A. J

1. Psalm 68:5.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington August 31rst. 1833

My dear Andrew,

My spirits have been somewhat depressed since you and Sarah with my dear little Rachel left us. I cannot tell why, unless being very lonesome at night not hearing the prattle of little Rachel

I hope you had a pleasant and safe passage & that you all enjoy good health. My son, you have now the promise of good health & I beseech you to preserve it—do not in any manner expose it—recollect you have been threatened with a breast complaint from a bad cough from which you are now clear & by careful & regular habits you may avoid it for the future—the least irregularity or exposure will cause it to return & it may be very hard to remove. I therefore conjure you to take great care of yourself. You are blessed with a charming wife & sweet little daughter & the prospect of a large family. You must now live for them & their prosperity, and in all your course thro life remember that if you do any
thing injurious to your own fame it will tarnish theirs. Piety, & a sober &
well regulated life I trust, will accompany you thro life, & bring you and
your family to a happy immortality for which my prayers will be always
offered to a throne of Grace.

Write me when you will return—kiss Sarah & little Rachel for me, &
present my kind regards to Emma & kiss the son for me & present it with
my blessing—hand the inclosed to Sarah & believe yr affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P.S. When Sarah makes her purchases & you & her compleats the engage-
ment for the settees & chairs, send me on the amount that I may prepare
to meet it.

ALS, DLC (43).
1. Emma’s son was Andrew Jackson Donelson (1833–1837).

To James Knox Polk

—confidential—

My Dr. Sir,

You will find from the inclosed, that I have at last thro the Government
Directors got a small peep into their expence account, and the corruption
practised by that institution on the morales of the people. In two years
$80, odd thousand expended to corrupt the people & buy a recharter
of that mamoth of corruption. I think when these scenes of corruption
are made known to the people—and that by an order of the board of
directors, the whole funds of the Bank are placed at the disposal of Mr.
Biddle to appropriate as he pleases without ac[ . . . ] voucher, to [ . . . ] of
the Bank by the most bold specious of corruption ever practised by any
body of people in the most corrupt governments & in the most corrupt
times—can any one really say, from this expose that the U.S. Bank is a safe
deposit for the peoples mony.

I send it to you, that you may use the facts without stating from whence
you got them. I would not that you would let it be known that it came
from me as we have not yet taken an order on the deposits—we will act
so soon as Mr Kendall makes his report & can find that the State Banks
will be a safe deposit—he has just returned.

I write in haste. Present me to Mrs. Poke, & all the family & to Lucius
& Mary & the old Genl & his family if with you Your

[Endorsed by Polk:] Genl. Andrew Jackson  And. Sept 26th. 1833.

AL, DLC-Polk Papers (23-0569). Polk Correspondence, 2:106–7. A corner with the signa-
ture has been cut out.
Dear Sir.

It is as I am informed by Gentlemen of much respectability believed that the extreme pressure at this time upon the commercial community and it is most fearful, is owing to the course of the Bank of the U.S. in relation to the State Banks. If this is true is does it not afford a most satisfactory Ground to the Treasury to make the contemplated change I well remember that in reading on my fathers correspondence or in the course of some other reading in relation to the subject that when the first old Bank first went into operation it was sorely pressed by the local Banks so much so indeed as to endanger its existence and my impression is that my father the then Secty of the Treasury either did or intimated an intention wholly to withdraw the deposits from those State Banks wholly in order to counteract their movements and further that when the U.S. Bank recovered itself through his interference in this and other ways that it commenced a system of retaliation and that be thereupon to sustain the State Banks withdrew or intimated an intention to withdraw the deposits from the US Bank & give them to the State Banks in order to sustain them This course was deemed by him a proper one & the conduct of the Banks in the case referred to was considered as a sufficient ground for making the change. Why is not the course of the Bank at this time if it be such as I have am led to believe it is a good ground for a like course?

It is understood that there is a large amount of duties to be paid in September The Pecuniary Interest of the Government is therefore deeply closely connected with that of the merchants & it is the duty of the administration so to exercise its powers in such a manner as will most probably enable the Public Debtors to meet their engagements. I hope I shall not be misunderstood in throwing out these hints They are which may not be worth much as they are the result of merely a moments reflection. I congratulate you my dear Sir upon your safe return and improved health[.]

with sincere regard & respect your obt Svt

James A Hamilton

[Endorsed by AJ:] Col Hamilton—on the change of deposits to aid the S. Banks from the pressure, & the merchants from the tyranny of the U. States Bank—answered 8th. Septbr. asking him for proof if any for the run upon the State Banks, & as to the power to change the deposits & direct other B bills to be taken in payment of public dues, with those of the U. States Bank—A. J

ALS, DLC (43). AJ replied on September 8 (below). Hamilton’s father, Alexander Hamilton (c1757–1804), had been secretary of the Treasury from 1789 to 1795.
To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington Septbr. 2nd. 1833

My son—

Major Donelson returned late last night, and from his report, I think it will be well, for you to visit the Hermitage as early as your convenience, & the season will permit—the Major says, two of our young Negroes died whilst he was there, but does not know their ages or names—that Lindy, and Alabama Sally, were sick, & Hanna, Dicks eldest daughter was still confined with her hip—he says that the negroes appear as tho they were entirely abandoned by their owners, and in a state of despair.¹ These considerations will make it necessary, as I cannot go; that you should, and remain at least a while, to encourage & convince them that we are constantly watching over them, and their good treatment, and will not permit them to be ill-treated or mistreated.

Major Donelson informs that our crop is a good, the corn good, and the cotton supposed to average 800 to the acre. This, if it can be taken in early, well handled and sold at the present price, will produce at our Landing will produce us seven thousand dollars. This is worthy of attention.

It appears that Mr Andrew J. Crawford has sold to Major Henry Rutledge a tract of Land for his son upon his paying us, $600 for the stud colt.² Mr Rutledge has sent on a check for the amount—where is the note—it must be forwarded to Mr Rutledge, if you have it with you, or be delivered to him on his check being presented for payment—if you have it, if you will send it to me I will give it the proper direction on your return I will hand you the check.

give my kind love to Sarah, & kiss her and little Rachel for me—present me to Mr & Mrs. Weatherall Emma, & Salena, & all friends³ yr affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

¹Alabama Sally (b. c1799) was a Hermitage house slave. Lindy may have been Malinda (b. c1815).
2. Henry Middleton Rutledge (1775–1844) of Nashville was the son of Edward Rutledge of South Carolina, a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

3. Salena was Selina Lippincott, Samuel M. Wetherill's cousin.

To Nathaniel Macon

To Nathaniel Macon

[Two surviving drafts of this letter are in the hand of Globe editor Francis P. Blair: an apparent first version, heavily amended, in the Blair-Lee Papers at Princeton University; and a cleaner, later text, marked by Jackson “copy of A.J. answer to the letter of Mr N. Macon,” in the Library of Congress Jackson Papers. The sent letter, written out by Jackson and printed here, is a nearly verbatim copy of Blair’s second draft.]

Washington Septbr. 2nd. 1833—

Dear Sir

I am glad to find, by your letter of August 26th. that the position taken by me, against secession, is the only point of my proclamation, which you condemn—others have assumed, without specifying in what particulars, that the principles of that paper, are in opposition to those which distinguished the republican party during the era of Mr Jefferson’s administration. You have been frank & specific but the grounds of objection pointed out in your letter to me so far from making a departure, from the recognised doctrines of the republican party of that period, is a practical illustration of them. You do not hesitate to admit that the measures, recommended by Mr Jefferson to enforce the embargo in the contemplated case of resistance by Massachusets, & for which you voted, were the same in principle, with those recently adopted to give effect to the revenue laws in South Carolina: but you tell me “Mr. Jefferson & yourself may have done wrong, in the very hot times in which you acted.” Allow me to say, my dear Sir, that I think you do great injustice to the motives, which actuated yourself and Mr Jefferson & the Republican party of those times to which you allude. You doubtless considered the Union worthless, unless the laws could be enforced; & after great forbearance & due consideration, the deliberate but reluctant resolution was taken, “To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, if a case of obstruction should arise within the contemplation of this clause of the constitution.”

Under circumstances of still greater emergency than those under which Mr Jefferson acted (when the ordinance had actually passed nullifying the revenue laws) I felt it my duty to act with still greater moderation, than his pacific character had dictated on the former occasion. I first warned & appealed to the affections to the patriotism of my fellow citizens of the south. I exerted my influence to remove the causes employed to excite discontent among them. When troops were enrolled & actually paraded & trained, with the avowed design to prevent the collection of the revenue
after a given day, I still sought to avoid the unhappy collision, by recom-
mending the removal of the custom houses beyond the jurisdiction of each 
of the States threatening to oppose by force the collection of the revenue, 
and in the last & worst event, proposed the use of force only to defend 
the public officers from actual violence, when engaged in the discharge of 
their official duties. The measure of expostulation, & concession in the 
first instance—of preparation, & decision, in the last, which the wisdom 
of congress sustained, I am happy to believe have had the best effects in 
securing peace & stability to the union.

I think you state too broadly your maxim, that “the government of 
the United States and of the States—are governments of opinion & not 
of force”—or I should rather say, you apply it improperly, as taking all 
sanction from the laws. I consider all free Governments, governments 
of opinion, but should hold ours no government at all, if there were no 
laws to give effect to the public opinion—we live under a government of 
laws—laws emanating from the public will; but if there were no means 
of enforcing public opinion, when embodied in a public law, it would be 
neither a government of opinion or force.

You tell me that a state cannot commit treason. This is true. But it does 
not follow that all the citizens of a state may not commit Treason against 
the United States. “Treason against the United States shall consist only in 
levying war against them &c &c.”2 The State authorities of no one state, 
have a right to repeal this clause of the constitution, which all the people 
in each state severally, concurred in establishing. If, therefore, South 
Carolina had authorised by enactments of a convention, or of her State 
Legislature, the citizens of the state to levy war upon the United States, 
it would have been nevertheless treason, in all who should have acted 
under such authority. The authority itself would have been in violation 
of “the supreme law of the land,” which the people of South Carolina, 
with their own consent have bound themselves to obey “any thing in the 
constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.”1 You 
remark that force applied to a state Government “is not hinted at in the 
constitution of the United States, because a State cannot commit treason” 
and that “it goes on the ground that every state will perform its duty” is 
I think met by the passage of the constitution to which I have pointed, as 
well as its whole tenor “The constitution of the United States and the laws 
made in pursuance of it” would never have been declared “the supreme 
law of the land” with direct and immediate power over individual citizens 
in every State “the laws and constitutions of any State to the contrary 
notwithstanding”; if the experience under the articles of confederation 
had not shewn that every state would not perform its duty.

If however, as you imagine “none of the states gave up the right to 
secede,” then indeed, the establishment of a general Government & “a 
supreme law of the land” by a solemn compact among the people of the 
several States respectively, was entirely a nugatory act. There would, then,
be no obligation in the constitution or the laws of the United States, but what is still made dependent upon the mere pleasure of the State authorities; and our system would present the absurdity of establishing a general authority, with the consent of the people in each of the States, having a paramount power “the constitution & laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding”—and nevertheless reserving to each & every one of the states, the right to overthrow by a state law, or a clause in a state constitution, the supreme law of the land!! or in other words to set it aside by secession!!

In my opinion, the admission of the right of secession, is a virtual dissolution of the Union If, it were established principle in any community, that laws are only to have such obligation as each individual might choose in his good pleasure to allow, such society (if society were possible in this state of the case) would be without laws or Government. So of the States. If the Federal Government & its laws are to be deprived of all authority in a state by its mere declaration that it secedes, the Union & all its attributes, depend upon the breath of every faction, which may obtain a momentary ascendency in any one state of the Confederacy. To insist, that secession is a reserved right, is to insist, that each state reserves the right to put an end to the Government established for the benefit of all & that there are no common obligations among the States. I hold the States expressly gave up the right to secede; when they entered into the compact binding them in articles of “perpetual union” and more especially, when the present constitution was adopted to establish “a more perfect Union” equally binding as to duration—that more perfect union consists in “the supreme law of the land” which the Government of the United States is empowered to maintain within its proper sphere independently of the States Government, & whether they pass a law or constitutional provision or not of secession or not, because it is still to be the supreme law of the land anything in the constitution or law of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.”

The only right of Secession from a government—and more particularly from a government founded upon reciprocal concessions, & obligations among the members forming it, is the revolutionary right. Secession can never take place without revolution; and I trust, if it ever should happen that one section of the union is subjected to intolerable oppression, or injustice by another, & no relief can be obtained through the operation of public opinion upon the constituted authorities, that the right may be as successfully conducted by the wronged and oppressed against our present government, as it was against that which we threw off by the revolution which established it.

I send you herewith the proclamation, the report from the Department by which it was succeeded, & the law passed consumating them. I hope on answering comparing them, you find the principles I have advanced
& the measures I have recommended, the same in effect, with those which were proclaimed and carried out by Mr Jefferson, yourself & other fathers of the school of 1798—I hope you will do me the justice to believe, that we follow precedents of such high authority & which have been sanctioned by almost universal approbation of the country from that time to this, I was altogether unconscious, that they were fraught with the dangerous tendencies, imputed to in your published letter to Mr Carson.

I beg you to believe that nothing but a wish to vindicate my conduct & consistancy to one whose character I so highly esteem—whose probity & pure patriotism gives weight to his most casual opinion—could have induced me to intrude on your retirement & disturb the repose of your age, by a discussion of the topic, which the publication of your letter invited.

With the kindest feelings and best wishes for your contentment & happiness in your last days I am Dr Sir yours respectfully

Andrew Jackson

ALS, NjP-Andre De Coppet Collection (23-0591). Draft in Blair’s hand, NjP-Blair-Lee Papers (mAJs). Draft in Blair’s hand, DLC (43); Bassett, 5:176–78. Macon replied on September 25 (below).

1. The 1809 law for which Macon had voted authorized the president “to employ such part of the land or naval forces or militia of the United States . . . as may be judged necessary” to enforce the embargo. A 1792 law, titled “An Act to provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions,” had been invoked by Washington against the Whiskey Rebellion (Statutes, 2:510, 1:264).

2. Article 3, Section 3 of the constitution.

3. Article 6 of the constitution.

4. The full title of the Articles of Confederation is “Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union.” Article 13 declares that “the union shall be perpetual.” The Preamble to the constitution states its intent “to form a more perfect Union.”

5. Blair’s first draft of this passage identified AJ’s second enclosure as his January 16, 1833, message to Congress recommending passage of what became the Force Bill (NjP-Blair-Lee Papers). Appended to it were some Treasury Department instructions to federal officers at Charleston, but no report.

To George Washington Martin

[This letter is available only in a published version.]

WASHINGTON, September 3, 1833.

Dear Major:

On yesterday I received your letter of the 9th ultimo, and had forthwith an interview with the secretary of war, who has submitted his reply to our inquiries to me, which I fully approve.

Your own good sense will at once convince you that the executive has no right to alter the treaty. It is the law of the land, and, being so, the duty of the executive is to have it strictly carried into effect. This becomes necessary to prevent speculators from imposing both on the government and
Indians. You will therefore strictly attend to the instructions of the secretary of war in every particular. The confidence reposed in you requires this, as well as your own character. The rage of speculation is abroad everywhere, and the speculators will first urge on Leflore, and when he cannot succeed to get you to do wrong they will attempt to approach you themselves. If it should happen that by including the improvements as positively prescribed by the treaty, the tract will be poor, all the Indian has to do is to relinquish it to the government and draw his 50 cents an acre. Should each reserve be permitted to abandon his improvement and select where he pleases, what of valuable land would remain from which is to be be taken the vast sum stipulated to be paid to the Indians?1

I have said to the government that you are honest and faithful. I therefore rely that you will carry into effect strictly and with good faith your instructions, regardless of all influence whatever. The treaty is a liberal and a fair one, as it respects the Indians and their safety and interest. Much depends upon its faithful execution. You can, therefore, say from me to Mr. Leflore that it will be executed faithfully for the benefit of all the Choctaw Indians. . . .

Printed, John Spencer Bassett, ed., Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, 5:179 (23-0616). The 1830 Choctaw removal treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek had awarded to various Choctaws private reservations of full or fractional square-mile sections within the nation’s ceded domain in Mississippi, each reservation to follow surveyed section lines and to include the claimant’s home and improvements. On August 9, Martin had queried the War Department about how to locate the reservations. Among other things, he asked what to do if survey lines put the claimant’s house and major improvements in separate sections, and whether a claimant whose land was rendered valueless by the survey boundaries should be allowed to select an adjacent tract of equal quality instead. Cass replied for AJ on September 3, enjoining Martin to carry out the “plain and explicit” language of the treaty. As “expressly provided” therein, a claimant’s tract had to include his dwelling, and no substitution of tracts could be allowed (SDoc 266, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 34–35, 19–20, Serial 240).

1. Martin had written that Choctaw chief Greenwood Leflore (1800–1865) was demanding flexibility in interpreting the treaty terms. Leflore pointed to the stipulation in its 18th article “that in the construction of this Treaty wherever well founded doubt shall arise, it shall be construed most favorably towards the Choctaws,” and he warned that many Choctaws suspected the government of wanting “to take the good lands, and leave them that which was valueless.” The treaty gave claimants the right to relinquish their reservations for fifty cents per acre. It awarded the Choctaws a $20,000 annuity for 20 years, plus funds for schools and other purposes (SDoc 266, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 34–35, Serial 240; Indian Treaties, 2:314–15).

Memorandum on the Bank of the United States

They Reports of the Government directors to the President. These shew conclusively absolute corruption, and profligate mismanagement of the mony of the stockholders one fifth of all, the U States—owning as it does ½ of the stock.
The report of the agent appointed by the administration to make propositions for the deposits to be well considered and speedily to be determined on

The 6 prcts paid off by the government & uncalled for to be inquired into and orders taken to relieve the Government from its responsibility. This 3rd. Sepbr. inquiry made by note of the Sec. of T. whether he has recd. report from the Bank called for on the subject of the 6 percents—not called for—the Govt. still responsible

Inquiry into the run upon the State Banks by that of the U. States—if wantonly to distress or destroy them good cause to remove the deposits. The Secretary of the Treasury Col Hamilton When the old U.S.B. was established made this a good cause for removing the deposits from the State Banks so that, when a run was made—and after wards to transfer to the State Banks when the U.S.B. made a run upon them. This is the controle given in the charter of the present & for this purpose received by letter from Col J. A. Hamilton. The power being given, it is the duty of the Executive to see that the deposits are directed in such a way as to prevent the U. S. Bank from using it to the injury of commerce, the oppression of the State Banks, or the public in general. This was considered the duty of the Executive government under Washington & Hamilton & under Mr Munroe & Crawford—and from the flagious course now pursued by the present Bank this duty is more imperious on the Executive the reasons & causes more urgent—as the B. &c & as appears from the reports of the Govt. directors of its appropriation of its funds to improper purposes.

The duty of the Executive is to see the laws executed for the prosperity & benefit of all & not for the few. The Revenue is drawn from the people for the benefit & prosperity of the whole community & not intended for the exclusive benefit of the few stockholders of the U. States B. & to be wielded to crush the State B, oppress the commercial world, & the community at large, when this can be prevented, by depositing part of the public funds in the State Banks when we find it can be done in safety and to the great benefit of the whole community.

AD, DLC (73; 23-0603).

1. Kendall reported to Duane on September 4, and Duane forwarded his report to AJ on September 9 (below).

2. AJ had written about the unredeemed six per cents to Taney on August 11 and Van Buren on August 12 (above). He wrote Thomas L. Smith on September 7 (below).

3. James A. Hamilton had written AJ on August 31 (above). AJ replied on September 8 (below).

4. William Harris Crawford (1772–1834) of Georgia had been Secretary of the Treasury under Madison and Monroe from 1816 to 1825. AJ wrote Van Buren and James A. Hamilton about his practices on September 8 (below).
From Martin Van Buren

My dear Sir

The enclosed letter from Mr Wright which was not red. until yesterday will furnish you with his views, & those of several of our most discreet friends here, upon the subject of the Deposits.

The question is presented in three points of view, viz. 1st. an application to Congress to act in the matter, with a determination on the part of the Sectres. of State & the Treasury, to fall into your views, & co-operate cordially, in the event of Congress refusing to do any thing upon the subject. 2dly. To complete the arrangements with the state Banks, and direct the future deposits to be made in them after some day, before the meeting of Congress, or 3dly. To do the same thing so far as it relates to the completion of the arrangement—have the order actually issued—the Banks designated, and every thing done, save only that the Deposits in the State Banks shall commence with the commencement of the fiscal year, viz the 1st. of Jany. I understood from Mr McLane at Nyork that the first plan would meet with his & Mr Duanes approbation. Sincerely anxious as I am to effect that object, I could not for a moment think of advising such a course. I know of nothing that Congress can properly do in the matter, until after the Secty of the Treasury has acted; & of no object to be answered by such a course, other, than to attempt to shift upon Congress the responsibility of an act of duty which devolves upon the Executive. Such a course, would, I think be alike unprofitable and discreditable. Between the two other plans I have not been able to bring my mind to entertain any very strong solicitude upon the subject. The last would I think be more in keeping with the course which the Government ought to pursue in such a case, and with that, for which you have heretofore shewn a preference; viz, one, which, whilst it looks steadfastly to the public interest, & disregards the clamour of the Bank, & its adherents; at the same time evinces no resentment or undue excitement. The arguments, pro & con, or rather some of them, are briefly as follows. In favour of the latter course it may be said, 1st. That it is the only one by which you can secure the advantage, (and a very important one it undoubtedly would be,) to have the act of transfer accompanied by a full expose of the grounds upon which it is done, & the evidences of the safety & success of the operation. I say the only way, because I take it for granted that an official expose to the people, before the meeting of Congress, when the charter directs that the reasons should be given to that body, could not but be considered exceptionable. Independent of the advantages to be derived from an immediate and successful refutation of the calumny & perversions of the thousand presses of the Bank, as to the object & motives of the act, there would be much use, for in seasonably informing the public mind upon the point of the practicability & safety of the
proposed arrangement. This subject is but very little understood. A very great proportion of the people who are indeed, by their strong repugnance to the Bank, and just apprehensions of its designs, to give their assent to the change, who, at the same time are strongly impressed with the idea that the proposed substitute will be difficult, & more hazardous than the present. A cotemporaneous publication of the contracts with the State Banks, &c, &c, shewing how easily, & how safely the whole business can be managed, and the fairness & impartiality of the selections of the State Banks, with a parade of the highly respectable, & numerous associations who have agreed to embark in the concern; and all this, accompanied by the strong reasons upon which the act is founded, could not I should think fail to overwhelm the Bank, & produce an effect upon the public which would effectually prevent any movement in Congress upon the subject: or if made, induce the people to take the matter up in public meetings, & in the form of instructions, with acting with full knowledge of the subject. 2dly. Among the grounds taken against the step, the two following will be prominent ones, viz 1st. That it is in violation & contempt of the decision of the last Congress, & 2dly. That it is founded in distrust of the present. The object of both, will be, to raise up collision, & consequent prejudice between the Executive & Legislati ve Departments, & by making some of the present Congress believe that they have been treated with disrespect, & distrust, get their passions up, & thus furnish them with an excuse for going for the Bank itself, & for a resolution condemning the removal of the Deposits. The first objection would is already obviated by the ground upon which the subject is placed in your first communication to Mr Duane, & which has been maintained since. The second would certainly derive much force from the facts—that Congress (to whom the reasons are to be given,) will be so shortly in session & that no very conclusive reason can be assigned for doing it before they get together, & in the midst of the quarter &c 3dly. By taking the last course much of this clamour will be effectually silenced & the measure probably carried into effect with the same ultimate success. 4thly. If that course is pursued, there will be time to exhibit to the Southern Banks, the arrangements made with those of the North, & thus present the whole case at once, with its naturally accumulated weight. To all this it may be added that the commencement of the year is the natural period for the commencement of the plan, and a departure from it is of itself calculated to give rise to unfavourable inferences. There are but two arguments agt. the adoption of the third course that have had weight with me, & I confess that I have found considerable difficulty in overcoming one of them. They are, 1st. That by leaving the matter open you seem in some sort to invite the action of Congress upon the subject; & 2dly the advantages which the state Banks would derive from the accruing Deposits, between the 1st. october say, & the 1st. of Jany. There is certainly much weight in the first idea, but I have pretty much brought my mind to the conclusion, that those who could
be induced to vote for a resolution disapproving of the contemplated removal with all the facts before them, as to the extent to which the matter had gone & the safety, & probable success of the arrangement, would do so, also, if it had gone into complete effect. As the arrangement is not made to injure the Bank of the U.S. or to subserve the interests of the State Banks, but to provide for that of the public, the more or less of advantages & disadvantages, resulting from the one or other course, may I think be safely disregarded—indeed, the movement would more properly resemble a Government act, if it did so.

Upon the whole I concur with Mr Wright in preferring the course thirdly referred to; but am not so strenuous about it, as to feel that I should be unable to sustain the second one, if, with a nearer & fuller view of the subject, you should find its adoption highly expedient.

Great care must be taken in the selection of the Banks in NYork. Certainly not less than three should be taken, & if possible four. Those engaged in them, like the rest of their Fellow Creatures, are very much governed by their own interests, & it would be well to consult some one, out of the City as to the proper selections. Mr Olcott, the Cashier of the Mechaniks & Farmers Bank here, is I think a man of more sense & information than any of them. He made it his business to go down, & succeeded in removing many difficulties which were raised by the N York Directors, & saw, & conversed with Mr Kendall. He is, I believe, entirely disinterested, & would I presume have no objections to give confidentially to Mr Kendall, valuable information, & opinion upon this point.1

I write this in some haste, & without much particularity, as it is for yourself only, and shall therefore send it without revision; hoping it may be of some use to you in the important matter in hand—& am very truly your friend

M. Van Buren


1. Thomas Worth Olcott (1795–1880) was cashier of the Mechanics’ & Farmers’ Bank of Albany. Three New York City banks were initially designated in late September to receive government deposits: the Manhattan Company, Mechanics’ Bank, and Bank of America.

[Enclosure: Silas Wright to Van Buren]

Canton 28th August 1833

My Dear Sir,

I went to Albany on the evening of Wednesday after I saw you and remained there until the forenoon of the Saturday after. In the course of my stay I took especial pains to talk with the friends I had previously seen upon the subject of the deposits, and the following is the result of their opinions delivered to me by each individually and with as full a knowledge as I possessed myself of the importance of the question and of the object I had in being authorised to say what their opinions were.
The Attorney General entertains the impression, under all the circumstances, that the wisest course will be not to make any movement in relation to the deposits until after the close of the next session of Congress, but, in case any thing is to be done, he is clearly of the opinion that it should be done before the meeting of Congress in December next, rather than postponed for any proposed action within the period of the session. The Secretary of State seems to entertain strongly the opinion that, notwithstanding all the difficulties apprehended, the deposits should be changed and that the change should be completed before the next meeting of Congress.¹

The Comptroller and the Register in chancery concur in opinion with the Secretary of State and with equal confidence in the rectitude and safety of their conclusion.²

Mr. Croswell I did not converse with upon the subject after I last wrote to you, and as he has been with you since that time I have no doubt you are in possession of his final opinions.

Col. Benton, who was with us at the preliminary conversation which I detailed to you in my last, I have not seen since and therefore am wholly ignorant of his opinion.

These, I think, are all the persons with whom I conversed. The Governor had not returned to Albany when I left.³ I reached this place last evening and hasten to communicate with you as I promised, presuming that you will be at Oswego about the time that this letter can reach there by the mails.

I have given this subject much of my mind since I saw you, and I confess that my inclinations have been constantly gaining strength against the opinions of those friends whose opinions I have given to you, and in whose opinions, as you know, I have been in the habit of entertaining the utmost confidence. That confidence in the general judgement of the men as sound and honest politicians is by no means impaired by the difference existing between us upon this question, but on the contrary that difference only leads me the more strongly to distrust the correctness of my own impressions. Still I am unable to believe that a change before the meeting of Congress would be preferable to a communication of the whole subject in the next message and a simultaneous appointment by the head of the Treasury department of the 1st. day of January next as the day on which the deposits will be changed. Indeed it is strongly impressed upon my mind that the latter will be a course far preferable to the former in any aspect in which I can view the subject. I have not time, nor is there space in a letter, to go into my reasons and views for this conclusion, and will therefore only say, 1st. That the subject will in that way be broken to the public in a document which comparatively all will read and understand, coming from a source in which a vast majority of the whole People have high confidence, and in reference to which the misrepresentations of the opposition press will be likely to produce less deception than in reference
to any other public document. 2nd. That in this way any apparent conflict between the action of the executive and the hasty and ill advised expression of the last House of Representatives will be obviated. 3d. That this will give time for Congress, if they choose, to act definitively and finally upon the renewal of the charter of the bank and thus virtually to determine whether or not the deposits should in fact be changed, as I assume that no man will contend that the time will not then have arrived to make preparations for the winding up of the present bank in case its charter is not to be renewed. There are a great variety of other considerations, operating with these, to bring my mind to the conclusion I have expressed but I forbear to mention them here and they will almost necessarily suggest themselves to you without being mentioned.

In answer, however, to my own suggestions, I feel bound to say that my conversations with the friends I have named satisfied me that some of them, and particularly the Comptroller, had made more inquiries and given more thought in relation to this subject than I had done, and many of his suggestions of a purely financial character I was illy able to answer. He urged with most force the peculiar situation in which those State Banks would be placed with which it should be determined to place the deposits, should the U.S. Bank be permitted to retain and continue to receive the moneys of the Government for one month after those Banks should be designated. This and all other considerations will be fully weighed by yourself as well as by the executive and his cabinet before any action takes place, and I can only say that while I retain my preference for the delayed action I am fully sensible that it is not without its difficulties.

I need not say to you that there is no difference between myself and the persons I have named as to the dangerous character, corrupt practices and evil influences of the Bank of the United States or of any other equally powerful and irresponsible moneyed monopoly, and consequently that while all of us fully concede the intrinsic justice, so far as the bank is concerned, of the change of the deposits at any moment, we have discussed this question as one of policy merely as to the time and manner and not as one of justice or principle as to the change itself.

I did, when I saw Mr. Croswell, partially conclude to take Oswego in my route home and to meet you there, but as I was not certain when you would be there and as I found that course would protract the time of my absence much beyond my original design I abandoned it, and not finding leisure to communicate to you while absent, I improve the first hour after my return to fulfil my promise. It will give me great pleasure to hear from you on this or any other subject. I am most respectfully & truly Your obdt. Servt.

Silas Wright Jr.

ALS, DLC (43).

1. Greene Carrier Bronson (1789–1863) was the New York attorney general. John Adams Dix (1798–1879), later senator and governor, was secretary of state.
2. Azariah Cutting Flagg (1790–1873) was New York state comptroller, and former congressman James Porter (1787–1839) was Register in Chancery.

3. William L. Marcy was the governor.

To Thomas Lilly Smith

September 7th. 1833—

The Register of the Treasury will furnish the President of the U. States as early as he can on Monday next with a Statement shewing the amount transferred for the payment of the six percent stock, with the amount accounted for—shewing, if any, what amount of the 6 percents remain uncalled for, & the U. States remain responsible for.

AN, Jerry L. Williams (mAJs). The next Monday was September 9. On November 26, Smith supplied the table that Taney appended to his December 17 annual Treasury Department report, showing $773,111.98 of unclaimed government debt as of October 1, including $352,694.98 in six per cents for which redemption funds had been advanced from 1826 to 1830 (SDoc 9, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 46–49, Serial 238).

From Martin Van Buren

Albany Setbr 7t. 33

My dear Sir

I hope you wont forget to take the opinion of the Attorney General on the question as to the right of the Secty. of the Treasury (of which there can be no doubt) to make the proposed arrangement with the State Banks after the deposits have been ordered to be discontinued in the Bank of the U. States. It will be best to have such a document. I leave here tomorrow morng. in company with Washington Irving to take a tour of some weeks amongst the old Dutch people on the north River & on Long Island. A letter from you (if you have occasion to write me) sent under cover to Mr Cambreleng will not fail to reach me.¹ Please destroy the enclosed[.] Your friend

M Van Buren

P.S Remember me cordially to the Ladies & all your Household

[Endorsed by AJ:] V. B—recd. 13th. 1833—A. J Inclosed for the perusal & consideration of Mr. Taney A. J. 

ALS, DLC (43). On September 21, Taney tendered an opinion to AJ affirming “the right of the Secretary of the Treasury to take security from the State banks for the safety of the public deposits, in case he should order them to be removed from the Bank of the United States.” Taney said that the power to remove the deposits necessarily entailed the power to place them elsewhere, and he quoted the Supreme Court in U.S. v. Tingey (30 U.S. Reports 115) in 1831 directly upholding the government’s “right to enter into a contract, or to take a bond,
in cases not previously provided for by some law” (DLC-43; HRDoc 123, 26th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 916–17, Serial 387).

1. Churchill Caldom Cambreleng (1786–1862) was a New York City congressman.

To James Alexander Hamilton

[This letter is available only in a published version.]

WASHINGTON, September 8, 1833.

Dear Sir:

I have postponed answering your letter of the 31st of August last, for the purpose of obtaining the correspondence you allude to, of your father’s, on the subject of changing the deposits to prevent runs upon the Bank which would produce a great pressure upon the community. I have not been able to lay my hands on it. Am informed your brother has this correspondence. Will you have the goodness to obtain them for me? Will you please provide me such information as is in your power, showing the pressure of the United States Bank on the State Banks? It is surely the duty of the Executive to administer the government for the benefit and protection of all, not for the few, and such evidence would well warrant the Executive Government to use its deposits to check oppression wherever it may be attempted. Please write. Give me all information in your power, and as we are making inquiry whether through the State Banks we can carry on the fiscal operations of the Government, and preserve a sound and wholesome currency, I will thank you for your views; and whether we ought not to commence it before the meeting of Congress by directing all collections after a certain day to be made in the State Banks. That will oblige themselves to come into certain arrangements. Give me your views on these questions, on the receipt of this. Yours very respectfully, &c.

P. S.—I find Mr. Crawford made the deposits in State Banks without any hesitation as to his power, long after the United States Bank was chartered, and made the bills of State Banks paying specie for their bills, receivable in payment of public dues for land as late as 1820 and 1822.¹ There can be, I suppose, no question of the power of the Executive through his Secretary of the Treasury to either change the deposits or direct other bank bills than those of the United States to be taken in payment of the revenue, provided United States bills are not excluded. Answer this.


¹ As he explained to the House of Representatives in 1822, Crawford had at times employed state banks as federal depositories and ordered the acceptance of notes of specie-paying state banks in payment for public lands (HRDoc 66, 17th Cong., 1st sess., Serial 66).
To Martin Van Buren

—Private, & for your own Eye—

Washington Septbr. 8th. 1833

My Dear Sir,

yours of the 4th. instant has just been received with Mr Wrights inclosed. I have but one moment to write you, as I wish to send it by this evenings mail.

I inclose you the report of the Government directors, which proves shews that the whole money of the Bank is put at the disposal of its President, to apply as he pleases, "for the benefit of the Bank." Therefore to prolong the Deposits until after the meeting of Congress would be to do the very act it wishes—that is, to have it in its power to distress the community, destroy the State Banks, & if possible corrupt congress & obtain two thirds, to recharter the Bank. ?I ask, can any honest man read the report inclosed, and say he has any confidence in the bank as a safe deposit, and if when the full expose is made of the causes which has produced the removal, can any honest man in Congress sustain the Bank? is not it an imperious duty devolving on the executive to expose the corruption practised by the Bank, and the continuation of that corruption legalised, as far as a corrupt majority of the board of directors could do it; and that not only to an unlimited amount, but without responsibility or voucher.

It appears to me, if any action whatever be taken—it ought to be before Congress meets, and make to it at its meeting, a full expose of the reasons that has induced it—and let, thro the Globe, be made, unofficially, a statement of the causes & the facts that has induced it. This will prepare the minds of the people for a full & official exposure, give strength to our friends, protect the State Banks, from oppression, & some from destruction, give them strength by which they can increase their loans to the commercial world as well as to the community at large; and to my mind this is the only step that can be taken to prevent its recharter. The Bank could not be better served than the course, you say, recommended by Mr McLane—and why adopt such a course—we find Mr Crawford as secretary of the Treasury made the deposits in such State Banks as paid Specie for their bills, and authorised the receipt of bills of various state banks to be received in payment for the public lands, and these in the cities of Boston, newyork, Philadelphia Baltimore & Richmond & District of Columbia, without any complaint of his usurping power by congress, or any body else, & never made a report on the subject to congress until called upon by resolution of Congress in 1822 and t. This was done for the benefit of the country at large; I cannot under present circumstances see why it ought not to be done now, to weaken this hydra of corruption, and preserve the Morales of the people from being destroyed. I have no
doubt of the Bank being rechartered unless by the removal of the deposits before the meeting of congress, and the effect produced by the expose of the causes, should prevent it.

I regret the division of my Cabinet on this important subject, in which I see the perpetuity of our republican Government involved, and I counted on your support firmly, in taking the stand with me to remove the deposits on the first of October next—if Mr. Kendalls report was favorable to the safety of the State B’s. I have not yet seen it—it is made to Mr. Duane, & I suppose he will make his report soon, for which I am waiting.3 Write me fully on the receipt of this, that it may reach me soon. Major Barry has not returned. In great haste yr friend

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I have to call to your recollection that the 1rst. of October is the commencement of the Fiscal year, & octr. Novbr. & December, its first quarter. January is the first month of the 2nd. quarter of the fiscal year it is therefore, that I have thought & urged it the best period, (the 1rst. of October,) to commence the Deposits for all collections made of the revenue after a certain day to be named. A. J

I wish you could be here the first week in october. I mean to adopt a course worthy of myself—of the purity of the morals of our happy country—regardless of all consequences you see the Bank has bought up the Editor of the Pennsylvanian, and our friend Noah is set up by the Bank, or I mistake the signs of the times—is it possible that your friends hesitate, and are overawed by the power of the Bank—it cannot overaw me.4 I trust in my god & the virtue of the people A. J.


1. As reported to AJ by the government directors on August 19, the November 30, 1830, BUS board resolution that first approved disseminating pro-Bank materials had authorized Biddle to take such measures to circulate them “as he may deem most for the interests of the bank” (SDoc 2, 23d Cong., 1st sess., p. 29, Serial 238).

2. Crawford’s February 14, 1822, report on his use of state banks as depositories was in reply to a House resolution of January 9, 1822 (House Journal, 17th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 130–31, Serial 62; HRDoc 66, 17th Cong., 1st sess., Serial 66). On August 1, 1820, Crawford had authorized receiving in payment for public lands the notes of incorporated banks in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, South Carolina, and Georgia, plus those of specie-paying local banks in states where the land offices were located (DNA-RG 56, M735-2).

3. Duane submitted Kendall’s report the next day, September 9 (below).

4. Mordecai M. Noah had been appointed New York City customs surveyor by AJ in 1829 and served until 1832. In 1831 he had become co-owner of the Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer, which the majority report of a House investigating committee in 1832 charged with being financially beholden to the BUS (HRRep 460, 22d Cong., 1st sess., Serial 227). Noah had just announced his launch of a new New York daily, the Evening Star. His prospectus, published in the US Telegraph on September 10, praised AJ but denounced Van Buren’s New York state political machine and its machinations to make him the next president. James Gordon Bennett (1795–1872), later of the New York Herald, was editor of the Philadelphia Pennsylvanian. Proclaiming his own fidelity to AJ’s anti-bank cause, he had
charged the *Globe* and other administration papers with undermining it by countenancing Wall Street stock-jobbers. The *Globe* had denied the charge and rebuked him on September 4 and 7. It accused Bennett of trying to sow dissension in Democratic ranks “in the service of the Bank” and labeled him “Mr. Biddle’s last hope.” Bennett wrote AJ on September 10 (below).

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**To Samuel Jackson Hays**

[This letter is extant only in a later printed version.]

*Washington, Sept. 9, 1833.*—

Dear Samuel:

I have just received your letter of the 27th ultimo. thank you for it and assure you that it is the only letter but one received from you since you left me.

My Eastern tour prostrated me. The fatigue was more than my debilitated frame could endure, and I was obliged to abandon it at Concord, New Hampshire. On my return hither I repaired to the Rip Raps, where the sea bathing and pure air was of great service to me, and I have returned with increased strength. But the accumulated business in my absence has occasioned me great labour since my return, which has again impaired my health. It is not now good, but I trust in Providence that He will make my strength equal to the burden imposed upon me until I can retire from it to the peaceful shades of the Hermitage. To that happy period I most anxiously look.

It fills my heart with sorrow to hear of the affliction of your dear mother. Present to her my most affectionate regard, with my prayers for her speedy recovery and that she may live long as a blessing and comfort to her family, and to Narcissa my best wishes.¹

Mr. Rawlings, on his way to Philadelphia, called upon and spent one day with us.² Through him I learned for the first time that your dear Frances had presented you with another fine daughter, which you called Rachel Jackson Hays. For this mark of regard to the memory of my dear departed wife I feel grateful and honored. There is something in the name delightful to me, although it brings always to me the fresh recollection of the great bereavement I have sustained in her death, but it also brings to my view that she is far from the interruption of this wicked world, happy in the arms of her dear Saviour, and admonishes me of the necessity of putting my house in order, as I must soon follow her and endeavor to unite again with her in the realms of bliss. Kiss the dear little Rachel Jackson for me and present it with my blessing that it may live and be a comfort to its parents in their declining years and an ornament to the society in which it may be placed, is my sincere prayer. Kiss Jackson and your other sweet little daughter for me, and present to your dear Frances my kind regards and my best wishes for her health and happiness.³
I see you are before the people for office. I wish you success sincerely; am sorry that you have to defend yourself from the charge of nullification. I hope your address has convinced your fellow-citizens that you have too much common-sense ever to be caught in the snare of such absurd and injurious doctrine to the peace and durability of our happy government. I am happy to hear from all sources that it is going down in South Carolina. Governor Hamilton the other day in New York has said in conversation with a friend that he has abandoned politics; that he has been offered a seat in Congress or in the Senate; that he has declined both, and will for the future attend to the education of his children. Therefore will nullification cease in South Carolina, having lost its most efficient supporters in Hamilton and Turnbull, deceased, peace to its manes and repentance to Calhoun, its originator and projector.

If I live I intend visiting home next year soon after Congress adjourns. I do not know whether I will be able to visit my friends in the neighborhood of Jackson, but will expect to see you at the Hermitage if I live to reach there. Accept of my best wishes for your prosperity and health and that of your little family. Present my best respects to all my connections, and believe me sincerely your friend,

Andrew Jackson.

P. S.—Andrew and Sarah are at Philadelphia. Write me that they are all well and their little Rachel is growing finely. I expect them in a few days. Major Donelson and Emily are with me with their three children. All well, and desire to be kindly presented to you, Frances and all their connections.

Printed, Baltimore Sun, February 18, 1892 (mAJs).

1. Narcissa Hays (b. c1792) was Samuel's sister. Their mother, Jane Donelson Hays, died in February 1834.
2. John Hutchings Rawlings (1807–1859) of Jackson, Tenn., was the grandson of Rachel Jackson's sister Catherine Donelson Hutchings and the first cousin of Andrew Jackson Hutchings. In February he had married Samuel's niece Sarah Jane Hays, daughter of the late Stockley Donelson Hays.
3. Hays's three children were Andrew Jackson Hays (1830–1878), Mary Jane Hays (c1831–1849), and the newborn Rachel Jackson Hays (1833–1861).
4. Van Buren had reported this to AJ on August 19 (above).
5. Nullifier Robert J. Turnbull had died on June 15.
From William John Duane

Treasury department, U. S.
September 9, 1833.

Sir—

On the 22d of July I sent to Mr Kendall, the agent whom you had designated, the prescribed instructions for ascertaining, whether the state banks would agree to become the agents of the government, on the terms proposed, for the safe-keeping and transmission of the public money.¹

I have now the honor to lay before you the agent's report, together with the correspondence, that took place in the course of his mission; and shall be at any time ready to co-operate in the contemplated full consideration of all matters connected with the employment of a fiscal agent. With great respect, Yr obt st

W. J. Duane

ALS copy, PPAmP-Duane Family Collection (mAjS). Duane Narrative and Correspondence, p. 96 (23-0672). SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 1st sess., p. 9 (Serial 238). Kendall’s report to Duane, submitted September 4, recounted his mission to the state banks and attached his correspondence with them. Kendall explained and justified the terms of his overture, including his offer of different security arrangements than contemplated in his instructions. Kendall summarized the banks’ responses and concluded that out of nearly fifty he had approached, all but ten or twelve would gladly receive government deposits. He reported that all his informants thought “that the Government owes it to the commercial community, immediately, to set the question of a removal of the deposits at rest one way or other,” to thwart the BUS from retaliating with measures of distress. He opined that state banks, by making their notes payable at New York, could provide a more uniform national currency than furnished by the BUS, without government intervention and without “the concentrated power that makes such an institution dangerous to the purity of our Government, and the liberties of our people” (SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 9–18, Serial 238). AJ laid the report before his Cabinet on September 10 (below).

¹. Printed versions of this letter gave the correct date of July 23 for Duane’s instructions to Kendall.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington August 10th. 1833—¹

My son—

I have just recd. your letter & Sarahs, enclosed, of the 8th. instant. I am happy to find that you have made arrangements for the furniture & that Sarah has compleated he little purchases, which will be paid by Mr Toland, whose bill I will pay on sight.

I hasten to inclose to Mr. Toland a check for one hundred dollars, for you, he will pay that sum to you—anxious that this should reach you, that no little expence may remain unpaid before you leave Philadelphia I
must close requesting you to present Sarah & my little Rachel with a kiss & my respects to all her relations, expecting you soon I remain yr. affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

[Endorsed by AJ Jr.:] I owe in Philada. $427. dol and responsible for $141 dol besides Sep 13th. AJ jr

ALS, THer (23-0313).

1. AJ misdated this letter. On August 10 he was at the Rip Raps. He recorded the $100 check to Toland for AJ Jr. in his bank book at September 10 (DLC-78).

From James Gordon Bennett

(Copy) Philadelphia 10 Sepr 1833

Sir

Knowing your high character for honor and integrity your detestation of treachery and intrigue—your determination to conduct the administration of public affairs, on manly, honest and open principles, I take the liberty of stating to you that in the course of my labours in support of your great measures, one of the blackest scenes of treachery and intrigue has taken place within my own knowledge, all the facts of which I conceive it to be my duty to myself—regard for your honor—that of your administration—and the honor and safety of the American people, to unfold, simply and fearlessly without addition or diminution in any one particular beyond truth or fact:

I accuse Amos Kendall and certain other confederates I can name, of organising a system of intrigue to controvert and overawe the free actions of the press, and to silence under the pains of party denunciation the free thoughts of free men.

I accuse Amos Kendall and certain confederates with organising a system of treachery and deceit for the purpose of calumniating the reputation of your Cabinet—and of instigating the newspapers to attack their honor and integrity towards you and the American people.1

I accuse Amos Kendall of hypocritically suggesting and wickedly insinuating bad faith and treachery against the character of the present head of the Treasury, asserting that a mysterious channel of communication exists between the Treasury and the Bank by which its directors know better what passes there than you the President does.2

I accuse Amos Kendall of instigating, through his confederates, editors of newspapers to attack the late Secretary of the Treasury, now Secretary of State, also the Secretary of War.3
I accuse Amos Kendall with being in confidential intercourse and communication with certain confederates known to be connected with speculators in stocks, and agents of persons deeply engaged in that traffic.4

I accuse Amos Kendall of faithlessly and treacherously attempting to take the government out of the hands of its President and his constitutional advisers, of threatening and directing independent men in the name and by the authority of the Chief Magistrate, for the purpose of carrying into effect the schemes of his confederates, one of them being the removal of the present cabinet, and thereby bringing the Government, the President, and his cabinet into disgrace and contempt with the American people.

Sir—I make these separate and distinct charges against Amos Kendall and his confederates—and if called upon for facts and evidence, I will go before you and your distinguished cabinet, and establish on the most indisputable testimony face to face with the said Kendall, each and every one of the charges now preferred against that individual.

Having been a voluntary and decided advocate of your elevation to the place you adorn from the first movement made by the people—having continued steadfast in that support both towards you and all your measures I know you will never consider the absence of all official connections or distinctions on my part as any adequate reasons to refuse me an opportunity to prove the several charges I have now laid before you. In the pursuit of truth and justice, a man of honor disregards the shackles of etiquette and despises results and consequences. I am Sir Your Excellency’s Most Obt Serv.

Jas. Gordon Bennett

ALS Copy, DLC-Woodbury Papers (23-0676). Philadelphia Pennsylvania Inquirer and Morning Journal, December 6, 1833. AJ showed this letter to Kendall. He wrote AJ and AJ replied to Bennett on September 12 (below).

Bennett subsequently detailed his charges against Kendall in a series titled “The Kitchen Cabinet Laid Open, To the People,” published from December 31, 1833, to January 14, 1834, in the Pennsylvania Inquirer. He accused Kendall of controlling both AJ and the press. Bennett said he had been present at an early August meeting in Philadelphia, where a “plan of operations” to effect deposit removal was “minutely laid down” by “conspirators” led by Kendall, Reuben Whitney, and Joel B. Sutherland, and where AJ’s Cabinet and Congress were “treated with derision and contempt” (Pennsylvania Inquirer, January 4, 1834).

1. In his “Kitchen Cabinet” essays Bennett arrayed evidence, including letters from Kendall and Whitney, to show that they had supplied ideas and text to himself and others for newspaper pieces, including attacks on AJ’s Cabinet (Pennsylvania Inquirer, January 2, 4, 7, 9, and 14, 1834).

2. In his series, Bennett published a July 31, 1833, letter from Kendall reproving his report in the Pennsylvanian that government deposits would not be removed from the BUS. Bennett quoted Kendall: “I do not blame you. What mysterious channel of communication exists between the Treasury and the Bank, I know not; but sure it is, that the Directors of the United States Bank know what is passing in that Department better than the President does. Do not think I suspect the Secretary. Though very wrong in some of his opinions, and I fear too timid for the times, I believe him to be an honest and honourable man—too honest to
guard with sufficient caution against some who have sought to draw forth his opinions for sinister purposes” (Pennsylvania Inquirer, January 4, 1834).

3. Louis McLane and Lewis Cass.

4. In his series, Bennett published a September 5, 1833, letter from Kendall saying he had no “interest in stocks, or any thing else, that would by any possibility lead to a suspicion that in this thing I am actuated by a selfish motive.” But in a later essay he accused Kendall of being “in close communion with stockjobbers” and of arranging a scheme by which the Manhattan Company in New York, in return for a promise of government deposits, made a large loan to the Post Office Department, which expended it in printing contracts for the Globe (Pennsylvania Inquirer, January 9 and 14, 1834).

Memoranda on a Cabinet Meeting

[These memoranda are presented in apparent order of composition. The first, on a loose sheet, was likely drawn up in preparation for Jackson’s Cabinet meeting on September 10. The second, in Jackson’s memorandum book, begins a narrative that he continued on September 19 (below).]

first—Is the State Banks, from the Report of the agents, susceptible to be made a safe depository for the peoples money.

2nd. Is not the corruption shewn by the report of the Govt. directors with the secrete application by the Bank of the money of the people, with the bold and open stand by the board taken, against the expostulation of the govt. directors, sufficient cause to be assigned for our prompt removal of the deposits.

3rd. If we do not stamp this course of the Bank with our decided disapprobation now—what excuse can we offer to the people for our inaction on this occasion—will we not justly lay ourselves under the imputation of tacitly encouragIng the Bank in the corruption shewn & missaplication of public money in open violation of its charter—Damages 158,842.77

AD, DLC (43).

1. The “Damages” coda is circled and may have been added later. $158,842.77 was the BUS’s charge to the government for costs, interest, and damages on the protested bill on France (SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 1st sess., p. 121, Serial 238).

The opinion in writing of my Cabinet on the subject of the a safe deposit being sought for vice U.S. Bank & change of Deposit was made by me of date March 19th. 1833—

The last opinion by Mr. McLane 20th. of May 1833—communicated to Mr Duane before I set out 4th of for the East which was 4 of June, that I had just got my Cabinets opinion in writing but had not time to compare them—would on my journey and from Philadelphia or Newyork, would send him my views!—see correspondence—agent appointed to
make enquiry of the State Banks &c—see instructions & his report, and previous correspondence with Mr Duane.

Mr Duane this day 10th. of Septbr. made report of the proceedings of Mr Kendall the agent—when the subject was brought before my Cabinet (Major Barry absent) when the following propositions were submitted for their deliberation and decision. 1rst. From the report of the agent Mr Kendall laid before us by Mr Duane Secretary of the Treasury with the accompanying documents is the State Banks susceptible of being made a safe Depository for the funds of the U. States.

2nd. Is or is not the corruption shewn by the report of the Directors appointed by the Government under the charter, herewith presented, shewing the secrete application, by the Bank agents, of the money of the Government as stockholders without to the corrupt purposes in said report detailed, and the order of the Board of Directors renewing the power of the President of the Bank to use the public money at will & without responsibility or voucher for the same corrupt purposes, in open contempt of the remonstraces of said Govt. Directors sufficient, cause to be assigned, for the removal forthwith of the Govt. deposits.

3rd. If we do not stamp this flagitious course of the Bank with our prompt & decided disapprobation now—what reasons or excuse can we give to the people for our apathy on this occasion—will we if we now fail to notice it—by justly lay ourselves liable to the imputation of conniving with the Bank in this system of corruption disclosed of their misapplication of the public money in open violation of its charter.

The papers placed in the hands of the Gentlemen, for the purpose of deliberation & their several opinions

AN, DLC (64; 23-0673).
1. AJ had left Washington on June 6. His June 26 letter to Duane was sent from Boston.

From Martin Van Buren

Kinderhook Sepr. 11th. 1833

my dear Sir

Your letter of the 8th. Inst. was handed to me at the moment of starting from Albany this morng., & read here. From its contents, I infer, that in the hasty perusal which you had only had time to give Mr Wrights and my letters you have misapprehendd their import. We do not as you seem to suppose, concur in the suggestion of Mr McLane, but directly the reverse. That suggestion, was, to refer the subject to Congress, without doing any thing further, & only to make an order for the removal, in the event of congress declining to act in the matter. This I objected to as useless, & discreditable, inasmuch as Congress could of right do nothing in the matter, until after the Secty of the Treasury had ordered the
removal, & that, under those circumstances, it would look like manifest-
ing a desire to shove on Congress, a responsibility, which belongs to the
Executive—a course which we would never advise you to take. In respect
to the other points—the matters stand thus. In your first letter, written
the on the eve of your departure for the Rip-Raps, you stated the ques-
tion in your mind to be; whether the removal should be completed before
the meeting of Congress; or whether the order should be made for their
removal, only—though made now, should only take effect on the first of
January only—describing that, according to the best of my recollection,
as the commencement of the fiscal year. Upon this question, you will
find from Mr. Wrights letter, that the most of our friends at Albany, with
whom he consulted, because he knew he could rely upon their discretion
& secrecy, were in favor of finishing the whole matter before the meet-
ing of Congress. He & myself however for the reasons we have assigned
preferred, upon the whole, to make every thing complete before the meet-
ing of Congress, except only, that the order for the removal should only
take effect on the first of January—believing that to be the commence-
ment of the fiscal year—a circumstance, to which I attached considerable
importance. We however merely expressed this, as a preference, not by
any means strenuously entertained, & declared, that if upon a nearer &
better view of the whole subject you should conclude, that the adoption
of the other course was necessary, we should cheerfully acquiesce, &
firmly sustain the act. These are still my views, with the exception, that
my preference for the first of January, as the period for the commencement
of making the deposits in the State Banks is very much weakened by the
alarming facts contained in the Directors Report, and the further fact, that
the first of October & not the first of Jany. is the commencement of the
fiscal year. Upon the whole, do as you think best for the honor & interest
of the Country, & count with the utmost confidence, on being sustained,
with immovable constancy, by myself, Mr Wright, & all our true friends
in this State.

Washington Irving & myself are so far on a tour which will take us
four or five weeks—after that, I intended to make you a visit, & shall do
so about the middle of October. If any thing should render it indispens-
able, or highly desirable, that I should come down sooner, I shall not
hesitate to do so. Dont forget the suggestion in my letter, about the care to
be taken in regard to the selection of the Banks in the City of Nyork. If 4
can be selected, it & I see no earthly objection to it, as it is the great point
of collection, the act will draw after it an immense weight of mercantile
influence in that City. The suggestion also in my last letter, to be fortified
by the Attorney Genls. opinion upon the point refered to, is I think deserv-
ing of consideration.

Remember me kindly to all your Household & believe me to be very
truly yours

M. Van Buren
From Amos Kendall

12th Sept. 1833.

Dear Sir,

Major Lewis has shewn me Mr. Bennett’s letter to you and the draft of your reply. If the man be not mad, it is but a new fetch to produce delay in the pending question. The idea of charging any one with conspiracy against the Cabinet when all the difficulties in which some of its members are placed, result exclusively from the attitude in which they have placed themselves upon a single question of policy, is so ridiculous that it needs no refutation. It must be shown that I have power over their will, before it can appear that I have had any agency in placing them in their present position.

I thank you most sincerely for your confidence in me, and beg that you will not, at this crisis, permit this incident to distress you in the least. If any proofs come, I shall be ready to meet them; but they will never come, unless subornation be added to the other crimes of the Bank. What never existed can be proved by no other means. The whole will end in showing still further to what lengths the Bank will go and what instruments it will employ. With the highest respect

Amos Kendall

ALS, DLC (43). AJ’s reply to Bennett’s September 10 letter follows below.

To James Gordon Bennett

Washington, Sept. 12, 1833.

Sir:

I hasten to reply to your letter of the 10th instant, which was received by this morning’s mail.

Having scarcely an acquaintance with you, and knowing nothing of your private character, I am truly astonished at the contents of your letter. Mr. Amos Kendall has been long known to me as an efficient public officer, honest and faithful in all his relations to the Government, and beyond the reach of corruption in the discharge of any duty confided to him. My personal knowledge of his claims to the respect and confidence which such
a character must command, cannot be shaken by the accusations of an individual who is unknown to me.

With this declaration of my confidence in the integrity and honour of Mr. Kendall, you will at once perceive that your charges against him cannot be noticed until they are accompanied by the evidence of reputable men. In this event he will be furnished with a copy of them, and such steps will be taken as justice to him and the Government may require. I am, very respectfully,

ANDREW JACKSON.


To Hiram Ariel Norris

[Norris (1806–1853) had entered West Point as a New York cadet in 1829. In March 1831 he was court-martialed for playing cards in barracks, pled guilty, and was ordered to be dismissed from the service, but then-secretary of war John Eaton remitted the sentence. In August 1832 Norris was again court-martialed, convicted, and sentenced to dismissal for leaving his tent between tattoo and reveille during an encampment. He appealed directly to Jackson, and on October 30, 1832, Jackson reinstated him and reduced his sentence to a reprimand, on grounds that the regulation Norris was charged with violating concerned absence from barracks rooms, not tents in camp, a situation “essentially different.” Jackson termed the court proceedings “an illustration of the danger which attends loose constructions,” and “at war with a principle of vital importance” of “rigid adherence in favor of the accused to the letter of the law.” Six days later, on November 5, Jackson likewise reduced the sentence of cadet Henry M. Naglee, charged with a similar offense, from dismissal to a reprimand (DNA-RG 153; DNA-RG 94, M91-26).

On November 26, 1832, West Point superintendent Sylvanus Thayer (1785–1872) complained to Lewis Cass that disciplinary regulations “however perfect in themselves & however well administered by the Authorities here are incapable of producing the desired result so long as the impression continues (& I assure you that the impression is deep & general) that they do not meet with the full approbation of the Executive or while it is believed that a dismissed Cadet can get reinstated whether by the influence of powerful friends or by direct & personal application to the President” (Thayer Papers, NWM). Cass replied on December 27 that, while Jackson held differing “ideas concerning some of the principles of the government” at West Point, he had not “the slightest shade of unkindly feeling towards you.” Cass urged Thayer to “dismiss the whole
subject from your mind” (DNA-RG 107, M7-1). Thayer nonetheless ten-
dered his resignation as superintendent in January 1833 (DNA-RG 94, M2047-7). It was accepted March 14, to take effect after cadet examina-
tions in June (DNA-RG 94, M91-3).

At the June examinations Norris was again dismissed from West Point, this time at the instance of the Academic Board for having accrued 225 conduct demerits, second most that year among 210 cadets. Regulations decreed that any cadet receiving more than 200 demerits a year be declared “deficient in conduct” and recommended for discharge (Register of the Officers and Cadets of the U.S. Military Academy, 1833, pp. 18, 22). Norris appealed to the War Department, and was told on June 27 that a ruling would await Cass’s return to Washington (DNA-RG 94, M91-3).]

Washington Sept. 12th. 1833

Sir,

Your letter of the 9th. inst is just recd. I hasten in reply to it to inform
you that you have mistaken entirely both the Secretary of War & myself.

Your complaint was, that the marks of misconduct had been unjustly
charged against you and that they were thus swelled to the number which
compelled the academic board agreeably to the rule to declare you dis-
missed &c &c. You made a statement of the injustice accompanied with
an affidavit of your friend, and referred to other proof to substantiate
your own statement. It was this statement which was referred to the
inquiry of Majr. De Russy who was to take testimony and report the result
to the Department, upon which the Secretary and myself were to judge.
How could we order the case to be opened for new proof except ex parte
to sustain your own statement and on that report to determine\(^1\)

I am respectfully yrs.

Andrew Jackson

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1. Norris had attempted on September 6 to supplement his appeal by presenting addi-
tional statements to De Russy, who refused them. Norris had then written to Cass on
September 7, and perhaps also afterwards to AJ, complaining that this refusal contradicted
the right to submit evidence which they had “promised explicitly” to him (DNA-RG 77).
Norris’s friend was the sculptor John Frazee (1790–1852). Norris had been Frazee’s pupil
before entering West Point, and on August 16 Frazee had written AJ attributing Norris’s
latest dismissal to “the glaring injustice of Col. Thayer,” who had been “his enemy and his
persecutor” ever since AJ reinstated him (DNA-RG 77, 23-0342).
From William Carroll

Nashville, September 12. 1833.

My dear Sir;

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your two last letters, and in compliance with your request return herewith the letter of Mr. Vaughan to you, and the communication of the British officers to him in relation to the watch word and countersign of the enemy at New Orleans on the 8th. of January 1815.

On Monday the General Assembly meet, and I am a good deal employed in preparing a Message to lay before them. I am unable to give you any satisfactory information as to the probable result of the Senatorial election at this time. But as the members come in we will be able to calculate with more certainty. It cannot be disguised however that the absence of Major Eaton has been injurious to him. The others throughout the spring and Summer have been actively employed, and their agents and friends have been busy in every county in the State. Still they may be defeated. We will do what we can.¹ At present I [. . . ] that I am, [. . . ] your friend

[Wm. Ca]rroll

ALS, DLC (75). Part of Carroll’s closing is missing.

¹ The Tennessee legislature convened on Monday, September 16. Carroll’s annual message, dated the 16th, was delivered next day. On October 8, Felix Grundy was reelected to the Senate on the 55th ballot, with 33 votes to 18 for Eaton and 9 for Ephraim H. Foster.

To James Alexander Hamilton

[This letter is available only in a published version.]

WASHINGTON, September 13, 1833.

Dear Sir:

Yours of the 11th inst. is just to hand. The correspondence of your father with the Banks, and the powers exercised by him over the deposits would be very desirable to me. I must depend upon you for them as I do not believe Mr. Duane has much desire to see this correspondence. I have, and will thank you for them or a synopsis of them, as well as all the information you can obtain on the other point named in my former letter. Believe me to be, Your friend, &c.

P. S. I have been quite unwell for a few days past—am better.

From James Alexander Hamilton

New York Sep. 13th 1833

Dear Sir,

I am prepared to give a hasty reply to the enquiries contained in your letter of the 8th. Inst. They will be considered in their order & perhaps in distinct letters.

In the first place, in compliance with your wish that I should obtain such information as was within my reach showing the pressure of the U.S. Bank on the Local Institutions in this City; I have conversed with several disinterested men well acquainted with the subject, and others who are engaged in monied transactions, & institutions who are more or less affected by the change of measures of the Banks. They all agree, that although there has been much overtrading in Stocks as well as Merchandise and although the collection of an uncommonly large amount of duties (cash & credit) has induced an extraordinary demand for money; yet, that if the U.S. Bank had not changed its measures both towards individuals & the State institutions there would have been no difficulty in the Commercial community.

The facts I understand to be these. The business of the Country generally has been very prosperous & as is almost always the case it has produced a sort of infatuation among the money makers, of all descriptions; & who is there in our Country who is not of that class? consequently almost all so engaged have extended their operations through the facilities the Banks did, & are at such times always ready to afford, to the utmost limit of their Credit, in the confidence that these facilities would be continued as long as the Banks were not forbidden to do so, by the course of the foreign exchange or from any other cause.

At the time these facilities were given & theretofore the U.S. Bank in this city extended its discounts as the others did, and allowed the State institutions to become indebted to it, in an aggregate balance of 4, 5, or 600,000 Dollars, without calling for payments in Specie. Under these circumstances I am informed 1st. that within 3 or 4 weeks the Revenue paid into the U.S. Bank on a/c of the Government has been much larger than usual & to an extraordinary amount. 2d. That the U.S. Bank has during that period not only not increased but that it has diminished its discounts.

It has refused to loan money to its dealers upon the very best security to be repaid in 5. 10. 15. 30 days or at pleasure.¹ 3d. That it determined to call upon the State Banks for payment in Specie of any Balance over an aggregate of 200,000 Dollars. 4th. That in pursuance of that determination it has within the above period withdrawn from the State Banks about 350,000 Dollars in Specie & consequently that these Banks have been compelled to suspend or reduce their discounts from one to two thirds their usual amount²—the following case has occurred. “A applies
to the Branch in this City for a loan payable at its pleasure on the most unquestionable security—it is refused & the only arrangement that would be made was that it was to purchase a foreign Draft or Bank check on Philadelphia from which it deducted according to the exigency of the Case ¼ or ⅜th. per cent.” (It is to be remarked that the expense of transporting specie from Philadelphia at this time was ten shillings per 1000 Dollars.) “B applies directly afterwards for a similar draft on Philadelphia & the officer of the Bank here turns round & asks him ¼ per cent for the Draft.” Thus receiving as an inducement to cash a check of a Bank here on a Bank in Philad. ¼ or ⅜th. per cent & at the same moment selling such check at ¼ per cent advance. This is what Mr. Mc.Duffie extolls as a Currency provided by the U.S. Bank superior to a gold or silver currency.3

To see Let us see the effect of this change of measures on the part of the U.S. Bank, upon the State institutions & the commercial community that. It is the same thing (when an increased amount of Revenue is received) whether the Bank holds on to what it receives or diminishes its discount. If it holds on to the increased amount received and at the same time diminishes its discounts the effect is tremendous. If it continues its loan line of discount to the same amount it did before the increased receipts the effect is not so ruinous but it is greatly prejudicial or not in a greater or less degree according as the increased amount received is great or not—in either case as the duties must be paid the merchants must borrow from the State Banks as much more, as is, the increased amount to be paid & consequently the credits issued to them by the State Banks must go to the U.S. Bank. and if the excess beyond the usual aggregate balance is only called for, it must be paid in specie at great expense to those Banks & inconvenience to the Dealers but if that aggregate is diminished ½ or ⅔ds. as is now the case the Banks & Merchants will be sorely pressed if not crushed. To make this matter perfectly plain let us suppose that the whole amount of discounts to this community in one week is $1,500,000 of which the U.S. Bank furnishes 500,000 & the nine State Banks the rest or 1 million. That the ordinary amount of duties to be paid is $250,000 which is paid by the Issues of all these Banks in an equal proportion to these discounts—that is to say ⅓ in the Credits given by the U.S. Bank & ⅔ by the credits given by the other Banks. This being the usual course, if the amount of Duties to be paid increases or diminishes, the demand does so also; & the several Banks make their loans accordingly—it being understood between the State Banks & the U.S. Bank that the former are not to be called upon to redeem their issues so absorbed in duties until the aggregate amounts to 500,000 Dollars. Shortly after the amount of duties to be paid increases to $500,000 a week—the U.S. Bank is the recipient of the whole, it refuses to increase its discounts. The State Banks make a great effort to supply this increased amount of duties to be paid by the merchants & when that is done their Balance to the U.S. Bank is increased & being so the U.S. Bank determines not to give them their accustomed
credit but to reduce it ½ or ⅔ & demand specie for the surplus. The hazard of the State Banks becomes imminent & to relieve themselves they are obliged to call upon their Debtors for payment, which necessarily (particularly if the latter are still required to pay an increased amount of duties) involves a great diminution in the market in the Price of Commodities forced into the market to obtain money, & ultimate ruin. Such has been the course of the U.S. Bank & such are the effects.

Such are the results of my inquiries. If any more or different information is obtained it shall be communicated without delay.

As you say “it is surely the duty of the Executive to administer the Government for the benefit & protection of all & not for the few.” I add that to that end you should so dispose of the revenues not required for the immediate purposes of the Government as that it may protect & sustain the commercial classes against the pressure of the Giant Bank. This state of things in addition to the many & forcible reasons heretofore existing for calling cutting off the all connection between the Bank & the Government seems to me fully to justify such a course on your part. But I consider the question whether you will make the change or not as settled. The mission of Mr Kendall was an avowal of your determination which cannot be recalled & which the reputation of your administration requires should be fulfilled, particularly as it was is understood that he was entirely successful. You are aware that I have heretofore questioned the expediency of such a measure & that this resulted from my fears of its effect upon the State Banks—that is to say that in consequence of the Revenue being payable in unavailable paper (Western & South western Branch notes) its receipt by the State institutions, if they were to discount upon it, would be a source of weakness rather than of strength—& to shew that this fear was not entirely groundless our friend Kendall in conversation with me here admitted that for a short period after the fact of the change the State Banks could not use the funds they would receive as the foundation of an increase of their loans. I will in the course of this communication point out a very simple arrangement which will entirely obviate that evil.

Your first question is “whether the State Banks can carry on the fiscal operations & preserve a sound & wholesome currency.” To both branches of the question I answer in the affirmative. They can; at the same time however, I must, referring to experience express my fears whether they will not unrestrained, run into excesses which will inflate the currency & consequently make it unsound. The Treasury can undoubtedly curb them, but if it cannot do so entirely, it is then the business of Congress to exercise its powers. The discussion of the latter part of the question does not therefore properly belong to that of removing the Deposits. Mr Gallatin as Secty of the Treasury used the State Banks with success as the fiscal agents of the Treasury; & when I asked him a few months ago whether they could perform that duty he replied that he had no doubt they could.
The truth is it is more difficult to find reasons to believe that they could not being properly organised for that purpose carry on the fiscal operations of the Treasury than it is to furnish reasons why they should be able to do so. They must 

avail themselves of the course of the exchanges of the Country resulting from its business as the U.S. Bank does in order to perform the same operations. That Bank does not create or regulate that exchange, it only affords it a channel. The State Banks could do the same although perhaps not so conveniently or profitably. However whatever speculations or theories there may be indulged on this subject, experience is a better guide & that you have to prove that they can be so used successfully. And let me add that as the present Bank is to be wound up & as no other is created to supply its place the Treasury must make the attempt to use the State Banks as its agents & that without delay. Nothing else seems to me to be left for it.

The next question proposed is as to the time when the change should be made. The answer to this question depends upon the mode of making the change. If the funds now in the U.S. Bank are to remain there & the collections are to be made immediately by the new agents & if my opinion of the unavailable character of the funds to be received is correct then the change ought not to be made at this period of pressure because it would increase that evil. But if the mode I propose be adopted the change ought to be made on the 1st. or before the 20th. of October that is to say without the least delay. 1st. Because it will immediately enable the State Banks to relieve the Commercial Community from the existing pressure & thus recommend the measure in the strongest manner to the good opinion of the Public. 2d. Because whenever it is done there will be a great clamour (the interested few always make more noise than the indifferent multitude) & time should be given for this to subside before Congress meets which it will do in the course of a month. The experiment having thus been made if it be not proved successful it will certainly not have produced all the evils that have been anticipated & the friends of the administration who are opponents of the Bank will come to Washington with renewed confidence & spirit.

Now as to the mode of making the change. You are aware that all monies paid for duties are paid on bonds lodged for collection in the Branch Bank or at the desk of the Cashier of the Custom house & carried into the Bank to the credit of the Collector & thus remain subject to his check until he pays them over to the United States. The 21st. § of the collection law of 1799 (the only law I believe on the subject) requires the collectors to make up their a/cs. & pay over the Public monies to the Treasury pursuant to the orders of the Secty. Under this authority it has been the practise (there being no written authority to that effect or on the subject now in the Custom House here) of the Collector to carry every Monday morning to the Credit of the Treasure of the U. S. in the Branch Bank of the United States any Balance of Public monies that may stand to his (the Collector’s)
credit in that Branch or be elsewhere under his Control. By a check drawn by the Collector in favor of the Treasurer of the U. S. & deposited in the Bank & thus the Public monies stand on Monday of each week to the credit of the Treasurer of the U. S. & subject to his Control in the U.S. Bank instead of standing as it did during the previous week to the credit of the Collector & subject to his order. This being the case let the Secty of the Treasury order the several Collectors weekly or semi-weekly to carry the Balance standing to their (the Collector’s) credit in the U.S. Branch Bank or its Branches to the credit of the Treasurer of the U. S. in the States Banks designated, by a check or checks drawn by the Collector in favor of the state Banks & thus all the difficulties as to unavailable funds are at an end. Thus the effect would be immediately to afford the State Banks a fund upon which they could discount & thus relieve the mercantile community without the fear of becoming indebted to the U.S. Bank. Whereas if the Collection of the Revenue was immediately transferred to the State Banks they would receive in its payment Western Branch notes which would burthen them at first & consequently greatly increase the present pressure. This arrangement is proposed to be merely temporary & to give a helping hand to sustain them against the Monster while he has strength & inclination to do mischief.

The residue of the remarks I have to make upon these & the other subjects of your letter will be reserved for a future communication. I have the honor to be with very great respect your friend & servt.

James A Hamilton

PS I have availed myself of my daughter Eliza’s pen to make my letter legible. She is discreet. JAH


1. Over the objection of the government directors, the BUS board on August 13 had ordered curtailments in its business, including a prohibition on increasing discounts (SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 2d sess., p. 73, Serial 267).

2. Press reports, including one excerpted in the Globe on August 27, charged that the New York BUS branch was waging “malicious war” upon the city’s banks by demanding payment in specie of its balances against them, including $200,000 on August 16 alone. On August 27, Biddle wrote Robert Lenox, a BUS director in New York, that “to avoid furnishing any pretext, however groundless, for such a charge” as would provide an excuse for removing the deposits, it would be best to “avoid calling for specie for a little while at least” (Biddle Papers, DLC).

3. Responding to the charge in AJ’s first annual message to Congress that the BUS had “failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency,” House Ways and Means chairman George McDuffie had reported on April 13, 1830, that it “has actually furnished a circulating medium more uniform than specie” (Richardson, 2:462; HRRep 358, 21st Cong., 1st sess., p. 14, Serial 201).
From James Gordon Bennett

Philadelphia 14 Sep. 1833

Sir,

I had the honor of receiving your communication of the 12th inst last evening. My present reply is brief—merely preliminary to a fuller communication hereafter.

When I transmitted to you the accusations against Amos Kendall, I was perfectly aware of the responsibility I took upon myself in furnishing evidence necessary to establish their truth. I offered the “most indisputable testimony,” by which I meant written evidence in the hand writing of Amos Kendall and his confederates now in my possession. The respectability of such evidence, though an honest man might modestly refuse partaking of its quality, will, I presume, be amply sufficient to establish the criminality of the individuals charged. But should it be otherwise, then I feel confident that a compulsory process from a committee of Congress, would bring to the bar of that honorable house multitudes of witnesses whose respectability any man might be proud to share, and whose evidence independent of the written self condemnation of the individuals themselves, would at least carry a few calm convictions to the minds both of yourself and of the American people.

I shall, therefore, take an early opportunity of preparing a full statement of the whole affair with the evidence of its truth in the hand writing and under the signatures of the individuals implicated. In the course of a few days, this will be ready. I shall then transmit the whole to your Excellency for your own consideration and further action[.] I have the honor to be Sir Your Excellencys Most Obt Sv

Jas. Gordon Bennett

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. Bennet—

From Martin Van Buren

Staatsborough Dutchess County Septbr 14th 1833

My dear Sir

Wishing to answer your last by return of mail, I gave it rather a hasty perusal, & did not notice so particularly, as I have since done, your suggestion in regard to my coming to Washington. I shall be governed in that matter altogether by your wishes. You know that the game of the opposition, is, to relieve the subj question, as far as they can, from the influence of your well deserved popularity, with the people, by attributing the removal of the Deposits to the solicitation of myself, & a monied junto in NYork, and as it is not your habit to play into the enemies hands you will not I know request me to come down immed unless there is some adequate inducement for my so doing. With this consideration in view, you have only to suggest the time when you wish me to be down, & I will come forthwith. A letter under cover to Mr Cambreleng will always reach me in a few day. I shall at all events come down some time in October, to arrange my house probly about the 20th.; If earlier is necessary you say & always remember that I think it an honor to share any portion of your responsibility in this affair.

allow me to say a word to you in regard to our friend McLane. He, & I differ to-to coelo about the Bank, & I regret to find that upon almost all public questions the bias of our early feelings is apt to lead us in different directions. Still, I entertain the strongest attachment to him, I & have been so long in the habit of interceding in his behalf, that I cannot think of giving it up, as long as I have it in my power to serve him, & his. From what passed between us at Washington, I think it possible, that he may, (if Mr Duane resigns) think himself obliged to tender his resignation also, which if accepted would inevitably ruin him. Your friends would be obliged to give him up politically & when stript of influence his former Federal friends would assuredly visit their past mortifications at his success upon him in the shape of exultations at his fall. I am quite sure that if ever he tenders his resignation he will nevertheless be anxious to remain if he can do so with honor, & if you should say in reply—that you will accept his resignation if he insists upon it but that you confide in him & notwithstanding the difference between you upon this point & that if he could consistently remain in the administration you would be gratified, I think he would be induced to withdraw it. I would not advise you to change your course for any body but it appears to me that you might go thus far consistently with what is due to all parties. I think I cannot be mistaken in believing that he told me explicitly that he did not know Mr Duanes views in regard to the removal of the Deposits when he was selected. When at Washington I informed you that I had thought of Mr
Tany for the Treasury and had not made the suggestion to you in consequence of its not meeting with Mr McLane’s concurrence. On accidentally since reading a letter which he wrote me upon the subject of Mr. Duane’s appointment I find it stated that he had not mentioned my suggestions in regard to Mr Tany to you in consequence of my request that he should not do so until I could ascertain whether Mr Butler would take the office of Attorney. Genl if he should think proper to offer it to him & which he declined consequently nothing more was said of the other idea. Although I have no distinct recollection of this although this had escaped me I presume it must be so.

Mr Irving & myself have been spending a couple of days here very pleasantly with our old friend Genl Lewis who desires me to say a word to you in behalf of the Mechanicks Bank of Newyork as one of those to be selected for places of Deposit &c. He says that that institution made him large advances as quarter master during the late war & at a period when the national finances were in the worst condition. Although I do not wish to take any part, unnecessarily, in regard to the selection I feel it my duty to bear testimony to my own knowledge of the patriotic spirit by which that particular institution was influenced at the period referred to & I shall be happy to find that it has been found possible to include it in the number—if four are selected there can be no possible difficulty upon the point. The Genl wishes to be cordially remembered to you.

Remember me kindly to all your Household & believe me to be Very truly yours

M. Van Buren

1. “Toto coelo” or “toto caelo,” Latin for “by the whole of heaven,” means completely or diametrically. McLane was a former Federalist.
2. In Van Buren’s Autobiography, the phrase is “if you should think proper to offer it to him.” Benjamin Franklin Butler (1795–1858) was Van Buren’s former law partner. AJ appointed him attorney general in November.
3. Morgan Lewis (1754–1844), former governor of New York, had been Quartermaster General of the Army in 1812–13. The Mechanics’ Bank, chartered in 1810, was one of three New York City banks selected to receive government deposits on September 26.

To Andrew Jackson Hutchings

Washington Septbr. 15th. 1833—

My dear Hutchings,

I have just received your affectionate letter of the 4th. instant from the Hermitage—your reflections on matrimony are certainly correct, & such as I fully approve. I well recollect the council I gave you on this subject long since when you were in Washington last, you will find it repeated in my answer to your letter handed by Mr. Peason and directed to you, as
you directed, at the Hermitage, which I find you had not recd. at the date of your letter, which I regret. ¹

I have in that letter fully answered your enquiry, “what you are to do with Mr. Easton’ note”—to which I refer you—and on which I conversed with Mr Pearson and gave him a written memorandom—you are to have a credit on that note for all things furnished your plantation up to Mr Easton’s death, if not fully paid by these articles furnished you must loose the balance. If the articles furnished amounts to more than his note, then you are to account with Mr Pearson for the balance against you. This was the arrangement made by Genl Coffee & myself with Mr Easton. I give you the history of this note in my last letter—it came into our possession after Genl Coffee had fully administered on the estate of your father, its existence never came to our knowledge until the date you will see it entered in the Book in which I kept the accounts of yr estate. I think it came to my possession thro Mr James Jackson enquire of him—it was a debt we knew nothing of until the note was handed to me. I think Mr Jackson told me it was for money loaned by your father to Mr Easton, but of this I am uncertain—enquire.

I am not in good health—surrounded with business, and have not time to say more at present. Say to my Dr Mary Coffee that I have been prevented from answering her very kind and interesting letter from illhealth & business—will endeavour to answer it to day.² Present me to my dear Mrs. Coffee & every branch of the family and believe me yr affectionate uncle

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THi (23-0716).

¹. August 29, above.
². This letter follows below.

To Mary Donelson Coffee

Washington Septbr. 15th. 1833—

I have, my dear Mary, been prevented from answering your very kind and interesting letter of the 12th. ultimo until now. My health had improved by my visit to the Rip Raps—but the multiplicity of business which accumulated in my absence, made a press upon me, which has impaired my health, and brought upon me an intermittent fever which is yielding to medicine. My dear Mary you are aware that there is neither contentment or happiness for me here, and keeps me in a perfect state to sympathise with my friends on all such melancholy occasions, as the great & irreparable bereavement you, your dear mother, & whole family, have been afflicted with in the loss of your dear father & my most inestimable friend—but peace to his manes—our tears or that of the whole world cannot
restore him to us again, and we must prepare to follow him. Would to god I could retire from here to private life—it would be a pleasure to me, to act in his stead as father to you all & in every act of friendship I could bestow elevate your sorrows—this at present I cannot do, but receive the assurance that my constant prayers will be offered up at the throne of grace for his blessing to you all—in him put your trusts he has promised, those who trust in him, he will never forsake.

I have just recd. a letter from A. J Hutchings—he begins to write like a man who reflects well & draws just conclusions. I have now confidence that he will become a worthy member of society, & manage his estate with occomy and care—his views of his future course, is founded in wisdom, and if carried into effect will ensure his happiness. I have long since advised him to settle himself—this he will never do until he marries—which I have long since advised him to do—if I could hear of his being well married I would be satisfied that he would do well & be happy, & from his very affectionate disposition, I am sure he would make his wife & family happy—he gives me the pleasing intelligence that you, and all your family enjoy health. To your mother & ever branch of the family present my kind salutations & prayers for their prosperity & happiness—do my dear Mary write me often—you are the only one of my female friends who has given me a letter—it gives me much pleasure to read yours—believe me my dear Mary to be your very affectionate uncle

Andrew Jackson

P.S. all my houshold are well & join me in kind wishes to you all and to A. J Hutchings.

ALS, THi (23-0711).

To Roger Brooke Taney

Septbr. 15th. 1833—

The President with his respects to the atto. Genl, Mr. Taney—requests to be informed when he will have finished his review of the papers, on the subject of the U.S. Bank, & change of deposits now before him. The conversation held yesterday with Mr McLane informed you both that I had made my conclusion that the deposits ought to be removed, and that at as early day as the necessary & proper arrangements could be made with the State Banks, and that this determination ought to be made known to the public forthwith, and that your conversation with Mr Duane, might be bottomed on this conclusion—that my opinion is, that congress has no power over the matter and that the deposits ought to be removed and day set & promulgated after which the deposits should be made of all revenue
collected, saying to the directors of U.S. Bank, that the first attempt made by them to oppress the community or State Banks, improperly, the whole of the deposits should be removed. The time is the important consideration in which the arrangements with the state banks can certainly be made—to this point I call your attention. I wish to furnish the heads of the departments with my written determination, that we may finally close the deliberations on tuesday next and put it to rest. Early in march this subject was taken up & the heads of departments called on for their opinions in writing & it has been delayed too long—it is time to bring it to a close. You will therefore please to return the paper with your views, and amendment, or alterations which you have thought proper, to make, so soon as you have finally concluded upon the correct view to be taken on it, with the other papers

If Mr Duane will not agree to carry into effect these conclusions & remains, the sooner he withdraws the better—it is known what my determination is, & if he cannot act with me, on that determination, he ought to withdraw.

P.S. will you please intimate to me your opinion of the proper time in which the arrangements can be made with the State Banks, which should be named.

[Endorsed by Aj:] Sept 15th. note to Mr Taney

AD, DLC (43). Taney replied on Tuesday, September 17 (below).

To Martin Van Buren

—Private—

My dear Sir,

Your letter of the 11th. instant is just received—its contents duly observed & noted. I have only time to say to you that I am well pleased with the spirit in which it is written—one point we have settled that the deposits are to be removed—and on tuesday next will be, as to the day to be named—this will be settled at as early a day as it is ascertained we can make the necessary arrangements with the State Banks—so soon as this point is settled upon I will write you again.

I have been perplexed much—delay after delay, which you know is perplexing to me, and particularly when it appears to me that promptness is a duty. The members of Congress elect, are now known to the Bank agents & if they can be corrupted the ample means in Biddles power will be used, & can only be checked by placing the whole matter before the people.

Taney has been firm—others wavering and Major Barry not returned. Whether Mr Duane will remain I have not positively ascertained, but
am rather inclined to believe he will withdraw. To think that he should take the stand he has, from his uniform republican principles the my full confidence I was reposed in him that from his known hostility to the Bank, that he would unite with, & go hand in hand with me to carry into effect the System began & the only one that can be adopted to prevent its being rechartered by corrupting the people, destroying the freedom of the Presses & freedom & purity of elections has pained me more than any occurrence in my life. I have told him to take the atto Genls. opinion & pursue it, he being our legal adviser, his opinion of the law, where there were doubts, ought to Govern the heads of the Departments as it did the President—he agreed to see & converse with Mr Taney; what may be the result I do not know.

I have had a good deal of perplexity and am determined to have the matter settled & the result made known to the public.

I write in haste, direct it to Mr Camberling N. York—with a request to forward it to you—in my next I will say to you the time I will wish to see you here. My whole household salutes you—yr friend

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I have been labouring under bad health for several days. I am better to day—let me know where to address you—excuse the errors that from haste you will find in this scrall—

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-0719).

From James Alexander Hamilton

New York Sepr. 15th. 1833—

Dear Sir,

The statements contained in my letter of the 13th. Inst in regard to the course of the U.S. Branch Bank in this City have all been confirmed by my subsequent enquiries & those of others made at my request. You will readily understand that it is difficult to get at the details of the movements of such an institution or the motives of its Directors but the general results are seen & felt, & the inferences are plain & irresistible.

One of the Directors here has said that the money received for duties is drawn immediately to Philadelphia; & the reason given generally by the friends of the Bank for its refusal to discount is the necessity to be prepared for the change of deposits contemplated by the Government. This is considered as merely the ostensible reason for so extraordinary a course, but the real object is to affect public opinion, & thus to reach Congress, & certain members of your Cabinet. It is presenting to those of the latter who hesitate, in anticipation, some of the evils of the measure that they have apprehended, & it is done in order that those their reasoning
in opposition to it, may receive confirmation & assistance from practical results.

If the Bank has taken this course in consequence of the anticipated change, they must continue the same unless the measure should be abandoned (which it cannot be) and they are so informed; The consequence is that the longer you delay the measure, the longer & greater is the suffering of the mercantile community, & the danger to the Government that its revenues will not be collected. Whereas if you immediately deposit with the State Banks the monies as they are collected, those who pay the duties will receive the accustomed & necessary aid—further reflection has confirmed me in the impression that the mode I have pointed out is the true, indeed the only safe one; and I am still at a loss for objections to it. The Bank cannot complain as much of this mode, as of the other in as much as by it, it enjoys in part the advantage of the deposits, while it is relieved from the whole burthen of the transportations. If it should be said that it would be a hardship upon the Bank to give it the trouble of making the Collections which are immediately to be withdrawn the answer is that the interest of the whole people is to be preferred to that of the Bank, & that the same reason might be a good one for delaying the payment of the Public or other debts of the Government: if it be urged that it is a hardship upon the Bank to receive the duties in New York in the depreciated or unavailable paper of the Western Branches, the answer is that this Branch is not bound to receive that paper & that it is an evil to the Bank of its own creation. The simplicity of this mode of doing the thing, is so great as particularly to recommend it at first. By it the Treasury & the Banks get rid of all the details of the arrangement for making the collections & time is saved. The present pressure which may cease or be removed by the Bank itself ought not to be lost to you; as it affords so good a reason for a change. It is of recent origin, is exactly that which induced the first Secty to deposit with the State Banks, it is not involved in any of the difficulties attending the other grounds for the change; unimportant when explained as I think those difficulties are; (I mean the course of Congress) & solid as are those grounds

Sepr. 17th.

I regret to be compelled to infer from your letter received yesterday that the Secty hesitates. It does appear to me that it is an occasion which any man holding that place might covet. The interesting character of the measure, its important consequences, the remarks to which it will be subjected, the strife it will produce in & out of Congress, the test it will provide of who adheres to the administration & the Country; these attendants must elevate the man who is responsible for it in the public eye to a point which no ordinary circumstances could do, & which make that department really an object of solicitude to a man of ambition & firmness & virtue. Were I he I would not only in my reasons to Congress urge the present pressure, but I would set forth the whole course of the Bank &
particularly its conduct & motives for extending its issues in 1831; when it ought to have been preparing to wind up its concerns. And let me ask whether the necessity for preparing to wind up the affairs of the Bank, does not create a necessity for this change? Ought not the Government to carry out its policy in rejecting the Bill by doing all it can to prepare the Bank to close its affairs?

Again, as to the manner of the change. I think the law of 10th May 1800 to which I referred in my last deserves some consideration. Does it not still exist & is it not to be regarded as operative? If it is, although the money after it is collected may be withdrawn, the Bonds must be deposited for Collection in the U.S. Bank, & its Branches. The views that have occurred to me on this subject are these = That law or the 3d. section of it is not now operative because it directs the Bonds to be deposited for collection in a Bank that then existed & does not now exist.² On the other hand it may be said that this law is a continuing rule of action to Collectors, that the Bank referred to is a mean merely and must be subordinate to that rule & the evil which it was intended to correct; Before that law the Collectors, collected the Bonds at the Custom House & kept the money in their own possession—this exposed the revenue to risk by fraud or negligence, whereas depositing the Bonds in the U.S. Bank, or some other Bank when there is no U.S. Bank, serves as a check upon Collectors. I throw out these views to shew that enough may be said on both sides to induce consideration. I would myself prefer to consider the law as still in force, & as compelling the Government to leave the Collection to be made as it is, while it is authorised to remove the money collected.

As you say in the P. S to your letter of the 8th. Inst. “there can be no question of the power of the Executive through his Secretary, either to change the Deposits or direct other Bank Bills than those of the U.S. Bank to be taken in payment of the Revenue provided the U.S. Bills are not excluded.”

That section of the Bank law (14th.) declares that the notes payable on demand “shall be receivable in all payments to the U. S. unless otherwise directed by act of Congress.”³ This is a privilege to the Bank of which it cannot be deprived without an act of Congress, but it is not exclusive—the notes of other Banks are & may be receivable in such payments. A question might arise if the Collectors received the duties at their desks, & not through the medium of the Banks, whether a collector of the District of N.York would be compelled to receive the notes of the Branch in Louisville & for this reason—a part of the money so received by him is to be disbursed by him in payments, particularly the payment of Debentures. Suppose the persons who receive these payments should refuse Western notes, would he be justified in insisting upon their receiving them. I think he would not as this Section declares that the Bills payable on demand are to be received. It might perhaps be insisted with plausibility at least that the law referred to such Bills only as were payable on demand at the
Bank or the Branch of this District. But whether this be so or not there can be no doubt that the Collector or the Bank substituted for him may receive gold or silver or the notes of other Banks that are payable in coin on demand, as well as those of the Bank of the United States.

I have thrown out every suggestion as it has occurred to me without examining with care its accuracy, in order that if sound you may adopt it as I would have done had we been in conversation on the subject. You will not therefore consider me as responsible for all these speculations as I should be for matured reflections.

I am still prosecuting my searches & will communicate the results as I arrive at them. With great regard Your friend & servt

James A Hamilton


LS, DLC (43).

1. The first Treasury secretary was Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton received AJ’s September 13 letter on September 16 and wrote a separate reply (below) before resuming this letter next day.

2. The 1800 law required collectors in the six major ports to deposit customs bonds in offices of the then-existing first Bank of the United States, which had closed when its charter expired in 1811 (Statutes, 2:72).

3. Section 14 of the BUS charter stated that its bills or notes “originally made payable, or which shall have become payable on demand, shall be receivable in all payments to the United States, unless otherwise directed by act of Congress” (Statutes, 3:274).

From James Alexander Hamilton

New York Sepr. 16th 1833

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 13th Instant is this moment received. I have examined with care my fathers papers—among them several letters are found from William Seaton Cashier of the Bank of New York to my father written during the years 1791, 92, 93 & 94 but none from my father to him among these the only important letter is that for which an extract is enclosed. From this it is perfectly clear that in consequence of the pressure of the Branch Bank in this City upon the “Bank of New York” The Secy of the Treasury ordered the Collector of New York to deposit the Public monies with the Bank of New York and that it was considered as a very salutary aid. I will try to obtain at the Custom House here further information on the subject. If the records then prove that at about the date of the letter from Seaton The Collector made Deposits with the Bank of N. Y. having before made them in the Branch the Proof is complete and the fact may be asserted without fear of contradiction. I will also seek information at the Bank of New York but not with much confidence of success as all
these institutions are too much afraid of the monster to divulge the truth. In haste with great respect & regard your friend & sert

James A Hamilton

[Endorsed by AJ:] Col. J. A. Hamilton inclosing a letter shewing—that A H. when Sec. of the T. ordered the deposits to be changed to the S. Banks to check the pressure of the U.S. Bank. A J.

ALS, DLC (43). Hamilton Reminiscences, p. 265. Hamilton wrote again on September 25 (below). William Seton (1746–1798) was cashier of the Bank of New York from 1784 to 1794. Alexander Hamilton wrote him on July 25, 1792, that he had instructed New York customs collector John Lamb (1735–1800) to divide his deposits between Seton’s bank and the new city branch of the Bank of the United States. Seton replied with thanks on August 6, saying that the Bank branch had already started making large and unnecessary demands for specie, and that further Treasury help might be needed “to convince them we are not destitute of aid in the hour of need” (The Papers of Alexander Hamilton, 12:102, 169–70). James A. Hamilton enclosed an extract from Seton’s letter (Hamilton Reminiscences, p. 265).

From Roger Brooke Taney

Private

Tuesday night
Sepr. 17. 1833

My Dear Sir

I agree with you that it will be proper to name the day on which in your judgment the deposits ought to be changed to the state Banks. And I think all the necessary arrangements can be made by the first of October. I conversed yesterday fully with Mr. Kendall & Mr. Ellicott on that point & they agree with me in opinion that it can safely be done by that time. Perhaps to guard against any unforeseen delay it may be well to qualify it with a proviso—“if the necessary arrangements can be made by that time.” I however feel very confident that all the necessary measures can then be ready for the change. I am fully prepared to go with you firmly through this business, & to meet all its consequences. With the highest respect I am Dr. Sir truly yours

R. B. Taney

[Endorsed by AJ:] R. B. Taney Esqr Private. Tuesday night 17th. of Septbr 1833—to be filed with my private papers—As evidence of his virtue, energy & worth. A. J.

ALS, DLC (43). The paper AJ read to the Cabinet the next day (below) incorporated Taney’s phrase in its last sentence.
Cabinet Paper on Deposit Removal

[On September 18, Jackson read a formal paper to his Cabinet announcing his decision to cease depositing government funds in the Bank of the United States. The Library of Congress holds four partial drafts of this paper and a signed full text, which was probably the reading copy. All are printed here in likely order of composition. The paper was first published in the Globe on September 23 and widely thereafter, and it appears in Richardson, 3:5–19. It was not officially communicated to Congress.]

Draft by Andrew Jackson

[Jackson wrote Van Buren on July 30 from the Rip Raps that he had begun work on a paper justifying deposit removal, and on August 12 he sent him a draft. This text is likely that draft. Van Buren returned it with revisions on August 30, along with a draft of his own that follows next. Van Buren’s deletions and insertions in Jackson’s draft are shown here as underlined text.]

The President, in stating his settled opinions, in reference to the removal of the public Deposits from the Bank of the United States, feels it a duty to those connected with him, in the conduct of public affairs, to declare with the most unreserved frankness, & in a durable form, the principles, facts & inferences, which have produced his convictions.

Among the enlightened nations of the present age, the divine right of Kings—the prerogative authority of rulers cannot maintain itself. Standing armies and military chiefs can no longer enforce a tyranny, now that when there is so much intelligence among the people, to concert & direct resistance. The mass of the people have more to fear from combinations of the wealthy & professional classes—From an aristocracy, which relying upon the influence of riches & talents, insidiously employed in the worst of corruption and deception, sometimes succeeds, in perverting political Institutions well adjusted to secure the freedom of the citizen, & of establishing the most odious & oppressive Government, under the forms of a free constitution. The people of England were enabled by their elective franchise, to revolutionise their government—to annihilate the prerogatives of the crown—and to bring under subjection the monarchy supported by a standing army. But the vast power of alliance between Church & State which has since grown up on the one hand, and the vast power they have again acquired with the national debt & pauperism on the other which they have occasioned shew that corrupt influence, is equally as potent in suppressing the rights of human nature, & rendering the great majority of the people miserable, as the most unlimited sovereignty centered in a single individual—we have seen the forms of a
free Government converted into a mere system of taxation, enabling the higher classes of the community to pray upon the rest, & to amass the means of perpetuating their subjection. Taxes distributed among noble-men King Lords, Commons, fundholders & Bankers, in largesses salaries, pensions & dividends; and returned partially to the community in bribes, to secure a House of Commons to carry on the system, is, the source of the influence, indeed, which forms the controlling power of the British Government. The Bank of England is the ally of the Government, which, by its power over the commercial and middle classes, sustains this system in a quarter of society, where from whence it would otherwise meet with effectual resistance. The misnamed American system, is the British System of corrupt influence in embryo—A Bank, with power over currency and commerce, over the people and their Representatives—a high Tariff to favor particular classes of Capitalists, and to accumulate revenue to be disbursed in jobs for the benefit of politicians who shall have obtained controlling stations in the Government may well be considered as favoring a sure lodgment for a dangerous aristocratic influence in this country.

The President has felt it his duty to exert the power with which the confidence of his countrymen has clothed him in attempting to purge the Government of all sinister influences which have been incorporated with its administration. The system of favoratism, in behalf of the monied classes masked under an unequal Tariff, in the name of protection—& the system of political bargaining, which appertained to the distribution of immense public revenues, in jobs, disguised under the name of internal improvements, have lost their hold on the Government. But the most formidable power which has been engrafted in connection with these, upon our Republican Institutions & which threaten to overshadow them all remains unequalled its power.

The Bank of the United States is in itself a government which has gradually increased in power strength from the day of its establishment. The question between it & the people has become one of power—a question which its adherents do not scruple to avow must ultimately be decided in favour of the Bank. Insulting to the Country as this boast is not altogether without foundation. The Bank has by degrees obtained almost entire dominion over the circulating medium, & with it, power to increase or diminish the price of property and to levy taxes on the people in the shape of premiums & interest to an amount, only limited by the quantity of paper currency it is enabled to issue. When to this is added the privilege of expanding spreading an official corps over all the states of the union and to put under their influence, a body of adherents in the debtors of the institution, it is manifest that if its existence is perpetuated, its continually accumulating control, must in the end become irresistible. Either in war or peace, 2a corporation exercising such powers, under the Direction of a bold, ambitious, artful presiding officer, who puts the Government at defiance, could at least embarrass, if not entirely defeat the constituted
authorities in their efforts to subserve the interests of the people. But the
greatest danger from the vast and irresponsible power concentrated in the
hands of the President and Board of Directors, is to be apprehended from
the possible cooperation of this

AD, DLC (77).
1. The page containing the text to this point has been X-ed out.
2. The handwriting from here to the end is AJ Jr.’s.

Draft by Martin Van Buren

The President thinks it due to those connected with him in the admin-
istration of the Executive Branch of the Government to state, without
reserve, and in a durable form the principal facts and influences upon
which his opinions in regard to the discontinuance of the public deposits
in the Bank of the U. States, are founded. A sincere desire to cultivate the
most perfect frankness in his official intercourse with those with whom he
has the honor to be associated in the public service, as well as to protect
this motive against present misunderstanding & future misrepresentation,
with an earnest solicitude that whatever he may find it his duty do will
may meet with their concurrence, constitute the leading inducements to
the course he has thou in this respect thought to be the proper one. He
therefore now submits to his Cabinet a correspondence upon the subject
which has taken place between the Secretary of the Treasury & himself
the officer more directly charged with this branch of the public service and
himself. The President has made it his duty business to subject the views
taken by him of the subject in this correspondence to a critical & rigid
review, and finds himself more & more confirmed in a conviction of their
correctness. He also submits the results of the subsequent reflection which
a deep sense of the its their importance has induced him subsequently to
bestow upon them the points involved in the question. If in stating them
he should repeat the substance of some of the reasons which have been
already urged he trusts the circumstance will find an ample apology in the
acknowledged delicacy of the subject.

In the papers submitted the President has distinctly stated his con-
victions—in regard to the want of authority in Congress to establish a
Bank out of the District of Columbia—to the obligation resting upon the
Executive Branch of the Government, to exercise the power reserved to it
by the charter, in seasonably providing a substitute for the fiscal agency
performed by the for the Government by the present Bank; and his con-
clusion that in view of all the circumstance his conclusion that
the present
is a proper time for the performance of that duty.

The general question has heretofore been and affected by, & is again
exposed to an adverse influence arising from considerations, which the
President believes to be unsound in themselves, & upon which he feels it
his duty to bestow at least a passing observation. That a resort to measures
for which no warrant is to be found in the constitution is ought never to be thought of, much less excused, except in those extreme emergencies, when the public safety can in no other way be secured, and that no crisis in our affairs does now exist or has ever heretofore existed which could give that character to the establishment of a national Bank are positions, to which, considered by themselves, no candid & intelligent mind would refuse its assent. Yet it is true, that a supposed necessity, an overestimate of the importance of such an institution to the welfare of the country has served in very many instances, to reconcile those who entertained serious doubts as to upon the question of power to its usurpation; and even, to circumstances, in connexion with other & unequally unfounded considerations, to induce other secure the acquiescence of others who were well satisfied, that the bestowment of such authority was not intended by those who framed, & the people who adopted the constitution. The President has not been able to bring his mind to any such conclusion. He entertains on the contrary serious doubts whether it be possible to preserve that high degree of purity and simplicity which constitutes the only sure foundation of Republican institution, from the corrupting influence of such an incorporation: and he is therefore strongly inclined to the opinion, that, even in the absence of all constitutional difficulty, the objections to it, arising from this source alone, would more than counterbalance all the advantages which might be anticipated from the continuance of that which now exists.

That allegations of the aristocratical tendencies of our institutions, and of their progress, are often thrown out to promote selfish and sinister ends is quite probable; but it is not the less undeniable, that such is the inextinguished vice of every political system, and too much vigilance & self denial cannot be exercised to restrain the sinister aspirations of wealth, & to check the growth of an authority so unfriendly to liberal government, and the just rights of the people. Reason suggests, and experience confirms the position, that nothing is so likely to has a stronger tendency to engender an aristocratical spirit, or to sustain it when it has once acquired a foothold in the community as than extensive monied incorporations with their appendages of exclusive privileges. The divine right of Kings, and prerogative authority of rulers, have fallen before the intelligence of the age. Standing armies, and military chieftains, can no longer uphold tyranny against

AD, DLC (77).

Draft by Andrew Jackson Donelson,
Andrew Jackson Jr., and Andrew Jackson

[This draft begins in Donelson’s handwriting. Insertions by Jackson are underlined.]

The President thinks it due to those connected with him in the administration of the Executive Branch of the Government to state, without
reserve and in a durable form, the principal facts and inferences upon which his opinions in regard to the discontinuance of the public deposits in the Bank of the United States are founded. By so doing he will protect his motives from present misconception and future misrepresentation, at the same time he will be following the dictates of that spirit of frankness which has heretofore characterised his intercourse with the members of his cabinet and which has so uniformly resulted in obtaining for the leading acts of the administration their united concurrence and support.

He therefore now submits to his Cabinet a correspondence on the subject of the deposits which has taken place between him & the Secretary of the Treasury, the officer more directly charged with this branch of the public service. The President has made it his business to subject the views expressed by him in this correspondence to a critical and rigid review and finds himself still more thoroughly confirmed in the conviction of their correctness. In doing so however the subsequent reflection which a deep sense of their importance has induced him to bestow upon them has been productive of some other results which he will also submit even at the expense of repeating some of the reasons which he has already urged in support of the course he has pursued on the subject.

In the papers he has already submitted, the President has distinctly stated his convictions in regard to the want of authority in Congress to establish a Bank out of the District of Columbia—to the obligation resting upon the Executive Branch of the Government to exercise the power reserved to it by the charter in seasonably providing a substitute for the fiscal agency performed for the Government by the present Bank,—and in conclusion that in view of all the circumstances the present is a proper time for the performance of that duty.

The general question has heretofore been affected by, and is again exposed to, an adverse influence arising from considerations which the President believes to be unsound, and upon which he feels it his duty to bestow at least a passing observation. That a resort to measures for which no warrant is to be found in the constitution ought never to be thought of, much less excused, except in those extreme emergencies when the public safety can in no other way be secured, and that no crisis in our affairs does now exist or has heretofore existed which could give this character to the establishment of a national Bank, are positions, to which, considered by themselves, no candid and intelligent mind would refuse its assent. Yet it is true that an overestimate of the importance of such an institution to the welfare of the country has served in many instances to reconcile those who entertained serious doubts upon the question of power to its usurpation; and even in connection with other & equally unsound considerations to secure the acquiescence of others who were well satisfied that the bestowment of such authority was not intended by those who framed and the people who adopted the constitution. The President has not been able to bring his mind to any such conclusion. He entertains on the contrary
serious doubts whether it be possible to preserve that high degree of purity and simplicity which constitute the only sure foundations of Republican institutions from the corrupting influence of such an incorporation: and he is therefore strongly inclined to the opinion, that, even in the absence of all constitutional difficulty the objections to it arising from this source alone would more than counterbalance all the advantages which might be anticipated from the continuance of that which now exists.

That allegations of the aristocratical tendencies of our institutions, and of their progress, are often thrown out to promote selfish and sinister ends is quite probable: but it is not the less undeniable that such is the inherent vice of every political system, and too much vigilance and self denial cannot be exercised to restrain the sinister aspirations of wealth, and to check the growth of an authority so unfriendly to liberal Government and the just rights of the people. Reason suggests and experience confirms the position that nothing has a stronger tendency to engender an aristocratical spirit, or to sustain it when it has once acquired a foothold in the community, than extensive monied incorporations, with their appendages of exclusive privileges. The divine right of kings and the prerogative authority of rulers, have fallen before the intelligence of the age. Standing armies, and military chieftains can no longer uphold tyranny against the resistance of public opinion. The mass of the people have more to fear from combinations of the wealthy and professional classes—from an aristocracy which thro’ the influence of riches and talents, insidiously employed, sometimes succeeds in preventing political institutions however well adjusted, from securing the freedom of the citizen, and in establishing the most odious and oppressive Government under the forms of a free constitution. The history of Great Britain is replete with lessons of instruction upon this point: and we may surely refer to and improve them to our advantage without exposing ourselves to the imputation of a want of courtesy. It is unnecessary to say that it is not in an unfriendly or illiberal spirit that they are noticed by the President. The people of England succeeded by means of the Representative principle imperfect as it existed amongst them in revolutionising their Government and circumscribing the prerogative of the crown; and also in bringing under comparative subjection the monarchy supported as it was by a standing army. But the alliance between church and state and the vast power they have again acquired, with the national debt and pauperism which they have produced, shews that corrupt influence is as potent in suppressing the rights of human nature and rendering the great majority of the people miserable as the most unlimited sovereignty concentrated in a single individual. We have seen the forms of a free Government converted into a mere system of taxation, enabling the higher classes of the community to prey upon the rest and to amass the means of perpetuating their subjection. Taxes distributed among Kings, Lords, commons, Fund holders and Bankers, in largesses, salaries, pensions and dividends, and returned partially to

· September 1833 ·

· 632 ·
the community in bribes to secure a House of Commons to carry on the system, is the source of the influence which forms the controlling power of that Government. The Bank of England is the ally of the Government, which by its power over the commercial and middle classes sustains this system in a quarter of society where it would otherwise meet with effective resistance. The misnamed American system is this British system of corrupt influence in Embryo. A Bank, with power over currency and commerce, over the people and their Representatives—a High Tariff to favor particular classes of capitalists and to accumulate revenue to be disbursed in jobs for the benefit of Politicians who shall have obtained controlling stations in the Government—may well be considered as forming a sure lodgement for a dangerous aristocratic influence in this country.

The President has felt it his duty to exert the power with which the confidence of his countrymen has clothed him in attempting to purge the Government of all sinister influences which have been incorporated with its administration. The system of favoritism in behalf of the moneyed classes masked under an unequal Tariff, in the name of protection; and the system of bargaining which appertained to the distribution of immense public revenues in jobs disguised under the name of internal improvements, have lost their hold on the Government. But the most formidable power which has been engrained in connection with these upon our Republican institutions, and which threatens to overshadow them all retains its power place.

The Bank of the United States is in itself a Government which has gradually increased in strength from the day of its establishment. The question between it and the people has become one of power—a question which its adherents do not scruple to avow must ultimately be decided in favor of the Bank. Insulting to the country as this boast is it is not altogether without foundation. The Bank has by degrees obtained almost entire dominion over the circulating medium, and with it, power to increase or diminish the price of property and to levy taxes on the people in the shape of premiums and interest to an amount, only limited by the quantity of paper currency it is enabled to issue. When to this is added the privilege of spreading an official corps over all the states of the Union and to put under their influence, a body of adherents in the debtors of the institution, it is manifest that if its existence is perpetuated, its continually accumulating control must in the end become irresistible. Either in war or peace, a corporation exercising such powers, under the direction of a bold, ambitious, artful presiding officer, who puts the Government at defiance, could at least embarrass, if not entirely defeat the constituted authorities in their efforts to subserve the interests of the people. But the greatest danger from the vast and irresponsible power concentrated in the hands of the President and board of directors is to be apprehended from the possible cooperation of the aristocracy of incorporated wealth with an official aristocracy, which having succeeded in obtaining the administration of public
affairs might be disposed to increase and perpetuate its political power. It is the natural instinct of wealth and power to reach after new acquisitions, and to aid each other in removing all the checks and obstacles devised by the caution of enlightened communities to guard against their encroachments. It was to arrest them that our Fathers perilled their lives—to guard against them in all future time was their object in framing the system of Government which they devised for their posterity. It is a sacred duty on the part of those who are called to its administration to carry their intentions into full effect, and the President is most anxious that in this respect more particularly no part of his should be left undone.

Brief as has been the career of this Government its history already furnishes examples to confirm the experience of other republics. usurpation was attempted in its infancy, and the Bank created as the instrument was found to be the ready ally of those who then invaded the principles of the Government: and now that innovations have again been broached, which could only end if successful in the destruction of the confederacy and the establishment of an unchecked and overballanced Government the Bank is found on that side on which by a law of its nature it must always be found—that which serves the few best, and the many worst. Its managers appear to be sensible that the principles of equality which belong to the present constitution fairly interpreted and honestly administered are not compatible with the duration of the monied monopoly.

The history of the Bank shews a rapidity in the growth and extension of the political influence predicted as consequent on the introduction of this new power into the Government, far surpassing the worst anticipations. The President has witnessed during the brief period in which he has been engaged in the administration, developements of the dangerous tendencies of this institution, which in his opposition to its first establishment, he had supposed, although inevitable in the course of time, would have been reserved for a later and some more corrupt period of the republic. The repugnance then felt by him to a concentration of national powers in the hands of a corporation of foreign and domestic stockholders was unconquerable. It was ever as deeply rooted as the love he cherished for the purity, simplicity and equality of the original principles of the constitution. But his solicitude that the just powers of the constituted authorities should be immediately interposed to arrest the advances of this corporation, in its improper efforts to perpetuate itself, is greatly increased by the recent exhibitions of its mischeivous faculties.

Upon the same principle that Congress has assumed power to create a corporation with a monopoly of all the Banking privileges which the national Legislature could confer, it might have made it the exclusive fiscal agent of the Treasury—nay more—might have given it the exclusive management of the whole business of the Treasury Department. It might have carried still further this principle of committing to incorporated companies an exclusive right to perform the duties of the Executive Department,
substituting them for the constitutional functionaries. It might have incor-
porated a company to take charge of our foreign relations, of the army
and the navy: and by conferring upon them a monopoly in those agencies
for twenty years, a succession of Chief Magistrates elected by the people
might have been deprived of all constitutional authority. It is but an exem-
plification of the right assumed to alienate the powers of Government and
vest them in a corporation for a term of years, that in the law establishing
the Bank, Congress has engaged not to establish any other Bank during
the existence of its charter. The national Legislature did not consider
that if it be admitted it had power to create one such agent, because con-
sidered “necessary and proper” to carry into effect the delegated trusts
of Government it must also be admitted that every congress has the
power to create as many other similar agents, as the circumstances might
hereafter show to be “necessary and proper” for the same purpose. One
congressional body cannot deprive its successors of any right conferred
on the Legislative power by the constitution to create whatever official
Agencies may be “necessary and proper” to execute the public business.
The provision, therefore, in the Bank charter, which goes to extinguish
the Legislative power of congress has power to pass asserted in the very
enactment of the charter, is clearly suicidal. If congress has power to pass
one Bank charter, it can make many, if many should be found necessary.
And the Congress which chartered the Bank, admitted that additional
agents of the like kind, might become necessary, by giving authority to the
corporation, to create Branch Banks, in the different States in the Union.
Thus while the Bank charter, in violation of the constitutional power
assumed by the body passing it, prohibited to every subsequent Congress
the right to establish another Bank, it also violated the constitution of the
United States, by making a transfer of the Legislative power to a board
of Directors, authorizing it to create as many Branch Banks as in its wis-
dom it should consider “necessary and proper” to carry into effect the
delegated powers of the General Government.

But while the congress which established the Bank, gave it a monopoly
of Banking privileges for a term of twenty years, and also a monopoly of
the assumed Legislative right to create such other Banks as it might deem
“necessary and proper” to clothe with national authority, it did not con-
fer on it a paramount and exclusive right to the possession of the public
Deposits, nor a power to act as the agent of the Treasury without the
consent of the head of the Department. The public Deposits the charter
expressly declares may be withdrawn, for such reasons as the secretary
of the Treasury shall deem sufficiently cogent and “at any time he may
order and direct.” In this, the charter reserves to the Executive what it
denies to the Legislative Department. Congress excludes itself from the
right to make any other Bank, or to deprive the corporation as constit-
tuted of any of its attributes for its term of twenty years. But the officer
of the Treasury, the Agent of the President, may deprive the Bank of its
Government agency; and if it were not so, the managers of the Bank might deny to the chief Magistrate, the means of administering the Government.

It is fortunate for then that congress in resigning so many of its own powers to the Bank beyond recall, did not also concede to it, power over the public finances, beyond control. This would have placed not only the constitutional administration of the Government, but as a consequence the Government itself, at its mercy. But as it is, the express provision of the Bank charter, in authorizing a withdrawal of the public funds, for such reasons as the Secry. of the Treasury may deem sufficient, admits the right of the public administration, to dispense with the Bank as its Agent, and that too, either partially or entirely as it may think best. Whatever funds the Treasury may entrust to the Bank as the Agent of the Treasury, it may be required to transfer to any point near, or remote. But in the event of a total withdrawal of the public monies, and withholding of them, so that it would not have even a temporary possession of any portion, it is evident, the Bank’s Agency would cease; for having nothing entrusted to it, it would have nothing to transfer or to manage.

In this state of the case, what would becomes of the pretence, upon which the Banks constitutional existence alone depends? It is expressly recognized in the charter of the Bank, that reasons may exist rendering it “necessary and proper” to withdraw from the Bank the public funds, and of course, to dispense with its intervention as a public Agent. But while this admission of the Charter, may deliver the Government and its administration from dependence upon the Bank, it does not relieve the country from its power: And yet the termination of its official Agency as a “necessary and proper” means to effect the legitimate objects of the Government, takes away that constructive foundation, which forms its only constitutional basis. It remains however in full possession of all the powers of a great Banking corporation, notwithstanding its own charter expressly provides for cancelling that connection with the Government which was called in to give the constructive right of establishing it, and notwithstanding that connection is cancelled. So that after the principle of its constitutional existence is extinct it maintains all the faculties and privileges of a most highly endowed national corporation. It retains a power beyond that of coining money given to the Government itself,—in the power to create a paper currency to supercede to a great extent and to affect the value of the coin which it is made the duty of the Legislature of the United States alone to “regulate.” Besides this, it retains the power to lend millions and make thousands of the people its debtors, and to subject the whole community to taxation directly or indirectly for the currency it issues. It retains the power also to supplant the state Banks, and to establish its own branches in their stead—and lastly the power to employ the courts of the United States and the Executive officers of the United States in collecting its debts and punishing offenders against its privileges, while it is exempted from contributing any portion of the taxes with which the
people are burthened to support those public functionaries. And thus it happens that the principle which requires that all should be taxed in proportion to their means and to the magnitude of the interests and privileges enjoyed by them is inverted in relation to the Bank. The civil and military means indispensable in peace and in war for common protection and to which the community contribute their treasure in an uninterrupted stream from year to year, the Bank avails itself of, like the privileged orders in other countries, without making the slightest compensation in return. It is privileged to tax and not to be taxed. And when the agency has ceased which is pretended to form an adequate consideration for these peculiar advantages it will be found to have been a benefit to the Bank and not a burthen.  

The President is of opinion that in addition to the reasons he has already assigned for the removal of the deposites, the principles which made it his duty to put his veto on continuing the charter of the Bank are of themselves sufficient to forbidding a further continuance of its connexion with his administration of the Government. If as he conceives, the Bank is unnecessary as an agent of the Government and therefore, unconstitutional, why should he by continuing to employ it, as an indispensible fiscal Agent contradict his own avowed doctrines—his solemn official act? why should he now by his acts, bear evidence against his principles by keeping up a connexion between the Bank and the Government, which by the constitution as well as by the admission of the Bank charter the Executive has a right to terminate; give proof in favor of all these pretentions, upon the validity of which alone, the establishment of the Bank can be justified? He has already said in his veto message, that the Bank is not necessary as a Treasury Agent, and that it is, therefore, unconstitutional. If the reason’s are valid against the power of congress to grant a new charter, are they not sufficient to justify the public officer urging them, in dissolving, that connexion between the Government and the Bank which he has pronounced unnecessary and unproper and which therefore he believes to be illicit?

But if the Veto, on the new charter did not make it imperative on the President to pursue the course suggested, that act taken in connexion with the conduct of the managers of the Bank certainly renders it expedient. It has been a just and general ground of complaint against the managers of the Institution, that as the period fixed for closing suddenly & rapidly its concerns approached, instead of gradually diminishing, it was found suddenly and rapidly extending its business, establishing new Banks in the different states, and making loans to an enormous amount. The justification presented for this great augmentation of the business and multiplication of the ties which united it with the community, at a time when it should have been regularly and carefully reducing them, was, that a renewal of its charter, and not its close was looked to, by the Bank. The nation has understood this to be, a movement to extort through its fears.
and wants a renewal of privileges, which could not be obtained from its free, uninfluenced consent. But the Bill rechartering the Bank was met and destroyed by the veto. The President cannot therefore, look to the renewal of the Charter, to prevent the mischiefs of the excessive overtrading encouraged by the Bank, to compel a submission to the terms it dictated, in regard to the renewal of its privileges. The President in resisting successfully, the attempt of the Bank to impose itself on the people against their will and among its other monopolies, to assert a perpetuity through a succession of Charters, has incurred the obligation to provide as far as practicable against the evils, which the managers of the Bank having predicted must ensue on a refusal to comply with its demands, are probably prepared to inflict as the report of the G. directors, & other of their late conduct toward the State Bank indicates as well from vindictive inclination, as from a disposition to make good their doctrine, that a national Bank is necessary to the Government.

[The text, which is now in Andrew Jackson Jr.'s hand, is marked at this point for an insertion from a separate sheet. The insertion, by Donelson, is a reworking of a standalone memo by Jackson. Printed here is Jackson's memo, followed by Donelson's insertion.]

The sincerity of all men must be tested by deeds—not professions, when their acts contradict them. The P stands pledged to the world, that a renewal of the charter of the U.S. with all its unconstitutional powers & corrupting influence shall never meet his approval. The late doings & corrupt course that (by the resolution of its board) authorising its President to use the money of the B. without responsibility or producing vouchers "for the interest of the Bank" &c—with the large sums expended to corrupt public morals, & interfering with the election as exposed by the report of the Govrn. directors destroys with me all confidence in it and as a safe deposit for the peoples mony—it therefore becomes the imperious duty of the Executive to stamp this conduct of the Bank with some act of his reprobation. A scire facias would have been ordered to revoke its charter, was it not for the short period of its existence & other causes not necessary here to state & an unwillingness in the Executive to do any act injurious to the Stockholders that has not become imperious for the protection of the public funds, the general good of the community at large, & the public morals.

No one can doubt from the exposure recently presented by the report of the Government directors, that the managers of the Bank are now employing all the means which money can procure them in moulding public sentiment to favor their application for a new charter. The money of the institution appears to have been placed for this purpose at the discretion of the President without the slightest responsibility in its expenditure: and in accordance with the spirit of such an unauthorised act it appears that
large sums are openly devoted to the dissemination of favorite political views and in various ways to the corruption of the public morals. In the face of facts of such an alarming character, sustained by the report here-with appended, the President feels his obligations to act to have become imperious. He feels is satisfied that they warrant a procedure by scire facias, a step which he would take under the judicial authority to annul its charter, but for the short period it has now to run, and an unwillingness to do any act injurious to the stockholders that is not rendered necessary for the protection of the public funds and the good of the community at large.

[The main text resumes.]

The Deposits of the Treasury, cannot be considered at all necessary to the Bank of the United States, in inflicting upon the community, the distresses, which its managers assert must unavoidably follow its steps in closing its affairs. The funds of the Government may, however, be beneficially felt through those Institutions, the circumstances of which enable them to extend Banking facilities to the country. The President conceiving that for this reason, it is the duty of the Executive Department, to withdraw the funds from that Institution which must necessarily reduce its business, (as well because it has already extended it too far, as because it must comply with the laws of its Charter) and to place the deposits in those Banks to which they would impart new power to be useful & shield them from the oppression of the U.S. Bank. By making the deposits in those state Institutions, which shall upon careful examination be found to have managed their business faithfully and prudently—which shall be found capable of granting facilities to the commerce of the country, instead of feeling it necessary to their interests to oppress it—which shall be found ready to give to the Government free access to all their accounts and full information in regard to all their transactions, instead of practising concealment as the Bank of the United States has done—which shall be found able and willing to act as the Agents of the Government, guaranteeing the safety of the Deposits by unquestionable securities, and agreeing to transfer the public monies to any part of the world free of charge, instead of speculating upon such agency, by making the public Deposits in such Institutions and making their notes receivable in payment of the public duties, the President believes, that the fiscal concerns of the Government may not only be as well and conveniently managed, but the means afforded the state Banks, to prevent the difficulties threatened, as concomitant upon the closing of the business of the Bank of the United States. The notes of the State Banks acting as Agents of the Treasury, will be every where current for the same reason, that those of the Bank of the United States are now so. They will supply the vacuum occasioned by the withdrawal of the notes of the closing Institution and they will be able to make loans to such of its Debtors as are solvent, but who require time to meet their engagements without sacrifice.
The State Banks, in not having the vast immunities which have had the effect of bringing the Government under a dependance to its creature the Bank of the United States, will prove much more faithful and just in the performance of their Agencies intrusted to them. Competition among the monied corporations to obtain the Government Deposits and an extended circulation for their issues, will produce promptitude and punctuality in the discharge of a service, which will form the consideration in return for the benefits bestowed by the Government. The chartered monopoly which the Bank of the United States considered it had a right to claim, in the favor of the Government has emboldened it to convert the opportunities advantages, the credit and the funds derived from its connexion with the Treasury into the means of making exactions upon the Government.

The late case of the French bill, on the protest of which, the Bank has claimed damages, is a striking instance of the disposition of the Bank, to use the funds it holds from the Government, in committing extortion upon it. The Bank was enabled to purchase this large Bill, only in consequence of the credit and ability, derived from its connexion with the Treasury and the deposits of the public resources. When the Bank bought this bill from the Secretary of the Treasury (which amounted to nearly a million) it had several millions of the public money in its coffers and a large sum, say upwards of one million, paid into bank on the 6 per ts—which the U. S. is still bound for, & which the Bank, says, has not been called for. This circumstance enabled it, to purchase the Bill at its own price, because none other was able to buy so large an amount of exchange at once, but that Institution which had the treasures of a nation in its keeping. The Bank, therefore, being without a competitor, that could command funds not its own and free of all charge to make so large a purchase, obtained the Bill on its own terms; and it proposed only to pay to the Government, about par for funds in Europe, worth between 6 and 8 per cent premium. But failing in this speculation, it immediately asserted, a claim for damages to the Amount of $____ although it, in fact, paid no part of the sum for the payment of which, it demanded the damages. The whole transaction consisted in a merely nominal advance—a transfer of money on the Books, to the credit of the United States, while the Bank retained the possession and the use of it—and in Europe the sum realized by the sale of the Bill to the Barrings was sufficient immediately to reimburse the Hottinours at Paris, for taking it up. The Bank, then sustained no damage. It suffered disappointment only in not realizing a speculation, to the amount of the difference of exchange between this and Europe. It was disappointed in its gains and the relief expected from the possession of the money arising from the French treaty, but it lost nothing by the transaction—a transaction which grew out of the Legislation of the friends of the Institution in congress, and which was calculated to afford it resources, while laboring from the demands for the payment of the 3 per cents. The money, for which the Bill was drawn was not wanted
by the Government, (which has always had an excess in deposit) but for
the Bank which was in difficulty—and yet the Bank charges damages,
because the want of punctuality in the French Government, prevented the
Treasury from rendering it all the service intended. But the Agent of the
Government requites the efforts of the Government made to sustain its
credit, not only by a demand for damages, but by attempts to discredit the
Government, as unable to pay its Bill, when in fact the proceeds of its sale
to the Barings were adequate to meet the advances of the French Bankers,
while the Bank in Philadelphia, retained in its own possession, the whole
amount of the pretended advance, so that, in truth, no part of the means
of the Bank was extended to protect the credit of the Government. The
Bank and its Agents, although resting upon the funds of the Government,
then in possession, in all their operations to meet the Bill, nevertheless
permitted it to be protested to dishonor the drawer and then took it up
for the honor of the Bank. This is the fidelity of the Institution created as
the Agent of the Government to afford facilities to sustain its credit—an
Institution which was saved at the threshold, from impending ruin, by
the utmost extention of the resources and credit of the Treasury; and with
an immense sacrifice of the profits on its stock, the consequence of the
gambling transactions which marked its early mismanagement. It is in
this mode, that it makes good the damages sustained by the Government,
in the appropriation of nearly a million of the ordinary interest accruing
on its stock to cover its first malversations. And this is the gratitude with
which the Government is requited, for the immense deposits with which it
has continued to support the Institution and which, indeed, have formed
throughout its most available capital!!

So in the case of the 3 per cents, the Government was made the victim
of the Bank policy. Its purposes were not only thwarted, by the Agent,
whose duty it was to carry them into effect, but the Government was
actually made to pay, for the means employed by the Bank, to counteract
its leading object = the extinction of the National Debt. It is now known,
that by the immense loan of upwards of 20 millions in the West to accom-
plish political aims, the Bank had exhausted its own as well as the means
put by the Government in its possession. It thus, at a time, when it was
well understood, that the policy of the administration, and the expecta-
tion of the country, would require the public funds in its keeping to be
applied to the payment of the National Debt, directed them to another
and sinister purpose. If, as was pretended, the distresses produced by the
cholera and the necessity of making loans to merchants to enable them
to discharge their custom house Bonds, had been the real motive for this
misaplication of public money, it would have found no justification. A
public Agent, the creature of the Government, cannot with propriety,
exert a right to decide what causes would justify it, in a defeat of the
settled purposes of the public authorities, to whom alone the people have
entrusted the direction. If this were so, it would be to make the discretion
of the subordinate agent, a law for the people and their responsible representa- 
tives. But the assumed ground, upon which the managers of the Bank re- 
lied, to vindicate a misapplication of the public funds and the disabling 
the Institution to perform its duties to the Treasury, had no foundation in 
fact. The cholera did not exist in the country when the exhausting loans 
were made, nor were facilities extended to the payers of the custom house 
bonds. On the contrary the accomodations to the merchants are found to have been curtailed during the time for which the indulgence was asked; 
and the extraordinary loans which made the delay necessary, was lavished 
previously, in the Western States, without any obvious inducement, but 
the approach of a political crisis, of which those states were supposed to be the arbiters. The first postponement, which was solicited under pre- 
tence of affording relief to the merchants, was in fact made necessary by 
the efforts of the Bank, to put down the administration, and when granted 
by the President, the respite was employed to defeat for a year longer, the 
accomplishment of the objects of the administration. An agent was sent 
to England at a considerable expence, to defer the payment of the public Debt—and the Barings were employed, a percentage allowed them, with 
the privilege of giving an increased interest, for the purpose of preventing 
the public Creditors from doing, what they had been called upon by the 
Government to do. And here the Bank is presented as a Treasury agent 
defeating the most cherished policy of the Government, and at a moment 
when the payment of the Public Debt, was rendered peculiarly necessary 
to place the Country in an attitude most propitious to the adjustment 
of a Revenue System, upon a basis to preserve the peace and union of 
the states. In such a scheme as this the Bank is found employing foreign 
Agents and paying them in part out of the money of the Government, held 
as a stockholder in the Bank.

It has always been a favorite maxim with the American people, to form 
no “entangling alliances” to draw them within the vortex of European 
policy. But if the Government of the Bank can already venture to bring 
in, the great Bankers of Europe as its allies in controlling the affairs of this 
Republic, it appears to the President, that a new era may possibly arise 
in the progress of a few years in which the capitalist abroad may have an 
influence over the destinies of this country akin to that exercised by them 
in the states beyond the atlantic. The conduct of an American admin- 
istration may not only be subjected, to the control of its own citizens, 
entrusted as a corporate body with the management of its finances, but 
through them, to the influence of the foreign Capitalists, with whom they may have identified their interests. If the managers of the national Bank 
can now employ the credit of the Bankers abroad to arrest the measures of 
the present administration, why may not the European Bankers, on some 
other occasion, exert the power of the United States Bank, to frustrate 
designs, which they may deem injurious to them or their country? Suppose 
a question of peace or war, pending in Congress, is it not possible that the
great Holders of stocks abroad, the creditors of nations, might operate on the Bank of the United States associated with them in interests, and through it wield an influence decisive of the question? A few votes sometimes, improperly influenced, might frustrate the will of the nation and subject its rights and honor to disparagement. But if the Representatives of the people should resolve at any time, to vindicate by arms the cause of the country, might not the Agent, created to facilitate its operations, combine, as it has now combined, with foreign capitalists in foiling its efforts? Even at this juncture of great prosperity, it has availed itself of an accidental occurrence to tarnish, as far as practicable, the credit of the Government—with the disposition thus evinced to oppose the views and impair the credit of Government, it might in a period of adversity and war, if permitted to enjoy its present connexion with the financial system of the Country, give a direction to its own and the power of associated monied aristocracies at home and abroad, completely destructive of the credit and resources of the Treasury.

The Managers of the Bank of the United States have already given evidence, that they are as willing to adopt the principles, as they are to avail themselves of the assistance of the European monied domination. It has notoriously introduced the system of influence, which may be said, to resolve all the powers of government into that of the purse. The Press has been subsidized by the Bank to an extent without an example in any other Country, and leading Editors, distinguished for their opposition to the Bank, have been suddenly converted into zealots in its favor after receiving large loans, from the payment of which some of them have already been exonerated by releases. In addition to this regular mode of purchasing the support of the more important presses, large sums have been expended in the printing and in the circulation of pamphlets and Extra newspapers, for the double purpose of operating upon the general and state elections, and of securing the permanent influence of the patronized presses by the occasional largesses thus bestowed. Even since the last Presidential election, when it might have been supposed, that the decision of the people would have put an end to the electioneering prodigality of the Bank, there is reason to believe that nearly $40,000 of the money of the Government and the other stockholders, have been expended, by the principal Bank alone, on this sort of political Job-printing, and when the discovery was made, as reported made known to the P. U. States—the President of the Bank in admitting the fact, justified the course, upon the ground, that the Bank had been assailed, and had a right thus to defend itself.

The principle is thus avowed, that in the elections, involving the question of the renewal of the Bank charter, its managers have a right to use the money of the nation, and the private stockholders, to control the results. Is this so? Have the Board of Bank Directors, a right to wield the force of the corporation, to carry votes to the Polls? Is there any clause of the constitution, which authorizes congress to delegate a power, to make
such a disposition of the public funds? Or have those entrusted with them, a right to apply them to other purposes, than those specified in the charter to the business of Banking?

The question of rechartering the Bank is one, which does not involve any of its rights, and with which, as a corporation, it cannot properly interfere. It is a question of public, not private interest. Congress, if it have any right to grant a new charter, can do so, only for the sake of the community, and not to satisfy any just claims which the corporation can assert. The pretention, that the Bank as a corporate body may spend the money of the Government and Stockholders in waging a political contest, to secure to them a renewal of privileges and pecuniary advantages, is not only an insult to the community, but a flagrant outrage as it regards the spirit of our Institutions, and an abuse of trust in relation to the Stockholders. If the Stockholders, in their individual character, choose to exert an undue influence over the elective franchise, through the means of their wealth, the difficulty of guarding by law against its corrupting power, is so great, that the rich may always possess themselves of an unequal share of control in the Government. But if the Bank can be lawfully made, the instrument of its managers and stockholders, to bring to bear in the elections, not only the whole concentrated force of that privileged class among our own citizens, but of foreign subjects associated with them in interests, the equality of the Government must soon be entirely subverted. The vast machinery of the corporation, operating by its Branches and official corps, throughout all the states of the union, and which may every where be put simultaneously in motion to effect a particular object, by the secret order of a committee of Directors at Philadelphia, was never designed to confer with its faculties of amassing wealth, for its Stockholders, such facilities for its effectual distribution, for the purpose of incorporating political power, with Banking privileges. The consent of the whole body of Stockholders, thus to divest their profits to an illicit traffic in politics, would not justify the managers of the Bank for such prostitution of its means and perversion of its powers. But when the funds of the Government and the stockholders are taken secretly and without their consent, (and even without the consent of the board of Directors, misapplied, in ministering to such abuses, the public wrong is aggravated by the private injury committed. It is a breach of trust towards the Government and the Stockholders, and to say the least, a malversation as regards their property. The President who considers the interest of the Government as a stockholder, especially committed to his care, entertains the opinion, that if there were no other reason for removing the public deposits, sufficient cause is found in the bad faith which has been observed towards the Government in relation to its funds as a Stockholder, and the depredation committed on them, from the improper motives to which he has adverted.

The managers of the Bank, however, have not confined the application of the money of the Government and stockholders, to operate upon the
press and the purity of the Elections. When unsuccessful in controlling
the suffrages of the intelligent and independent freemen of the country,
the system has been pursued in relation to their Representatives, and the
influence of the Bank exerted, to induce them to misrepresent the will of
their constituents.

The President will does not presume that members of Congress are
accessible to this sort of influence, and have abandoned their own prin-
ciples, their sworn duty to the constitution and their constituents, under
its operation—but no one can doubt that the managers of the Bank in
furnishing exchange to members of Congress, without charging them,
the premium which its usages required of others—in making them large
loans upon extraordinary terms and upon doubtful securities—and in
furnishing means from the funds of the Bank, to enable the President of
the Bank to provide them with entertainments, meant to avail themselves,
of all the influence, which money can exert, over the actions of men to
control the deliberations of congress. 16 How far the appeals have proved
efficacious can never be known, but to the searcher of hearts. It is certain
however that several of those who had distinguished themselves through
a course of years, as the decided opponents of the Bank, upon the ground
of constitutionality, as well as expediency, suddenly upon receiving, the
accommodations of the Bank, have become, in some instances neutrals—in
others anxious and active advocates of the Institution, upon all the points
upon which they had previously opposed it. And the inference, that an
undue influence has been exercised over a portion of the Representatives
of the people, some have supposed, might be fairly drawn from the cir-
cumstances, that while the Bank has been enabled to obtain the passage of
a new charter, from the Representatives body, the veto on it, has met the
approbation of the people themselves.

But the extent of the improper influence, exerted by the Bank and
the mode of applying it, are only partially known. A few insulated facts
only have emerged, from the secret proceedings of the two or three indi-
viduals, who as a committee controul the confidential transactions of
the Bank, to shed light upon them. The Government Directors, have
been cautiously excluded from the important committees, through which
 alone the extraordinary business, to which allusion is made, has been
conducted. The Exchange Committee, which has, against an express rule
of the Bank and in violation of the letter and spirit of its charter, assumed
the principal duty of the board in the Business of Discounts, is shut to the
Representatives of the Government stock. They are not permitted, there-
fore, it may be presumed to know much in relation to the business of the
Branches, when they are thus excluded from participation in the duties
of the Board, to which they belong. And yet it may be well conjectured,
that the Branches further removed from scrutiny, and occupying the best
positions to subserve the views of the Bank by interposing its influence in
favor of its candidates in the different states, have been deeply engaged
in those political operations, which incontrovertible proofs, have made manifest to be the policy acted on and sanctioned by the managers of the principal Bank. From these Branches may it not be supposed, the Attornies—Editors and the other Political Agents of the Institution, who came in immediate contact with the people, receive those supplies, which it is known, the principal Bank affords, to its city Editors and Agents?

There is certainly much to encourage suspicion upon this subject, in the concealment which has been perseveringly practised, by the managers of the Bank, and those in its interests. The majority in the late congress, although the application for a new charter was made four years in anticipation of the close of the present charter, at first repelled the proposition to enquire into the condition of the Institution, or the manner in which it had been conducted. When, at last, a committee of Examination, was extorted, by an apprehension for the consequences of such an unprecedented attempt to evade the enquiry for which provision is made in the charter granted, it was so restricted, as to prevent a full investigation into the state of the Bank; And the application of the Executive for a more complete and extended developement, of the affairs of the corporation, comprehending the Branches, was defeated by confining the second examination within much narrower limits than the first.17

But however desirable it might be, to the American people to obtain a full investigation of the concerns and the course of this monied Government, which contrary to the Genius of all their original Institutions, has veiled its conduct and wielded its power, in secrecy—however useful a perfect exposure of the hidden management of those public agents who have so long acted in privacy and without responsibility to the mass of the community, might be, in affording a lesson teaching us, for the future, to adhere to the principles, the purity and simplicity of Republican Government, in the opinion of the President enough is known, to make it his duty, to sever the connexion between the Bank and the Government, so far as he has the legal means to effect it. He knows that the Bank, has proved unfaithful as an agent of the Government—that it has been partially, corruptly and dishonestly managed, in reference to the community, the Government, and the Stockholders—that it has attempted to assume a political control, and has in violation of its charter, as well as the spirit of all our institutions, applied mercenary means, to act upon the press, the people and their Representatives. From these facts he is deeply impressed with the conviction, that to continue relations between the Government and the Bank—which would tend to support its dangerous influence & abuses—which would in effect, contribute the public funds to give the Bank a strength, beyond its own intrinsic energy, to defeat the will of the people and to secure a renewal of its Charter and a perpetuation of its power in the Government—would be to promote a result “inconsistent with the duration of the happiness and liberties of the people.”18
Sincerely entertaining these views the President considers, that he would make

1. The BUS charter pledged that during its existence, “no other bank shall be established by any future law of the United States” outside the District of Columbia (Statutes, 3:276).
2. The text changes here to AJ Jr.'s hand.
3. A marginal note here reads: “Quere as to the necessity of saying this & whether it is quite intelligible Quere as to the propriety of this.”
4. The BUS charter authorized the directors to establish branches “wheresoever they shall think fit” (Statutes, 3:273).
5. A paraphrase from Section 16 of the BUS charter (Statutes, 3:274).
6. The text here reverts to Donelson’s hand.
7. Article 1, Section 8 of the constitution grants Congress power “To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin.”
8. The Supreme Court in *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819) barred states from taxing BUS branches.
9. The text here changes again to AJ Jr.’s hand.
10. Richardson, 2:582–84.
11. This was the BUS board’s resolution of November 30, 1830, quoted by the government directors in their August 19 report to AJ (SDoc 2, 23d Cong., 1st sess., p. 29, Serial 238).
12. The French firm of Hottinguer & Co., the BUS’s banker in Paris, had presented the bill for payment and taken it up itself when the French government refused.
13. The legislation was the clause in the March 1833 Appropriation Act authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to lend the installments due under the 1831 French convention to the BUS until the money was distributed to the claimants (Statutes, 4:628).
14. George Washington’s 1796 Farewell Address had declared it America’s “true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world,” and Thomas Jefferson’s 1801 inaugural address had urged “honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none” (Richardson, 1:223, 323).
15. A marginal note here reads: “quere—can this be possibly shown quere—can this be shown.”
16. A marginal note opposite this next sentence reads: “Would it not be safest to leave this out I am inclined to think so.” The entire text from here to the end of the paragraph is marked for deletion with the word “out.”
17. A marginal note opposite this sentence reads: “too [ . . . ] a charge upon the late congress.”
18. Quoted from William J. Duane’s July 10 letter to AJ (above).

Draft fragment by Amos Kendall

*[This text was incorporated with little change into the paper’s closing paragraphs. The underlined passages are insertions by Roger Taney.]*

to corrupt the nation and subject the government to his will. In his opinion, the action of the general government on this subject ought not to extend beyond the grant in the constitution which only authorizes Congress “to coin money and regulate the value thereof.” All else belongs to the states and the people, and must be regulated by public opinion and the interests of trade.

In conclusion, the President must be permitted to remark, that he looks upon the pending question as of higher consideration than the mere transfer
of a sum of money from one Bank to another. Its decision is likely to involve may affect the character of our government for ages to come. Should the Bank be suffered longer to use the public moneys in the accomplishment of its purposes with the proofs of its faithlessness and corruption before our eyes, the patriotic among our citizens will despair of success in struggling against its power, and we shall be responsible for the entailing it upon our country forever. Viewing it as a question of transcendent importance both in the principles and consequences it involves, the President could not, in justice to the responsibility which he owes to the country, refrain from pressing upon the Secretary of the Treasury, his view of the considerations which impel to immediate action. Upon him has been devolved by the constitution and the suffrages of the American people the duty of superintending the operations of the executive departments of the government and seeing that the laws are faithfully executed. Upon the In the performance of this high trust, it is his undoubted right to express to those whom the laws and his own choice have made his associates in the administration of the government, his opinion of their duties under circumstances as they arise. It is this right which he now exercises. Far be it from him to expect or require, that any member of the cabinet should, at his request, order or dictate, do any act which he believes unlawful or in his conscience condemns. From his own officers and from his fellow citizens in general, he desires only that aid and support which their reason approves and their conscience sanctions. He trusts he will never wish to be served by any one who gives up his sense of right for the possession of office and substitutes mean subserviency for honest zeal. In the remarks he has made on this all important question, he trusts the Secretary of the Treasury will see only the solemn frank & respectful declarations of solemn convictions which must govern the President in his official course, of the opinions which President has formed on a measure of great national interest and deeply affecting the character & usefulness of his administration; and not a spirit of dictation which the President would be as careful to avoid as unwilling to submit to ready to resist. Happy will he be, if the facts now disclosed produce uniformity of opinion and unity of action among the members of the administration; but if this should not be the fortunate result, each must do his duty according to his conceptions of it according to the dictates of his own conscience and his own view of the obligations he owes to his country, and the dictates of his own conscience.

AD, DLC (77).

1. The text from here to the end is X-ed out.
Text by Andrew J. Donelson

[This signed full text was probably the reading copy. It is nearly identical to the version published in the September 23 Globe and with very slight alteration in Richardson, 3:5–19.]

Read to the Cabinet on the 18th Sepr. 1833

Having carefully and anxiously considered all the facts and arguments, which have been submitted to him, relative to a removal of the public deposits from the Bank of the United States, the President deems it his duty, as well to prevent misconceptions as to put them in durable form, to communicate in this manner to his cabinet the final conclusion of his own mind and the reasons on which they are founded, in order to put them in durable form and to prevent misconceptions.

The President’s convictions of the dangerous tendencies of the Bank of the United States, since signally illustrated by its own acts, were so overpowering when he entered upon the duties of chief Magistrate, that he felt it his duty, notwithstanding the objections of the friends by whom he was surrounded, to avail himself of the first occasion to call the attention of Congress and the people to the question of its recharter. The opinions expressed in his annual message of December 1829 were reiterated in those of December 1830 and 1831, and in that of 1830 he threw out for consideration some suggestions in relation to a substitute. At the session of 1831–2 an act was passed by a majority of both houses of Congress rechartering the present Bank upon which the President felt it his duty to put his constitutional veto. In his message returning that act he repeated and enlarged upon the principles and views briefly asserted in his annual messages, declaring the Bank to be, in his opinion, both inexpedient and unconstitutional, and announcing to his countrymen very unequivocally, his firm determination never to sanction by his approval the continuance of that institution or the establishment of any other upon similar principles.1

There are strong reasons for believing that the motive of the Bank in asking for a recharter at that session of Congress, was to make it a leading question in the election of a President of the United States the ensuing November, and all steps deemed necessary were taken to procure from the people a reversal of the President’s decision. Although the charter was approaching its termination and the Bank was aware that it was the intention of the Government to use the public deposits as fast as it accrued in the payment of the public debt, yet did it extend its loans from January 1831 to May 1832 from $42,402.30 to $70,428.07, being an increase of $28,026.766 in sixteen months.2 It is confidently believed that the leading object of this immense extension of its loans was to bring as large a portion of the people as possible under its power and influence: and it has been disclosed that some of the largest sums were granted on very unusual terms to conductors of the public press. In some of these cases the motive was made manifest by the nominal or insufficient security taken for the
loans, by the large amounts discounted, by the extraordinary time allowed for payment, and especially by the subsequent conduct of those receiving the accommodations.

Having taken these preliminary steps to obtain control over public opinion the Bank came into Congress and asked a new charter. The object avowed by many of the advocates of the Bank was to put the President to the test, that the country might know his final determination relative to the Bank prior to the ensuing election. Many documents and articles were printed and circulated at the expense of the Bank, to bring the people to a favorable decision upon its pretensions. Those whom the Bank appears to have made its debtors for the special occasion, were warned of the ruin which awaited them should the President be sustained: and attempts were made to alarm the whole people by painting the depression in the price of property and produce, and the general loss, inconvenience and distress, which it was represented would immediately follow the reelection of the President in opposition to the Bank.

Can it now be said that the question of a recharter of the Bank was not decided at the election which ensued? Had the veto been equivocal or had it not covered the whole ground—if it had merely taken exceptions to the details of the Bill or to the time of its passage—if it had not met the whole ground of constitutionality and expediency, then there might have been some plausibility for the allegation that the question was not decided by the people? It was to compel the President to take his ground stand that the question was brought forward at that particular time. He met the challenge, willingly took the position into which his adversaries sought to force him, and frankly declared his unalterable opposition to the Bank on the ground of unconstitutionality and inexpediency as being both unconstitutional and inexpedient. On that ground the case was argued to the people, and now that the people have sustained the President, notwithstanding the array of influence & power which was brought to bear upon him, it is too late, he confidently thinks, to say that the question has not been decided. Whatever may be the opinions of others the President considers his reelection as a decision of the people against the Bank. In the concluding paragraph of his veto message he said:

“I have now done my duty to my country. If sustained by my fellow citizens, I shall be grateful and happy: if not, I shall find in the motives which impel me, ample grounds for contentment and peace.”

He was sustained by a just people, and he desires to evince his gratitude by carrying into effect their decision so far as it depends upon him.

Of all the substitutes for the present Bank which have been suggested, none seems to have united any considerable portion of the public in its favor. Most of them are liable to the same constitutional objections for which the present Bank has been condemned, and perhaps to all there are strong objections on the score of expediency. In ridding the country of an irresponsible power which has attempted to control the Government, care
must be taken not to unite the same power with the Executive branch. To give a President the control over the currency and the power over individuals now possessed by the Bank of the United States, even with the material difference that he is responsible to the people, would be as objectionable and as dangerous as to leave it as it is. Neither the one nor the other is necessary, and therefore ought not to be resorted to.

On the whole, the President considers it as conclusively settled that the charter of the Bank of the United States will not be renewed, and he has no reasonable ground to believe that any substitute will be established. Being bound to regulate his course by the laws as they exist and not to anticipate the interference of the Legislative power, for the purpose of framing new systems, it is proper for him seasonably to consider the means by which the services rendered by the Bank of the United States are to be performed after its charter shall expire.

The existing laws declare, that “the deposits of the money of the United States, in places in which the said Bank and branches thereof may be established, shall be made in said Bank or branches thereof, unless the Secretary of the Treasury shall at any time otherwise order and direct, in which case, the Secretary of the Treasury shall immediately lay before Congress, if in session, and if not, immediately after the commencement of the next session, the reason of such order or direction.”

The power of the Secretary of the Treasury over the deposits is unqualified. The provision that he shall report his reasons to Congress is no limitation. Had it not been inserted, he would have been responsible to Congress had he made a removal for any other than good reasons, and his responsibility now ceases upon the rendition of sufficient ones to Congress. The only object and effect of the provision are to make his reasons accessible to Congress and enable that body to more readily to judge of their soundness and purity, and thereupon to make such further provision by law as the Legislative power may think proper in relation to the deposit of the public money. These reasons may be very diversified. It was asserted by the Secretary of the Treasury without contradiction as early as 1817 that he had power “to control the proceedings” of the Bank of the United States at any moment “by changing the deposits to the state Banks,” should it pursue an illiberal course towards those institutions; that “the Secretary of the Treasury will always be disposed to support the credit of the State Banks, and will invariably direct transfers from of the deposits of the public money in aid of their legitimate exertions to maintain their credit”; and he asserted a right to employ the state Banks when the Bank of the United States should refuse to receive on deposit the notes of such state banks as the public interest required should be received in payment of the public dues. In numerous several instances he did transfer the public deposits to state Banks in the immediate vicinity of branches for reasons connected only with the safety of those banks, the public convenience and the interests of the Treasury.
If it was lawful for Mr. Crawford, the Secretary of the Treasury at that
time to act on these principles it will be difficult to discover any sound rea-
son against the application of similar principles in still stronger cases. And
it is a matter of surprise that a power which in the infancy of the Bank was
freely asserted as one of the ordinary and familiar duties of the Secretary
of the Treasury should now be gravely questioned and attempts made to
excite and alarm the public mind as if some new and unheard of power
was about to be usurped by the executive branch of the Government.

It is but a little more than two and a half years to the termination
of the charter of the present Bank. It is considered as the decision of
the country that it shall then cease to exist, and no man, the President
believes, has reasonable ground for expectation that any substitute other
Bank of the U States will be created by Congress. To the Treasury depart-
ment is entrusted the safe keeping and faithful application of the public
moneys. A plan of collection different from the present must therefore be
introduced and put in complete operation before the dissolution of the
present bank. When shall it be commenced? Shall no step be taken in this
essential concern until the charter expires and the Treasury finds itself
without an agent, its accounts in confusion, with no depository for its
funds and the whole business of the Government deranged? or shall it be
delayed until six months, or a year, or two years before the expiration of
the charter? It is obvious that any new system which may be substituted
in the place of the Bank of the U States could not be suddenly carried into
effect on the termination of its existence without serious inconvenience to
the Government and the people. Its vast amount of notes are then to be
redeemed and withdrawn from circulation and its immense debt collected.
These operations must be gradual, otherwise much suffering and distress
will be brought upon the community. It ought to be not a work of months
only but of years, and the President thinks it cannot with due attention to
the interests of the people be longer postponed. It is safer to begin it too
soon rather than to delay it too long.

It is for the wisdom of congress to decide upon the best substitute to be
adopted in the place of the Bank of the U states: and the President would
have felt himself relieved from a heavy and painful responsibility if in the
charter to the Bank Congress had reserved to itself the power of directing
at its pleasure the public money to be elsewhere deposited and had not
devolved that power exclusively on one of the Executive Departments. It
is useless now to inquire why this high and important power was surren-
dered by those who are peculiarly and appropriately the guardians of the
public money. Perhaps it was an oversight. But as the President presumes
that the charter to the Bank is to be considered as a contract on the part
of the Government it is not now in the power of Congress to disregard
its stipulations: and by the terms of that contract the public money is
to be deposited in the Bank during the continuance of its charter unless
the Secretary of the Treasury shall otherwise direct. Unless therefore the
Secretary of the Treasury first acts Congress have no power over the subject for they cannot add a new clause to the charter or strike one out of it without the consent of the Bank; and consequently the public money must remain in that institution to the last hour of its existence unless the Secretary of the Treasury shall remove it at an earlier day. The responsibility is thus thrown upon the executive branch of the Government, of deciding how long before the expiration of the charter, the public interest will require the deposits to be placed elsewhere. And altho according to the frame and principles of our Government this decision would seem more properly to belong to the Legislative power, yet as the law has imposed it upon the Executive Department, the duty ought to be faithfully & firmly met, and the decision made and executed upon the best lights that can be obtained and the best judgement that its means of information will enable it to form can be formed. It would ill become the executive branch of the Government to shrink from any duty which the law imposes on it, to fix upon others the responsibility which justly belongs to itself. And while the President anxiously wishes to abstain from the exercise of doubtful powers, and to avoid all interference with the rights and duties of others, he must yet with unshaken constancy discharge his own obligations: and cannot allow himself to turn aside in order to avoid any responsibility which the high trust with which he has been honored requires him to encounter. And it being the duty of one of the Executive Departments to decide in the first instance subject to the future action of the Legislative power, whether the public deposits shall remain in the Bank of the U. States until the end of its existence or be withdrawn some time before, the President has felt himself bound to examine the subject question carefully and deliberately in order to make up his judgement on the subject; and in his opinion the near approach of the termination of the charter, and the public considerations herein before mentioned are of themselves amply sufficient to justify the removal of the deposits without reference to the conduct of the Bank or their safety in its keeping.

But in the conduct of the Bank may be found other reasons very imperative in their character, and which require prompt action. Developments have been made from time to time of its faithlessness as a public agent, its misapplication of public funds, its interference in elections, its efforts by the machinery of committees to deprive the Government directors of a full knowledge of its concerns, and above all its flagrant misconduct as recently and unexpectedly disclosed in placing all the funds of the Bank including the money of the Government at the disposition of the President of the Bank as means of operating upon public opinion and procuring a new charter without requiring him to render a voucher for their disbursement. A brief recapitulation of the facts which justify these charges and which have come to the knowledge of the public and the President, will, he thinks, remove every reasonable doubt as to the course which it is now the duty of the President to pursue.
We have seen that in sixteen months, ending in May 1832, the Bank had extended its loans more than $28,000,000, although it knew the Government intended to appropriate most of its large deposit during that year in payment of the public debt. It was in May 1832 that its loans arrived at the maximum, and in the preceding March, so sensible was the Bank that it would not be able to pay over the public deposit when it would be required by the Government, that it commenced a secret negotiation without the approbation or knowledge of the Government with the agents for about $2,700,000 of the three per cent stocks held in Holland, with a view of inducing them not to come forward for payment for one or more years after notice should be given by the Treasury Department. This arrangement would have enabled the Bank to keep and use during that time the public money set apart for the payment of these stocks.

After this negotiation had commenced the Secretary of the Treasury informed the Bank, that it was his intention to pay off one half of the three per cents on the first of the succeeding July which amounted to about $6,500,000. The President of the Bank, although the committee of investigation was then looking into his its affairs at Philadelphia, came immediately to Washington, and upon representing that the Bank was desirous of accommodating the importing merchants at New York, which it failed to do, and undertaking to pay the interest itself, procured the consent of the Secretary after consultation with the President to postpone the payment until the succeeding first of October.

Conscious that at the end of that quarter the Bank would not be able to pay over the depositories and that further indulgence was not to be expected of the Government, an agent was dispatched to England secretly to negotiate with the holders of the public debt in Europe and induce them by the offer of an equal or higher interest than that paid by the Government to hold back their claims for one year during which the bank expected thus to retain the use of $5,000,000 of public money which the Government should set apart for the payment of that debt. The agent made an arrangement on terms, in part, which were in direct violation of the charter of the Bank, and when some incidents connected with this secret negotiation accidentally came to the knowledge of the public and the Government, then and not before, so much of it as was palpably in violation of the charter was disavowed! A modification of the rest was attempted with the view of getting the certificates without payment of the money and thus absolving the Government from its liability to the holders. In this scheme the Bank was partially successful but to this day the certificates of a portion of these stocks have not been paid and the Bank retains the use of the money.

This effort to thwart the Government in the payment of the public debt that it might retain the public money to be used for their private interests, palliated by pretences notoriously unfounded and insincere, would have justified the instant withdrawal of the public deposits. The negotiation itself rendered doubtful the ability of the Bank to meet the demands of
the Treasury, and the misrepresentations by which it was attempted to be justified as clearly proved that no reliance could be placed upon its allegations.

If the question of a removal of the depositories presented itself to the Executive in the same attitude that it appeared before the House of Representatives at their last session their resolution in relation to the safety of the depositories would be entitled to higher respect. The decision of the question of removal has been confided by law to another Department of the Government. But the question now occurs attended by other circumstances and new disclosures of the most serious import. It is true that in the message of the President which produced this inquiry and resolution on the part of the House of Representatives it was his object to obtain the aid of that body in making a thorough examination into the conduct and condition of the Bank and its branches in order to enable the Executive Department to decide whether the public money was longer safe in its hands. The limited power of the Secretary of the Treasury over the subject disabled him from making the investigation as fully and satisfactorily as it could be done by a committee of the House of Representatives and hence the President desired the assistance of Congress to obtain for the Treasury Department a full knowledge of all the facts which were necessary to guide his judgement. But it was not his purpose as the language of his message will shew to ask the Representatives of the people to assume a responsibility which did not belong to them, and relieve the Executive branch of the Government from the duty which the law had imposed upon it. It is due to the President that his object in that proceeding should be distinctly understood, and that he should acquit himself of all suspicion of seeking to escape from the performance of his own duties, or of desiring to interpose another body between himself and the people in order to avoid a measure which he is called upon to meet. But although as an act of justice to himself he disclaims any design of soliciting the opinion of the House of Representatives in relation to his own duties in order to shelter himself from responsibility under the sanction of their counsel, yet he is at all times ready to listen to the suggestions of the Representatives of the people whether given voluntarily or upon solicitation, and to consider them with the profound respect to which all will admit that they are justly entitled. Whatever may be the consequences however to himself he must finally form his own judgement where the constitution and the law makes it his duty to decide and must act accordingly. And he is bound to suppose that such a course on his part will never be regarded by that elevated body as a mark of disrespect to itself. But that they will on the contrary esteem it the strongest evidence he can give of his fixed resolution conscientiously to discharge his duty to them and to the country.

A new state of things has however arisen since the close of the last session of Congress and evidence has since been laid before the President.
which he is pursuaded would have led the House of Representatives to a
different conclusion if it had come to their knowledge. The fact that the
Bank controls and in some cases substantially owns, and by its money
supports, some of the leading presses of the country is now more clearly
established. Editors to whom it loaned extravagant sums in 1831 and
1832, on unusual time and nominal security, have since turned out to be
insolvent, and to others apparently in no better condition accommodations
still more extravagant, on terms more unusual and sometimes with-out
any security, have also been heedlessly granted.

The allegation which has so often circulated through these channels
that the Treasury was bankrupt and the Bank was sustaining it, when at
no-time for many years has there has not been on an average less than
six millions of public money in that institution, might be passed over as
a harmless misrepresentation; but when it is attempted by substantial
acts to impair the credit of the Government and tarnish the honor of the
country such charges require more serious attention with six millions of
public money in its vaults, after having had the use of from five to twelve
millions for nine years without interest, it became the purchaser of a bill
drawn by our Government on that of France for about $900,000, being
the first instalment of the French indemnity. The purchase money was left
in the use of the Bank, being simply added to the Treasury deposit. The
Bank sold the bill in England and the holder sent it to France for collec-
tion, and arrangements not having been made by the French Government
for its payment it was taken up by the agents of the Bank in Paris with the
funds of the Bank in their hands. Under these circumstances it has thro
its organs openly assailed the credit of the Government and has actually
made and persists in a demand of fifteen per cent or $158,842.77 as dam-
ages, when no damage or none beyond some trifling expense has in fact
been sustained, and when the Bank had in its own possession on deposit
several millions of the public money which it was then using for its own
profit. Is a fiscal agent to the Government which thus seeks to enrich itself
at the expense of the public worthy of further trust?7

There are other important facts not in the contemplation of the House
of Representatives or not known to the members at the time they voted
for the resolution.

Although the charter and the rules of the Bank both declare that “not
less than seven directors” shall be necessary to the transaction of business,
yet the most important business even that of granting discounts to any
extent is entrusted to a committee of five members who do not report to
the board.8

To cut off all means of communication with the Government in rela-
tion to its most important acts, at the commencement of the present year
not one of the Government directors was placed on any one committee
and although, since, by an unusual remodelling of those bodies some of
those directors have been placed on some of the committees, they are yet
entirely excluded from the committee of exchange through which the
greatest and most objectionable loans have been made.

When the Government directors made an effort to bring back the busi-
ness of the Bank to the Board in obedience to the charter and the existing
regulations, the Board not only overruled their attempt, but altered the
rule so as to make it conform to the practice, in direct violation of one of
the most important provisions of the charter which gave them existence.

It has long been known that the President of the Bank, by his single will,
originates and executes many of the most important measures connected
with the management and credit of the Bank, and that the Committees
as well as the board of Directors are left in entire ignorance of many acts
done and correspondence carried on in their names and apparently under
their authority. The fact has been recently disclosed that an unlimited dis-
cretion has been and is now vested in the President of the Bank to expend
its funds in payment for preparing and circulating articles and purchas-
ing pamphlets and newspapers calculated by their contents to operate on
elections and secure a renewal of its charter. It appears from the official
report of the public directors, that, on the 30th. November 1830, the
President submitted to the Board an article published in the American
Quarterly Review containing favorable notices of the Bank and suggested
the expediency of giving it a wider circulation at the expense of the Bank;
whereupon the Board passed the following resolution: viz.

"Resolved, that the President be authorised to take such measures in
regard to the circulation of the contents of the said Article, either in whole
or in part, as he may deem most for the interests of the Bank"

By an entry in the minutes of the Bank dated March 11th. 1831, it
appears that the President had not only caused a large edition of that
article to be issued, but had also, before the resolution of the 30th.
November was adopted, procured to be printed and widely circulated
numerous copies of the reports of Genl. Smith and Mr. McDuffie in favor
of the Bank, and on that day he suggested the expediency of extending his
power to the printing of other articles which might subserve the purposes
of the institution. Whereupon the following resolution was adopted—viz:

"Resolved, that the President is hereby authorised to cause to be pre-
pared and circulated, such documents and papers as may communicate
to the people information in regard to the nature and operations of the
Bank."

The expenditures purporting to have been made under authority of
these resolutions during the years 1831 and 1832 were about $80,000.
For a portion of these expenditures vouchers were rendered, from which
it appears that they were incurred in the purchase of some hundred
thousand copies of newspapers, reports and speeches made in Congress,
reviews of the veto message, and reviews of speeches against the Bank
&c &c including printing, folding, packing, distributing, and postage.
For another large portion no vouchers whatever were rendered, but the
various sums were paid on orders of the President of the Bank making reference to the resolution of the 11th. March 1831.

On ascertaining these facts and perceiving that expenditures of a similar character were still continued, the Government directors a few weeks ago offered a resolution in the Board calling for a specific account of these expenditures, shewing the objects to which they had been applied and the persons to whom the money had been paid. This reasonable proposition was voted down.

They also offered a resolution rescinding the resolutions of November 1830 and March 1831. This also was voted down rejected.

Not content with thus refusing to recal the obnoxious power or even to require such an account of the expenditure as would shew whether the money of the Bank had in fact been applied to the objects contemplated by those resolutions as obnoxious as they were, the Board renewed the power already conferred and even enjoined renewed attention to its exercise by adopting the following in lieu of the propositions submitted by the Government directors: viz:

"Resolved, That the Board have confidence in the wisdom and integrity of the President and in the propriety of the resolutions of 30th. November 1830 and 11th. March 1831, and entertain a full conviction of the necessity of a renewed attention to the object of those resolutions, and that the President be authorised and requested to continue his exertions for the promotion of said objects."10

Taken in connection with the nature of the expenditures heretofore made as recently disclosed, which the Board not only tolerate but approve, this resolution puts the funds of the Bank at the disposition of the President for the purpose of employing the whole press of the country in the service of the Bank, to hire writers and buy newspapers, and to pay out such sums as he pleases, to what persons and for what services he pleases, without the responsibility of rendering any specific account. The Bank is thus converted into a vast electioneering engine with means to embroil the country in deadly feuds, and under cover of expenditures in themselves improper, extend its corruption thro’ all the ramifications of society.

Some of the items for which accounts have been rendered shew the construction which has been given to the resolutions and the way in which the power it confers has been exerted. The money has not been expended merely in the publication and distribution of speeches, reports of committees or articles written for the purpose of shewing the constitutionality or usefulness of the Bank. But publications have been prepared and extensively circulated containing the grossest invectives against the officers of the Government: and the money which belongs to the stockholders and to the public has been freely applied in efforts to degrade in public estimation those who were supposed to be instrumental in resisting the wishes of this grasping and dangerous institution. As the President of the
Bank has not been required to settle his accounts, no one but himself yet knows how much more than the sum already mentioned may have been squandered and for which a credit may hereafter be claimed in his account under this most extraordinary resolution. With these facts before us can we be surprised at the torrent of abuses incessantly poured out against all who are supposed to stand in the way of the cupidity or ambition of the Bank of the U States? Can we be surprised at sudden and unexpected changes of opinion in favor of an institution which has millions to lavish and avows its determination not to spare its means when they are necessary to accomplish its purposes? The refusal to render an account of the manner in which a part of the money expended has been applied gives just cause for the suspicion that it has been used for purposes which it is not deemed prudent to expose to the eyes of an intelligent and virtuous people. Those who act justly do not shun the light, nor do they refuse explanations when the propriety of their conduct is brought into question.

With these facts before him in an official report from the Government directors, the President would feel that he was not only responsible for all the abuses and corruptions the Bank has committed or may commit, but almost an accomplice in a conspiracy against that Government which he has sworn honestly to administer, if he did not take every step within his constitutional and legal power likely to be efficient in putting an end to these enormities. If it be possible within the scope of human affairs to find a reason for removing the Government deposits and leaving the Bank to its own resources for the means of effecting its criminal designs, we have it here. Was it expected when the moneys of the United States were directed to be placed in that Bank that they would be put under the control of one man, empowered to spend millions without rendering a voucher or specifying the object? Can they be considered safe with the evidence before us, that tens of Thousands have been spent for highly improper if not corrupt purposes, and that the same motive may lead to the expenditure of hundreds of thousands and even millions more? And can we justify ourselves to the people by longer lending to it the money and power of the Government to be employed for such purposes?

It has been alleged by some as an objection to the removal of the deposits that the Bank has the power and in that event will have the disposition to destroy the state Banks employed by the Government and bring distress upon the country. It has been the fortune of the President to encounter dangers which were represented as equally alarming and he has seen them vanish before resolution and energy. Pictures equally appalling were paraded before him when this Bank came to demand a new charter. But what was the result? Has the country been ruined or even distressed? Was it ever more prosperous than since that act? The President verily believes the Bank has not the power to produce the calamities its friends threaten. The funds of the Government will not be annihilated by being transferred. They will immediately be issued for the benefit of trade, and if the Bank
of the United States curtails its loans, the state Banks strengthened by the public deposits will extend theirs. What comes in thro’ one Bank will go out thro’ others, and the equilibrium will be preserved. Should the Bank for the mere purpose of producing distress press its debtors more heavily than some of them can bear, the consequences will recoil upon itself, and in the attempts to embarrass the country it will only bring loss and ruin upon the holders of its own stock. But if the President believed the Bank possessed all the power which has been attributed to it, his determination would only be rendered the more inflexible. If indeed this corporation now holds in its hands the happiness and prosperity of the American people it is high time to take the alarm. If the despotism be already upon us and our only safety is in the mercy of the despot, recent developments in relation to his designs and the means he employs, show how necessary it is to shake it off. The struggle can never come with less distress to the people or under more favorable auspices than at the present moment.

All doubt as to the willingness of the state Banks to undertake the service of the Government, to the same extent, and on the same terms, as it is now performed by the Bank of the U States is put to rest by the report of the agent recently employed to collect information: and from that willingness their own safety in the operation may be confidently inferred. Knowing their own resources better than they can be known by others, it is not to be supposed that they would be willing to place themselves in a situation which they cannot occupy without danger of annihilation or embarrassment. The only consideration applies to the safety of the public funds if deposited in those institutions. And when it is seen that the directors of many of them are not only willing to pledge the character and capital of the corporations in giving success to this measure, but also their own property and reputation, we cannot doubt that they at least believe the public deposits would be safe in their management. The President thinks that these facts and circumstances afford as strong a guarantee as can be had in human affairs for the safety of the public funds and the practicability of a new system of collection and disbursement through the agency of the state Banks.

From all these considerations the President thinks that the state Banks ought immediately to be employed in the collection and disbursement of the public revenue, and the funds now in the Bank of the United States drawn out with all convenient dispatch. The safety of the public moneys, if deposited in the state Banks, must be secured beyond all reasonable doubts: but the extent and nature of the security in addition to their capital, if any be deemed necessary, is a subject of detail to which the Treasury Department will undoubtedly give its anxious attention. The Banks to be employed must remit the moneys of the Government without charge as the Bank of the United States now does; must render all the services which that Bank now performs; must keep the Government advised of their situation by periodical returns; in fine in any arrangement with the
state Banks the Government must not in any respect, be placed on a worse footing than it now is, either in accommodation or specie. The President is happy to perceive by the report of the agent, that the Banks which he has consulted have in general consented to perform the service on these terms, and that those in New York have further agreed to make payments in London without other charge than the mere cost of the Bills of exchange.\footnote{11}

It should also be enjoined upon any Banks which may be employed that it will be expected of them to facilitate domestic exchanges for the benefit of internal commerce, to grant all reasonable facilities to the payers of the revenue, to exercise the utmost liberality towards the other state Banks, and do nothing uselessly to embarrass the Bank of the United States.

As one of the most serious objections to the Bank of the U States is the power which it concentrates, care must be taken in finding other agents for the service of the Treasury not to raise up another power equally formidable. Although it would probably be impossible to produce such a result by any organization of the state Banks which could be devised yet it is desirable to avoid even the appearance. To this end it would be expedient to assume no more power over them and interfere no more in their affairs than might be absolutely necessary to the security of the public deposit and the faithful performance of their duties as agents of the Treasury. Any interference by them in the political contests of the country whether by the application of their funds in unusual accommodations to influential partizans, or the printing of documents or papers with a view to influence elections or by the granting or refusing usual loans to individuals on account of their party predilections, ought, in the opinion of the President, to be followed by an immediate discharge from the public service.

It is the desire of the President that the control of the Banks and the currency shall as far as possible be entirely separated from the political power of the country as well as wrested from an institution which has already attempted to subject the Government to its will. In his opinion the action of the general Government on this subject ought not to extend beyond the grant in the constitution which only authorizes congress “to coin money and regulate the value thereof.” All else belongs to the states and the people and must be regulated by public opinion and the interest of trade.

In conclusion the President must be permitted to remark that he looks upon the pending question as of higher consideration than the mere transfer of a sum of money from one Bank to another. Its decision may affect the character of our Government for ages to come. Should the Bank be suffered longer to use the public moneys in the accomplishment of its purposes with the proofs of its faithlessness and corruption before our eyes, the patriotic among our citizens will despair of success in struggling against its power, and we shall be responsible for entailing it upon...
our country forever. Viewing it as a question of transcendent importance both in the principles and consequences it involves, the President could not, in justice to the responsibility which he owes to the country, refrain from pressing upon the Secretary of the Treasury his view of the considerations which impel to immediate action. Upon him has been devolved by the constitution and the suffrages of the American people, the duty of superintending the operation of the Executive Departments of the Government and seeing that the laws are faithfully executed. In the performance of this high trust, it is his undoubted right to express to those whom the laws and his own choice have made his associates in the administration of the Government, his opinion of their duties under circumstances as they arise. It is this right which he now exercises. Far be it from him to expect or require, that any member of the cabinet should, at his request, order or dictation, do any act which he believes unlawful, or in his conscience condemns. From his own officers and from his fellow citizens in general he desires only that aid and support which their reason approves and their conscience sanctions.

In the remarks he has made on this all important question he trusts the Secretary of the Treasury will see only the frank and respectful declarations of the opinions which the President has formed on a measure of great national interest deeply affecting the character and usefulness of his administration: and not a spirit of dictation, which the President would be as careful to avoid as ready to resist. Happy will he be, if the facts now disclosed produce uniformity of opinion and unity of action among the members of the administration.

The President again repeats that he begs his Cabinet to consider the proposed measure as his own, in the support of which he shall require no one of them to make a sacrifice of opinion or principle. The responsibility every way is and shall be his. It is its responsibility has been assumed after the most mature deliberation and reflection as necessary to preserve the morals of the people, the freedom of the press and the purity of the elective franchise, without which all will unite in saying that the blood and treasure expended by our Forefathers in the establishment of our happy system of Government will have been vain & fruitless. Under these convictions he feels that a measure so important to the American people cannot be commenced too soon: and he therefore names the first day of October next as the period proper for the change of the deposits, or sooner provided the necessary arrangements with the state banks can be made by that time.

Andrew Jackson

DS in AJ Donelson’s hand, DLC (42).
2. Donelson left out some digits. The Globe printing gave the figures as $42,402,304.24, $70,428,070.72, and $28,025,766.48. BUS monthly statements, transmitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury, had given its total loans as $42,402,304.24 on December 2,
1830, and $70,428,050.71 on May 2, 1832 (HRDoc 63, 21st Cong., 2d sess., p. 73, Serial 208; SDoc 156, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 13, Serial 214).

3. Richardson, 2:591.


5. The quotations are from a circular issued by Crawford on January 28, 1817, and from his February 13, 1817, letter to the Mechanics’ Bank of New York. In the latter the Globe printing restored the word “from,” quoted correctly from the original but changed to “of” in the manuscript. On May 6, 1817, Crawford had warned the BUS that if it rejected bills of creditable state banks as government deposits, he would shift federal deposits to local banks (HRDoc 140, 18th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 12–13, 17–18, 69–70, Serial 100).

6. In his December 1832 fourth annual message, AJ had said that the Secretary of the Treasury had taken measures to determine whether public deposits in the BUS were “entirely safe; but as his limited power may prove inadequate to this object, I recommend the subject to the attention of Congress, under the firm belief that it is worthy of their serious investigation” (Richardson, 2:600).

7. On May 13 the BUS had charged the Treasury $1,062,408.66 for the protested bill of exchange on France. At secretary McLane’s order, the Treasury on May 18 had returned to the BUS the principal amount of $903,563.89, leaving unpaid $158,842.77 composed of costs and a 15% charge for damages. Taney rejected the latter as illegitimate on May 24. On June 24 and again on August 12, Biddle, through secretary Duane, had asked Taney to explain his reasons. Taney refused on August 16 (SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 274–79, 282, Serial 267).

8. Section 11 of the BUS charter said, “Not less than seven directors shall constitute a board for the transaction of business” (Statutes, 3:271).

9. These facts were detailed in the August 19 government directors’ report to AJ (SDoc 2, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 29–30, Serial 238). The printings were of Albert Gallatin’s “Banks and Currency” in the December 1830 American Quarterly Review; Samuel Smith’s March 29, 1830, report from the Senate Finance Committee (SDoc 104, 21st Cong., 1st sess., Serial 193); and George McDuffie’s April 13, 1830, House Ways and Means Committee report (HRRep 358, 21st Cong., 1st sess., Serial 201).


11. Kendall had said in his September 2 report to Duane that “a number of the largest and most respectable banks in New York” were willing to perform government services on the same terms as the BUS and also “to furnish, at cost, bills on London, guaranteed by them; thus in effect paying in that city . . . without compensation” (SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 1st sess., p. 24, Serial 238).

From William John Duane

September 19, 1833.

Sir—

Upon a matter that deeply concerns not only myself but all who are dear to me, I have deemed it right (as I have not a friend here to advise with) to ask the counsel of my father at this crisis. I wrote to him last night and am sure that nothing but sickness will prevent his presence to-morrow night. On the next day I trust that I shall be able to make a communication to you.

Hoping that this course may not be thought unreasonable, I am with the utmost respect Yr Obt St

W. J. Duane.
To Martin Van Buren

Washington Septbr. 19th. 1833—

My Dr Sir—

The Globe of tomorrow will inform you that the deposits are to be
removed—or all collected after the 1rst. of Octobr. next, to be deposited
in the State Banks. This is all that will be communicated until a full expose
is made & our arrangements with the State Banks fully matured.¹

I made my determination known to my Cabinet yesterday, in writing,
_as the measure of the Executive, and on my own responsibility &c &c—it
is a strong paper; and Mr. Duane has said so to Major Donelson to day,
and has asked until tomorrow night to decide whether he will execute it.
Mr. Duane says the expose has put me on strong grounds, & has entirely
presented the case in a new form to his mind. I have thought it right to
indulge him & I expect now he will act with energy—or retire friendly,
which to me is desirable.²

Mr. Taney is a sterling man—you would have been delighted with him
had you been present—he has, I am told, drawn high encomiums from Mr
McLane, who in the evening after my final decision, was in good spirits.
When I see, I will give you, a full account of my perplexities, from various
delays & other causes.

Every way has been adopted to alarm & deter this decision. Mr.
Kendal has been assailed by letters to me & to the heads of Departments
on charges of conspiracy against the Cabinet by the Editor of the
Pennsylvanian, whilst he has been writing Kendall the most friendly letters
to entrap him—in this he has failed. Kendall I believe as pure & talented
man as any—two such men as Taney & him are highly valuable to any
cause. Neither can be frightened, or bought

I told you in one of my letters that the Bank had bought up Bennet—
this was my opinion before he unrobed himself by his letters.³

I am quite unwell to day—will write you Saturday or Sunday when I
can state positively every thing—if Mr Duane retires, I will have the able
& hearty aid of Mr Taney who is not afraid of the Senate, or to meet with
me, the question boldly[.] In haste yr friend—

Andrew Jackson

P.S. If your presence should be wanted here before the 20th. of october
next, I will advise you. I would like to [see] you here whenever it would
suit your own convenience, but will expect you by ocbr. 20th.

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-0788). AJ wrote again on Sunday, September 22 (below).
1. The Globe announced AJ’s decision to remove the deposits on September 20.
Donelson’s draft and the published text appear below.
2. Duane wrote Donelson this day. He included the text in his second September 22 letter
to AJ (below).
3. September 8 (above).

Memorandum on Deposit Removal

On the 17th. Septbr. 1833—Their opinions given. Mr McLane &
Duane opposed—to change of deposits—until after Congress convenes
&c—Woodbury & Taney contra. Taney for prompt action. Barry for
removal—his message by Major Donelson—for prompt action—aston-
ished at the course Mr D. has taken. Govr. Cass when called on for his
written opinion declined, on the ground of his want of Banking experi-
ence, but would sustain the Executive in any course he might adopt—
opposed to instant action.

The 18th. was appointed for the Executive to submit his result final
decision in writing—did so. The result—the deposits to be removed on
the first of octbr. next, or sooner if the arrangements can be made with
the State B—see the paper submitted—AJ. Mr. Duane requested the
paper for his deliberation & conclusion whether he would carry it into
Execution—it was delivered & he requested to determine soon, as this
required prompt action to relieve commerce from the pressure of the U.S.
Bank. The P. directed his private secretary to prepare the anouncation
of this to the public thro the Globe—to have it prepared for this day the
19th. of Septbr. 1833—

AN, DLC (64; 23-0786). This passage in AJ’s memorandum book, perhaps composed over
several days, continued a narrative from September 10 above.

Draft for Globe on Deposit Removal

We are authorisd to announc that the President after a full and careful
consideration of the various questions involved in the further employ-
ment of the Bank of the United State as fiscal agent of the Govermt in the
future collection & disbursent of the public funds, has decided that that this institution is not necessary to the Govrnmt: and that by the first of October next if not sooner the steps consequent upon this decision will be taken to effect thro the local institutions the agency which has been heretofor performd by the Bank of the U States as a fiscal agt


AD by AJ Donelson, DLC (73). The full text in the September 20 Globe read:

“We are authorized to state, that the deposits of the public money will be changed from the Bank of the United States to the State Banks, as soon as necessary arrangements can be made for that purpose, and that it is believed, they can be completed in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Boston, in time to make the change by the first of October, and perhaps sooner, if circumstances should, render an earlier action necessary on the part of the Government.

It is contemplated, we understand, not to remove, at once, the whole of the public money, now on deposit in the Bank of the United States, but to suffer it to remain there until it shall be gradually withdrawn, by the usual operations of the Government. And this plan is adopted in order to prevent any necessity, on the part of the Bank of the United States, for pressing upon the commercial community; and to enable it to afford, if it think proper, the usual facilities to the merchants. It is believed, that by this means the change need not produce any inconvenience to the commercial community, and that circumstances will not require a sudden and heavy call on the Bank of the United States so as to occasion embar - rassment to the institution or the public.

The general anxiety which has been manifested on this subject, has made it proper to announce what is intended to be done: and we understand that the facts and reasons which have led to this measure, will shortly be laid before the public.

It is believed that they will be found to be amply sufficient to justify the course which is now to be taken, in relation to the public deposits in the Bank of the United States.”

From William John Duane

Treasury department
September 21st, 1833.

Sir—

I have the honor to lay before you—

1. a copy of my commission, empowering and enjoining me to execute my duty according to law, and authorising me to hold my office at your pleasure—

2. a copy of my oath of office, wherein I solemnly pledged myself to execute the trust committed to me with fidelity—

3. a copy of the 16th. section of the law chartering the bank of the United States, whereby the discretion, to discontinue the deposit of the public money in that bank, was committed to the secretary of the treasury alone—

4. an extract from your letter to me, of the 26th. of June, wherein you promise not to interfere with the independent exercise of the discretion, committed to me by (the above-mentioned) law over the subject—
5. an extract from your exposition of the 18th. inst. wherein you state, that you do not expect me, at your request, order or dictation, to do any act, which I may believe to be illegal, or which my conscience may condemn—

When you delivered to me, on the 18th. inst. the exposition of your views, above referred to, I asked you, whether I was to regard it as direction by you to me, to remove the deposits: you replied, that it was your direction to me to remove the deposits, but upon your responsibility; and you had the goodness to add, that, if I would stand by you, it would be the happiest day of your life.

Solemnly impressed with a profound sense of my obligations to my country and myself; after painful reflection; and upon my own impressions, unaided by any advice such as I expected, I respectfully announce to you, Sir, that I refuse to carry your directions into effect—

1. not because I desire to frustrate your wishes, for it would be my pleasure to promote them, if I could do so, consistently with superior obligations—

2. not because I desire to favor the bank U.S. to which I have ever been, am, and ever shall be, opposed—

3. not to gratify any views, passions, or feelings, of my own—but,

4. 1. because I consider the proposed change of the depository, in the absence of all necessity, a breach of the public faith—

5. 2. because the measure, if not in reality, appears to be vindictive and arbitrary, not conservative or just—

6. 3. because if the bank has abused or perverted its powers, the judiciary are able and willing to punish; and, in the last resort, the representatives of the people may do so—

7. 4. because the last house of representatives of the U.S. pronounced the public money in the bank U.S. safe—

8. 5. because, if, under new circumstances, a change of depository ought to be made, the representatives of the people, chosen since your appeal to them in your veto message, will in a few weeks assemble, and be willing and able to do their duty.

9. because a change to local and irresponsible banks will tend to shake public confidence, and promote doubt and mischief in the operations of society—

10. because it is not sound policy in the Union to foster local banks, which, in their multiplication and cupidity, derange, depreciate, and banish the only currency known to the constitution, that of gold and silver—

11. because it is not prudent to confide, in the crude way proposed by your agent, in local banks, when, on an average of all the banks, dependent in a great degree upon each other, one dollar in silver cannot be paid for six dollars of the paper in circulation—
12. because it is dangerous to place, in the hands of a secretary of the treasury, dependent for office on executive will, a power to favor or punish local banks, and consequently make them political machinery—

13. because the whole proceeding must tend to diminish the confidence of the world, in our regard for national credit and reputation, inasmuch as, whatever may be the abuses of the directors of the bank U.S. the evil now to be endured must be borne by innocent persons, many of whom, abroad, had a right to confide in the law that authorised them to be holders of stock

14. because I believe that the efforts made in various quarters to hasten the removal of the deposits did not originate with patriots or statesmen, but in schemes to promote selfish and factious purposes—

15. because it has been attempted by persons and presses known to be in the confidence and pay of the administration, to intimidate and constrain the secretary of the treasury, to execute an act in direct opposition to his own solemn convictions.

And, now, sir, having, with a frankness, that means no disrespect, and with feelings such as I lately declared them to be, stated to you, why I refuse to execute what you direct, I proceed to perform a necessarily connected act of duty, by announcing to you, that I do not intend voluntarily to leave the post, which the law has placed under my charge, and by giving you my reasons for so refusing—

It is true, that, on the 22d. of July, you signified in language sufficiently intelligible, that you would then remove me from office, unless I would consent to remove the deposits, on your final decision; it may also be true that I should then have put it to the test; and it is also true, that, under a well grounded assurance, that your bank plan, the only one then embodied in the instructions drawn up by me for your agent, would be, as it proved, abortive; that for this and other causes, you would be content, I did state my willingness to retire, if I could not concur with you.1

But I am not afraid to meet the verdict of generous men, upon my refusal, on reflection, and after what has since occurred, to do voluntarily what I then believed I never should be asked to do. If I had a frail reputation, or had any sinister purpose to answer, I might be open to censure, for a neglect of punctilious delicacy: but I can have no impure motives, much less can I attain any selfish end: I barely choose between one mode of retirement & another: and I choose that mode, which I should least of all have preferred, if I had not exalted and redeeming considerations in its favor.

I have, besides, your own example; I do not say, that, after you had promised “not to interfere with the independent exercise of the discretion vested in me by law,” you were wrong in interfering, if you really thought the public welfare a superior consideration to a mere observance of assurances made to me: nor can you say that I err, when, upon a solemn sense of duty, I prefer one mode of removal from this station to another.
The course is due to my own self preservation, as well as to the public, for you have in all your papers held out an assurance, that you would not “interfere with the independent exercise of the discretion, committed to me by law” over the deposits, and yet every thing but actual removal of me from office has been done to effect that end. So that, were I to go out of office voluntarily, you might be able to point to official papers, that would contradict me, if I said you interfered: and I should thus be held up as a weak or faithless agent, who regarded delicacy, not shown to himself, more than duty to his trust.

Sir, after all, I confess to you, that I have had scruples, for it is the first time, that I have ever condescended to weigh a question of the kind: But I am content, that it shall be said of me, that in July last I forgot myself and my duty too, rather than that it should be said, that, now, knowing the course that you pursue, I had in any way favored it: on the contrary, if I have erred, I am willing to be reproved, but my motives no man can impugn: my refusal to resign cannot keep me, one moment longer than you please, in an office that I never sought, and at a removal from which I shall not grieve on my own account; it must, on the contrary, hasten my exit. So that, if you shall proceed in wresting from the Secretary of the treasury the citadel in his possession, the act can only be accomplished by a mandate, which will be my apology for no longer standing in the breach.

And now, Sir, allow me, to repeat to you, in sincerity of heart, that in taking the present course, under a solemn sense of my obligations, I feel a sorrow on your account, far greater than on my own: I have been your early, uniform & steadfast friend; I can have no unkind disposition, but shall cherish those of a kind nature that I feel: you proudly occupy the hearts of your countrymen; but still it is the lot of humanity, at times, to err: I do ample justice to your motives, but I am constrained to regret your present proceedings: and I devoutly wish, that you may live to see all my forebodings contradicted, and your measures followed by results beneficial to your country and honorable to yourself[.] With the utmost consideration, Yr obt st

W. J. Duane—
Secretary of the Treasury—

[Endorsed by Duane:] [This is the original communication, sent to the President, and sent back to me by him]


1. On July 22 Duane had written AJ that if they could not agree in the end on the deposits, he would “afford you an opportunity to select a successor, whose views may accord with your own, on the important matter in contemplation” (above). None of the banks approached by Kendall had agreed to the security arrangements stipulated in the fifth item of his July 23 instructions (SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 19, Serial 238) and repeated in his first set of proposed terms to them.
To William John Duane

Washington September 21st. 1833

Sir:

After you retired I opened and read the paper you handed me. I here- 
with return it as a communication which I cannot consent to receive.

Having invited the free and full communication of all your views before 
I made up a final opinion on the subject, I cannot consent to enter into 
further discussion of the question. There are numerous imputations in the 
letter which cannot with propriety be allowed to enter into a correspon- 
dence between the President and one of the Heads of Departments

In your letter of July last you remark “but, if, after receiving the infor- 
mation and hearing the discussion, I shall not consider it my duty, as 
the responsible agent of the law to carry into effect the decision that 
you then make, I will from respect to you and for myself afford you an 
opportunity to select a successor whose views may accord with your own 
on the important matter in contemplation.” My communication to my 
cabinet was made under this assurance received from you: and I have 
not requested you to perform any thing which your sense of duty did not 
sanction. I have merely wished to be informed whether, as Secretary of the 
Treasury, you can, consistently with your opinion on the subject of the 
deposits, adopt such measures in relation to them, as in my view, the pub- 
lic interests and a due execution of the laws render proper. If you will now 
communicate this information it will confer an obligation on yr. obt. servt

Andrew Jackson

LS in AJ Donelson’s hand, DLC (64). Copy in Donelson’s hand, DLC (43); Bassett, 
5:204–5. Washington National Intelligencer, December 6, 1833. Duane Narrative and 
Correspondence, pp. 107–8. Duane replied below.

From William John Duane

Treasury department
September 221, 1833.

Sir—

I have the honor to acknowlege the receipt of your note, returning the 
communication, that I presented to you this morning; the grounds, on 
which it is returned, are, that further discussion of the deposit question is 
unnecessary, and that there were imputations therein, that could not be 
admitted into a correspondence between the President and the head of a 
department.

Allow me respectfully to say, that, it was not with a view to a further 
discussion, that I presented my reasons for declining to act, agreeably to 
your direction, in removing the deposits, but to justify my refusal: nor was

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it my desire or intention that any matter contained in my letter should be disrespectful, or open to such a supposition; that any thing therein should be so construed I very much regret.

My object throughout was to justify the course, on the two points stated in my letter, which, under the most solemn impressions, I felt it to be my duty to pursue. To shew you my obligations, I presented a copy of my commission, a copy of my oath of office, and a copy of the law giving the secretary of the treasury the discretion to change the public depository: To shew you upon what I relied, in my course of conduct, I quoted your letter of June 26th. and your exposition of the 18th. inst. In order to justify my refusal to resign, I described the circumstances under which your letter of July 22, and my reply of the same date, were written, and shewed the new posture in which I was placed by subsequent reflection and occurrences.

When I entered your administration, I had no knowledge that you had come to any decision on the deposit question, or that you meditated a change of depository without the action of congress. As soon as I was made acquainted with your views, I anxiously sought to accord with them: and, as you invited a full disclosure of my thoughts, by assuring me in your letter of the 26th. of June, that you did not intend to interfere with the independent exercise of the discretion committed to me by law over the deposits, I opened myself freely to you, against any change of the depository: At all subsequent stages, although I have kept myself open to explanation, I have invariably declined to make that change, and I remain in the same resolution still.

Permit me respectfully to say, that I am not aware, that my willingness or unwillingness, to afford you an opportunity to select a successor, could have had any influence or bearing upon any question, before the cabinet; but I am willing to meet that consideration, as well as those stated to you this day in our interview.¹

In short, Sir, as I stated to you, at that interview, my course is justificatory towards you: I desire no unkind feeling, I have no unkind purpose: however ardent or unusual my language may be, it is at least sincere.

Allow me, then, very respectfully to state, as declared at our interview, that, under the most serious convictions of my duty, I refuse to aid, assist, or in any way participate in the proposed change of the public depository—that I refuse to relinquish a post conferred upon me by the law—and, that, without in the most remote degree meaning any sort of disrespect, to you, I protest against any interference, on your part, with powers and duties, which, I believe, were designedly withheld from the President, and committed to the Secretary of the Treasury, the fiscal agent of the law.

With fervent wishes that your measures may conduce to the advantage of your country, and to the honor of yourself I am, with the utmost consideration, Yr Obt St.

W. J. Duane

¹ September 1833
ALS, PPAmP-Duane Family Collection (mAJs). Washington National Intelligencer, December 6, 1833. Duane withdrew this letter “to change its phraseology” (Duane Narrative and Correspondence, p. 108), and submitted a replacement on September 22 (below).

1. Duane recounted a sketch of this interview in his Narrative and Correspondence, pp. 101–3.

To Samuel Smith

Washington Septbr. 21rst. 1833

My Dr Sir,

I have this morning received yours of yesterday inclosing the letter of Mr Hughes which I have perused with much satisfaction & return as you have requested.

I have no doubt of the good feeling which now exists between the Govt. of England & this at present—and I look forward to, not a distant, period when we will finally close our boundary question with England & our claims on Spain, the only two powers with whom we have any unsettled differences to adjust. With great respect yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, MiU-C (23-0827). Christopher Hughes (1786–1849) was the U.S. chargé d’affaires in Sweden and Smith’s son-in-law. He had recently been in England on his way to the U.S. under a leave of absence.

From James Gordon Bennett

Office of the Pennsylvanian
Philadelphia 21 Sep 1833

Sir

Yesterday I transmitted by Col. Wm. Duane of this city the written evidence establishing the charges preferred by me against Amos Kendall. Col. Duane will exhibit it to you for your own satisfaction, in justification of my course, and for the honor of your administration and of the country. I have no fears of the result.

The government deposits being now about to be removed, a measure which I was the first editor to bring forward in the public prints, I have now thrown out the suggestion of a Repeal of the Charter during the next session, on the ground of infractions made upon that instrument, during the last few years.1 Always hostile to the U.S. Bank, I have spared no opportunity to aid you in winding up that Institution. The best final blow is a Repeal of the Charter. I have the honor to be Your Most Obt Svt

James Gordon Bennett

[Endorsed by AJ:] Bennet—a great scamp—recd. Septbr. 23rd. 1833. A. J.
ALS, DLC (43). Bennett wrote again on December 4 (below). His “Kitchen Cabinet Laid Open” series in the Pennsylvania Enquirer from January 2 to 14, 1834, published his evidence, including letters from Kendall.

1. A piece headed “Repeal of the U.S. Bank Charter” in the September 19 Pennsylvanian urged Congress to strike the “last blow” by repealing the charter effective July 4, 1834, “on the ground of palpable infractions committed upon that instrument during the last ten years.”

From James Buchanan

London 21 September 1833.

Dear General,

Mr. Vail has just informed me that he will send off his Despatches to day for the Packet of the 24th. & I take this occasion to address you a few hasty lines.1 I shall have an interesting communication to make to you, which I received from Count Pozzo di Borgo at Paris, in relation to the general politicks of Europe. That I must defer however until I reach Washington. I think, however, you may rest satisfied that the allied sovereigns have not met with any intentions of immediate hostility. Their sole purpose has been to confirm & strengthen the bonds of union existing among themselves & to be prepared to crush France, if possible, with an overwhelming force, in case there should be any new movements in that country, which might, in their opinion, render war necessary.2

Our position in the world is now one of much importance. The allied powers entertain no jealousy towards us. It is their policy to promote our power, & to render us the commercial rivals of England & France. You will, no doubt, have been informed ere this reaches you, of the desire felt by Prussia & Austria to establish diplomatic relations with our country; & I need not suggest to you the importance of meeting their advances.3

On the other hand, judging from an interview I have had with Lord Palmerston, I have no doubt of the friendly dispositions of the British Government. These have been increased by the confidence felt in your administration. I am convinced this is an important moment both for the success of your foreign policy & the still higher elevation of your personal character. I am convinced a minister ought to be sent here without delay. An able & a discreet man who knows when to speak & what to say, & who has a talent for general society, could do much, very much, to confirm the favorable impressions which have already been made in England. Besides, if I am at all acquainted with the character of Lord Palmerston, such a man could do more to settle the questions still in controversy between the two nations, by personal conversations, than can possibly be affected by diplomatic correspondence at Washington. Mr. Vail is every thing that a man of his age in his station could be; but still in the present state of the world one of the very first men of our Country, holding the
The rank of a minister, ought to represent us in England. The selection of the proper man is in the very best hands.  

I shall remain in London until Wednesday next—for the purpose of dining with Prince Lieven on Monday, & Lord Palmerston on Tuesday. Should an opportunity offer with the latter, & he seems very willing to talk freely & confidentially with me, I shall not fail to improve it for the benefit of our Country. Indeed the freedom & friendship with which I have been treated every where are an evidence of the high character of our Country abroad.

I shall have a precious dish of gossip for you on my return should you have time to partake of it. Circumstances have placed me in a situation to hear much from the Princess L. concerning our diplomats in England; & I was glad to find she spoke in the highest terms of Mr. McLane & Mr. Van Buren. Mr. Vail is also a favorite.

I expect to sail from Liverpool on the 8th. of October, & shall return to my country & to private life with the greatest pleasure; but in whatever situation I may be placed, rest assured that I shall always remain your grateful & affectionate friend.

James Buchanan

P.S. Please to remember me to your family & to Mr. McLane & Major Barry.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. Buchannan recd. 4th. Novbr. 1833—


1. Chargé Aaron Vail sent two dispatches on September 21. They reached the State Department on November 4 (DNA-RG 59, M30-37).

2. Buchanan had dined in Paris on September 13 with Carlo Andrea, Count Pozzo di Borgo (1764–1842), the Russian ambassador to France. He made a memorandum of the conversation and sent AJ a version of it on January 18, 1834 (DLC-43; Works of James Buchanan, 2:389–92, 398). Among other things, Pozzo di Borgo said that Russia, Prussia, & Austria were “indissolubly united” and ready to suppress any threats from France.

3. The United States at this time had consuls but no resident diplomat in either Prussia or Austria. Prussia sent a new chargé d’affaires to Washington in 1834, and in 1835 AJ appointed Henry Wheaton as U.S. chargé to Prussia. The U.S. and Austria first exchanged ministers in 1838.

4. Henry John Temple (1784–1865), Viscount Palmerston, was Britain’s foreign secretary. Aaron Vail remained as chargé to Britain until 1836, when the Senate confirmed Andrew Stevenson as minister.

5. Buchanan dined with other diplomats at the home of Russian ambassador to Britain Christopher Andreievitch Lieven (1774–1839) on Monday, September 23, and at Palmerston’s the next day. He recorded that Palmerston at both dinners evinced a sincere desire for friendly relations with the U.S. (Works of James Buchanan, 2:394–96).

6. Princess Dorothea Benckendorff Lieven (1785–1857) was Lieven’s wife.

7. Buchanan sailed on October 8 and reached Philadelphia on November 15. AJ wrote him on November 18 (below).
From Enoch Parsons

Claiborne Sept. 21st. 1833

Dear Sir

Although I am well aware of the importance of time to your Excellency, & of the little that can conveniently be abstracted by you from the momentous concerns of State yet, considering the subject-matter of my letter, as not altogether foreign from these concerns, but connected with them, & of import to the public welfare, I deemed it my duty with the knowledge that I possessed of the state of things commented on, to lay a few facts before you, and respectfully to solicit towards them, a small portion of your attention.

Through the medium of the newspapers I lately became apprised, that it was the intention of the Government to expel from the limits of the Creek Indian Nation, all persons (otherwise styled intruders) who might have settled themselves on the public Lands therein without discrimination, and that such were the instructions transmitted to the U.S. marshall from the Department of War. This caused the situation in which a very numerous & respectable body of the upright & honest citizens of Alabama who, under peculiar circumstances, have removed there, would be placed, to present itself to my view; & conceiving that by possibility some of the circumstances connected with this subject might have been misconceived, or not fully understood, I have believed it, as already remarked, my duty to invite your attention to the same, & hope I shall not be considered as unnecessarily officious in so doing.

First. The settlements made in the Creek Indian Country by our people, have been under the Sanction & Laws of the State; which pledge the Faith of the State that the same is lawful & that their possession shall be peaceable.

Secondly. The whole Creek Nation has by the Legislature of the State, been erected into Counties—and Courts have been constituted for & held in them. The necessary Officers, such as Judges, Clerks, Sheriffs &c have also been elected & have entered upon and discharged their various functions by virtue of commissions duly issued by the authority of the State & with every legal form. Besides this, all other acts & things have been done that are essential to their speedy civil and political organization.

Thirdly. The continued inaction and supineness of the General Government, in relation to the expulsion of these settlers, and the letter of the Honourable Secretary of War to some of the Members of Congress of this State, have been construed into an acquiescence on the part of the Government & assent to their settlement.

I am fully informed that many of the settlements upon the Indian-Lands have been made in shameful & flagrant despite & violation of every principle of humanity or justice, that neither the social hearth, nor
sanctuary of home has been respected or held sacred, & that the unfortunate Indian possessor has even been forcibly expelled to make room for such ruthless occupancy—but I am happy to be enabled to say, that this is not the case in all instances of settlements, nor by any means general; the country from long & continued accession of comers, must now possess a population of some thousands; of the number, more than three fourths are honest, peaceable and industrious, and have acquired their possession, if improved at all, or the property of an Indian, by rent, or other species of contract, or have made their own improvements upon vacant, unoccupied, and unclaimed lands; and not a few of these latter have been made with a view of permanency of possession if possible, by purchase at the Land Sales from the Government, or otherwise, and therefore are extensive & valuable. Numbers, of this class of settlers, if removed, as contemplated, being an occurrence, to them, from the previous course of the Government, so unlooked for & unlikely to happen, must suffer severe and excessive pecuniary loss; while the poorer sort, who have in a manner expended almost their little all, to establish themselves in their newly acquired residences, will be irretrievably ruined.

That the duty of the Government to comply with the obligations of the Treaty of 1832, and carry the same into effect in good faith is imperative, I am not ignorant of: but I have ventured to entertain the belief—(whether with temerity or correctly, I respectfully submit,)—that such Settlers, as had for fair equivalents either rented Indian Lands or made their own improvements, upon such untenanted lands, as should not be found to be included in Indian Reservations, were not, by the terms of it, required to be removed, for by the Treaty all Lands not covered by such Reservations, become Public Lands, and consequently vest in the U.S. and are as a matter of course to be occupied & sold by the U.S. as the property of the same.

The large and valuable improvements made by the settlers, the Creeks, in the event of their expulsion, though but for a temporary period, would take a malignant delight in destroying, as well on account of their depth of ignorance and barbarism, as of their innate & inexorable hate of the White-Men. The first token of a general removal of our Citizens, would be to them, the joyful signal for their savage triumph, and amid the furious burst & ebullition of their unrestrained & demoniac feeling, nothing would be respected or regarded—whether the premises of friends or foes all would alike be doomed to ruin. The conflagration of burning dwellings and enclosures, the indiscriminate erasure of every trace and sign of civilization and refinement, would but add rich zest to their barbarian thirst for destruction. In such an event, much time must elapse, before the country could again be made to assume its flourishing aspect, or recover its present degree of improvement. In the Talladega valley particularly, where there is a dense population, & comparatively but little timber, & where much of that little has already been appropriated by the settlers to the purposes of building & enclosing, new forests would have to spring
up, and fresh timber be produced, before the lands could come again into
cultivation extensively: so that from such a measure as that of a general
& indiscriminate expulsion of the settlers, whether intruders upon Indian
premises or not, no accurate calculation can be made of the deep & last-
ing evil that must of necessity ensue.6

Amongst the settlers, no doubt, there has been much impediment
thrown in the way of the Government, as well as by the Companies of
Land Speculators in regard to its views of further treating with the Indians
for their Reservations, by their belief that to bargain with the Indians
themselves would probably be the surest and cheapest method of acquir-
ing fee-simple titles to their settlements: Nevertheless whatever may have
been their proceedings in this particular, it can now make no alteration in
things—the question must at this crisis recur to the condition or position
of the State in regard to its extension of its laws over the ceded Territory
its assumption of jurisdiction, and faith pledged to its citizens of protec-
tion &c.

It is sufficiently well known that the obstructions to a Treaty, having
for its basis, the emigration of these Indians, are many, and have been for
the most part interposed, by a few of the Chiefs under the influence of
certain Whites, resident in that Country, entertaining views heretofore
disclosed, and of which influence they would make the most, & dispose
of at the highest advantage—by the arts of White Traders & Dealers,
who would detain them until they had swindled out of them the veriest
remnant of their property—and by the numerous and greedy Companies
of Land Speculators; But notwithstanding this formidable array, I do not
despair despite of all effort by such an unholy alliance, to the contrary, of
the possibility of such a Treaty being made, though certainly not without
some sacrifice and concession to the principals amongst these actors:7
Some fifty or hundred perhaps of Special Reservations, would have to be
granted, and possibly some White Men under the guise of Indian covering,
would have to be made the ultimate donee's—or patentees of them—high
prices too, peradventure might have to be paid: but what, I would respect-
fully urge are all these compared with the commotion and difficulty likely
in the present disturbed state of things to be produced?8 On the one hand
by the relative condition of the White & Red Men, on the other, the State!
The Governor's Letter to the Department of War, and the attitude of the
Nullification faction, who have abandoned the flag first unfurled by them,
and taken shelter under the standard of State Rights, will of course enlist
& congregate to their side, most of the settlers, who may be forcibly
ejected, and thus add a vast accession to their party.9

These things are to be understood as alluded to not in terrorem but
as a mere exposition of facts, and I feel warranted in saying,10 that a
Delegation of Chiefs authorized & invested with full powers to Treat,
could be selected and gotten to Washington and a Treaty made & con-
cluded before our citizens settled in that District of Country could gather
in & secure their crops, a privilege, which, it would seem from the instructions of the Marshall as laid before the public, has been extended to them; possibly by this means occurrences may be prevented, which, should they unhappily for the peace of the community be permitted to transpire all must sincerely and deeply deplore.

I think that by the means of the two Crowells (John & Thomas) Major William Walker, & a few others, such a Delegation of Chiefs might be had—and beyond a doubt certainly, could the parties named, be induced by the cement of interest (perhaps in the form of Special Reservations to such Indians as they might fix upon,) to act together. Major Walker, as an Indian Countryman, or Head of a Creek Family, is himself, under the Treaty, entitled to a Reservation with the rest—this I am certain he would be ready to give up and sacrifice for the common good—for I must do him the justice to say, from all that I know of him, and so far as in all these transactions I have seen him tested, that whether it was made his peculiar interest or not, he would act correctly, nor would it be necessary to resort to particularity of means to win or keep him in the course of virtue, uprightness and rectitude. His deportment at the late attempt to Treat with the Creeks, furnished proof ample enough on that head.¹¹

Should the Government deem a course of this kind proper to be pursued (and with deference I suggest it for reflection) I think arrangements might be entered into: The greatest difficulty in the way being the little unanimity and friendship existing between Major Walker & the Crowells this however might be remedied and removed in my opinion as to the latter at least, in the manner proposed.

My inducement to address you on this matter, has been the possibility at this critical juncture, of rendering some small service to my Country, and that only. Should any thing therefore herein submitted have that tendency, the end in view will have been fully attained and my object answered. The course I have pursued, will I hope prove offensive to none, and my motives, however much misrepresented or mistaken by others, by yourself at least be rightly understood & appreciated

With my best wishes for your welfare and health, I have the honour becomingly to subscribe myself, with high respect Your Excellency's Most Ob't & Hble S

E. Parsons

[Endorsed by AJ:] Refered to the acting secretary of war to be answered agreable to the notes in the margin and accompanied with a copy of the letter to the governor of Alabama & its references—with authority to Genl Parsons to bring on the chiefs of the Creek nation here, provided they are fully empowered to give up & cede the whole for a fair compensation in mony no reservations of land but what is already made—we will pay a full amount in money A. J. complied with by the Sec. of War A.J¹²
1. In the 1832 treaty, the Creeks had ceded their remaining lands east of the Mississippi, all lying within Alabama. They were encouraged but not compelled to remove, left “free to go or stay, as they please.” The U.S. engaged to survey the ceded domain and grant full or half-section reservations within it to every Creek family. Reservations could be held for five years and then patented, or sold with individual presidential approval. Pending the survey and selection of the reservations, all intruders were to be removed except those who had settled and made improvements on tracts unoccupied by Creeks; these could remain only until their crops were gathered. Subsequent intruders on reservations were likewise to be removed until the reservations were sold or patented (Indian Treaties, 2:341–43). Secretary of War Cass had several times ordered U.S. marshal Robert Leighton Crawford (1799–1853) to execute the removals; but in December 1832, responding to protests by the Alabama congressional delegation and others, he authorized whites who had peaceably settled on unoccupied lands within the Creek cession to remain until the survey and selection of reservations (SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, pp. 806–7, 822, 944, 961–63, Serial 245; SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, pp. 538, 546, Serial 246).

2. An Alabama law of January 16, 1832, had extended state jurisdiction over all its Indian territory. It stipulated that whites living in Indian country would be governed by white laws, and validated all contracts “freely and voluntarily made” for white purchases of Indian improvements or claims (Acts Passed at the Thirteenth Annual Session of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama, pp. 7–8).

3. An Alabama law of December 18, 1832, had divided the Creek cession into counties. Laws of January 11 and 12, 1833, had organized the machinery of county government (Public and General Laws Passed at the Annual Session of the General Assembly of Alabama, for 1832–3, pp. 9–11, 30–35, 49–51).

4. Cass had written Alabama senators William King and Gabriel Moore and congressmen Clement C. Clay and Samuel W. Mardis on December 8, 1832, of his granting permission to peaceable settlers on unoccupied Creek land to remain for the time being (SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, pp. 961–62, Serial 245).

5. AJ flagged both this sentence and the next with a marginal note: “note—The whiteman before he went into the nation in violation of treaty & act of Congress ought to have thought
of this A. J. An Act of March 3, 1807, had prohibited settling on U.S. lands without permission and authorized removing intruders by military force (Statutes, 2:445–46).

AJ noted here: “The state could not pass a law directly contrary to the act of 1807 & the Treaty therefore ought the people to have paused before they placed themselves in their present predicament A. J.”

AJ flagged the text here, and again after “patentees of them” below, with the note: “no concession will ever be made by me in favour of such men A. J.”

AJ noted here: “a pure government cannot, nay ought not to be influenced by such corruptions A. J. it is the speculators who has occasioned this.”

Alabama governor John Gayle (1792–1859) had written Cass on August 20 to protest the killing of Russell County commissioner Hardeman Owen by a detachment of soldiers who were removing trespassers under marshal Crawford’s authority. Gayle denied the marshal’s legal right to remove intruders even on acknowledged Creek reservations, invoked the federal government’s “express permission” to settle the Creek lands, and insisted that state courts held sole jurisdiction over land disputes (SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 4, pp. 529–30, Serial 247). Cass replied on September 5 that “there is not an individual settled upon the ceded lands, who has the slightest legal claim to remain there,” that “it would be vain to expect” state courts to protect Creek rights against the intruders’ “gross and wanton outrages,” and that the treaty and the law gave the president a clear right and “positive duty” to remove them (DNA-RG 75, M21-11).

AJ noted here: “we will at all times receive chiefs cloathed with power to cede the whole country for a fair & liberal consideration, but no reservations or doceurs to corrupt men A. J.”

Former Alabama congressman John Crowell (1780–1846) had been the Creek agent from 1821 to 1832, and with Parsons had been a commissioner to implement the 1832 treaty. His brother Thomas Crowell (d. 1835) was a merchant among the Creeks. Trader and former Creek subagent William Walker (c1774–1836) had married the daughter of Creek chief Big Warrior. Cass’s May 2 instructions to Parsons for the failed removal treaty negotiation had said that preferably “not one reservation should be permitted to be retained within the state of Alabama.” If “indispensable” and warranted by “peculiar circumstances,” a few should be allowed, but “under no circumstances, let a reservation be granted to a white man.” This would have precluded a reservation to Walker, who was entitled to one under the 1832 treaty (SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, pp. 686–88, Serial 246).

War Department chief clerk and acting Secretary John Robb (c1791–1869) wrote Parsons on October 8. Enclosing Cass’s September 5 rebuttal to Gayle, he affirmed that the “indulgence” granted for temporary occupancy in the Creek country had been an “act of favor” and not “a matter of right,” and that settlers could receive “no protection” from state law made in contravention to federal law or treaty. Parsons’s own report of outrages against the Creeks proved the “imperative duty” of interceding to protect them, and if intruders suffered from eviction it would be their own fault. Robb said that AJ would welcome a Creek delegation to treat, but only for a settlement in “money for the benefit of the whole nation” with “no reservations or grants whatever” beyond those already pledged, as to assign more would be to “remunerate fraud” and “reward corruption” (SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, pp. 781–83, Serial 246).

To Martin Van Buren

—Private—

Washington Septbr. 22nd. 1833—

My dear Sir,

The Globe of tomorrow will give my views on, & reasons for, the removal of the deposits. This became necessary to counteract the gross
misrepresentations, that were circulated, and that the full view of the case should made to the people & their representatives before the meeting of Congress—and it was thought, by three of my Cabinet, that as Mr Duane had his paper in his possession for two days, that it was best to go forth with my name as it was presented to my Cabinet when convened for the purpose of hearing my determination on the subject—it has so been placed before the public—read, & give me your opinion.¹

Mr. Duane, after having my ultimatum two days, handed me his determination in writing—from the bulk, I told him I would not want, or could receive any other reply, but his determination, whether he would as Sec. of the Treasury carry into effect the measure of the Executive, or not—he said he could not—nor would he resign, that I must remove him. I said, that I hoped, from his former letter he would not place himself in such unpleasant attitude—if he did, I would remove him—he left me apparently very friendly, requesting I would read his paper—so soon as he was gone I opened it, and it was more offensive than his first. I returned it to him with a proper, calm, & dignified, note—he replied with more decorum but I had prepared a note advising him, that as Secretary of the Treasury, I had no further use for his services, when Major Donelson recd. a note from him acknowledging the impropriety of this course & requesting a withdrawal of his last note that he might, under his fathers advice, who had just arrived, write another. The letter was returned & I hope early tomorrow to get clear of him—he is either the weakest mortal, or the most strange composition I ever met with.²

We are progressing with our arrangements & I hope to have them completed by the first of October if not sooner.

I am quite unwell to day with a violent head ache. I would like to know when you return to Albany, that I might address you there.

Mrs. Donelson has been quite unwell, is up again—but her little son & Sarahs little daughter, are both unwell—the Town quite sickly.

My whole Houshold salute thee kindly—yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-0873). Van Buren replied on September 26 (below).

1. The Globe published AJ’s September 18 Cabinet paper the next day, September 23.
2. Duane’s replacement for his withdrawn September 21 letter follows below.

From William John Duane

Treasury department, Sept. 221st. 1833.¹

Sir—

As you had not, in any written communication, given a direction as to the deposits, but, on the contrary, had left the action to the Secretary of the Treasury as a matter of option, I deemed it my duty, when I had the
honor to receive from you your exposition of the 18th. inst. to ask you, whether I was to consider myself directed to remove the deposits, and you replied that I was directed on your responsibility.

I was preparing to lay before you, an exposition of our relative positions and views, from the first moment of my entry into your administration, when your decision was authoritatively announced in the Globe—a proceeding unsanctioned by me, that rendered all further discussion needless, and any attempt of the kind derogatory to myself.

A communication, justificatory of my course under present circumstances, which I delivered to you yesterday,² having been returned, on account of alleged objectionable matter therein, the presence of which, if disrespectful, I regret, it now becomes my duty, in reply to your letter returning that communication, respectfully to announce my unwillingness to carry your direction as to the deposits into effect; and in making known that decision, without meaning any sort of disrespect, to protect myself, by protesting against all that has been done, or is doing, to divest the Secretary of the Treasury of the power to exercise, independently of the President, the discretion committed to him by law over the deposits.

I have already, Sir, on more than one occasion, and recently, without contradiction, before the cabinet, stated, that I did not know, until after my induction into office, that you had determined, that the deposits should be removed without any further action by congress: If I had known that such was your decision, and that I should be required to act, I would not have accepted office.³ But, as soon as I understood, when in office, what your intention was, I sought for all information calculated to enable me to act uprightly, in the embarrassing position, in which I was unexpectedly placed.

You were so good as to transmit to me, to that end, from Boston, not only the opinions of the members of the cabinet, but your own views in detail, upon the deposit question: but, instead of intimating to me, that my disinclination to carry those views into effect, would be followed by a call for my retirement, you emphatically assured me, in your letter of the 26th. June, that you “did not intend to interfere with the independent exercise of the discretion, committed to me by law over the subject.”

Fully confiding in the encouragement thus held out, I entered into an exposition of my objections to the proposed measure. Discussion ended in an understanding, that we should remain uncommitted, until after an enquiry, which your agent was to make, should be completed, and until the discussion of the subject in the cabinet. But pending the preparation for this enquiry, I received your letter of July 22, conveying, what, I understood to be an intimation, that I must retire, unless I would then say, that I would remove the deposits, after the enquiry and discussion, in case you should then decide to have them removed. I would have at once considered this letter as an order to retire, and would have obeyed it, if I had not thought it my duty to hold the post entrusted to me, as long as I
could do so with benefit to the country, and without discredit to myself: instead, therefore, of retiring voluntarily or otherwise, I subjected my feelings to restraint, and stated as you quote in your letter of this day, that if I could not, after enquiry and discussion, as the responsible agent of the law, carry into effect the decision that might be made, I would afford you an opportunity to select a successor &c.

Under these circumstances, the enquiry was entered upon: it ended in shewing, as I had predicted, that the plan submitted to me on the 26th. June, was impracticable, and in a report without any defined substitute, according to my comprehension of it.

After a consideration of the subject in the cabinet, you gave directions as stated at the commencement of this letter, and I wrote to you that I would make a communication to you on Saturday, 21st. inst. and I accordingly did so, but you returned it to me, as discussion was needless now, and as much that you deemed objectionable was contained therein: upon this allow me respectfully to say, as stated in the commencement of that letter as hereinbefore stated.

Unto the present time, therefore, I have been struggling, under painful circumstances, not to retain a post, that I never sought, and the loss of which I shall not regret on my own account, but to maintain it for the country under a serious sense of duty to that country, and to avert a measure that I honestly feared might affect yourself.

Without entertaining, or desiring to manifest towards you, Sir, the slightest disrespect, but solemnly impressed with a consideration of my responsibility to the country, and my duty to myself, I now definitively declare, that I will not in any way aid or assist to cause the public money to be deposited in any other institution, bank, or place, than that prescribed by the 16th. section of the act chartering the U.S. bank, until congress shall direct or authorize such change to be made, unless good cause shall arise, such as in my judgment does not now exist.

I am further constrained, owing to occurrences & circumstances, that in part have come to my knowlege, or have taken place, of late, to leave it to you, Sir, to determine whether I am or am not any longer to remain a member of your administration.

I sincerely hope and beg, Sir, that you will consider, that I owe it to myself, my family, and my friends, not to leave my course, at this most trying moment of my life, open to doubt or conjecture; that my conduct has already sharpened the dagger of malice, as may be seen in some of the public prints; that you, who have been assailed in so many tender parts, and in whose defence I have devoted many a painful day, ought to make allowance for me, in my present position; that were I to resign, I could meet no calumniator without breach of duty; that I ask such order or direction from you, in relation to my office, as may protect me and my children from reproach, and save you and myself from all present or future pain; that I desire to separate in peace and kindness; that I will
strive to forget all unpleasantness, or cause of it; and that I devoutly wish that your measures may end in happiness to your country, & honor to yourself.[.] With the utmost consideration, Yr Obt St

W. J. Duane

ALS, PPAmP-Duane Family Collection (mAJs). Washington National Intelligencer, December 6, 1833. Duane Narrative and Correspondence, pp. 108–10. Duane wrote again below. AJ returned both letters on September 23.

1. Duane wrote this letter on Sunday, September 22. He backdated it to September 21 and sent it via AJ Donelson with a note explaining that it was meant to replace the withdrawn letter above, that it was “carefully worded, so as to avoid all possible complaint,” and that his father had approved it. In case it was thought “improper to present a letter on a Sunday,” he asked Donelson to deliver it when he thought best (Duane Family Collection, PPAmP). Later printed versions of the letter, including Duane’s Narrative and Correspondence, used the September 21 date.

2. Duane’s printing in Narrative and Correspondence changed “yesterday” to “this day” to fit the backdating.

3. Duane’s Narrative and Correspondence changed “required” to “requested.”

From William John Duane

Treasury department, September 21, 1833.¹

Sir—

Allow me, with great respect, to present to you, another view, in addition to those, stated in my letter of this date.

If I understand your wish, as it is to be collected from your note of this date, which I have just now again perused, it is to hold me, upon principles of delicacy at least, to my assurance of July 22d, that, unless I agreed with your decision, after enquiry and discussion, I would promptly afford you an opportunity to obtain a successor according in your views.

I pray you dispassionately to consider, whether you did not absolve me, even upon principles of delicacy, from all obligation, upon this view of the matter:

1. On Wednesday, Sept. 18th., I signified in cabinet my desire to take and examine your exposition: you gave it to me, saying, in reply to my enquiry as to your direction, that I was to consider myself directed to act, on your responsibility.

2. On Thursday morning, Sept. 19, you applied to me to know, if I had come to a decision; and I returned by your messenger, who brought your note, this reply:

A. “To the President of the U. States—

Sir—Upon a matter that deeply concerns not only myself, but all who are dear to me, I have deemed it right, as I have not a friend here to advise with, to ask the counsel of my father at this crisis: I wrote to him last night, and am sure that nothing but sickness will prevent his presence,
to-morrow night: on the next day, I trust that I shall be able to make a communication to you. With the utmost respect yr obt St—

W. J. Duane,
Sept. 19—1833—"

3. On the same day, Thursday 19th. Sept. your private secretary major Donelson called on me to say, that you proposed to publish, in the Globe of next day, your decision: I replied that I thought you ought not, that I was not a party to it, and as a matter of delicacy to myself could not approve of it. Lest words should be forgotten, I wrote and delivered to major Donelson this reply:

B. “A. J. Donelson, esq.

Dear Sir—The world is so censorious, that I am obliged upon reflection, to express to you my hope, that you will not regard me as approving of any publication: It would seem to be but delicate to defer such an act, until I shall either concur or decline: however all that I desire to have understood is, that I do not approve of the course you mentioned. Were I the President, I would consult, at least reasonably, the feelings of a man, who has already anxiety enough. As to the newspapers, they will know what has been done, without an official communication. Very resp'y Yrs

W. J. Duane
Sept. 19—1833.”

4. In the Globe of Friday, Sept. 20, you caused it to be announced to the world, that the die was cast; thus altogether disregarding the rights of the Secretary of the Treasury, and my own feelings and fame; and refusing besides to wait even until the next day to receive my decision.

Allow me, therefore very respectfully but confidently to say, that I was thus discharged from any sort of obligation, or respect for, or on account of the past: You gave me no opportunity to let you know, whether I would or would not afford you an opportunity to choose a successor: in short the secretary of the treasury was, as far as an executive act could do it, nullified: And I hold it, therefore, that, after such a course, I may stand before my country acquitted of any disregard even of delicacy.

Trust, Sir, that you will be so good as to permit this to enter into your consideration with my former note of this date, and that we may close without discredit to either, the pending matter, I am with the utmost consideration, Yr obt st

W. J. Duane

ALS, PPAmP-Duane Family Collection (mAJs). Washington National Intelligencer, December 6, 1833. Duane Narrative and Correspondence, pp. 110–12. The next day, September 23, Duane wrote AJ Donelson asking the return of a letter he had sent “last night”—presumably this one—because his father “in some measure disapproved” it. Duane said he would “make another effort to end this unhappy business less unfavorably” (Donelson Papers, DLC). AJ wrote Duane the same day (below).
1. This letter, like the one above, was written September 22 and backdated. Later printed versions used the September 21 date.
2. Duane retained a copy of this letter and appended a note of their conversation, in which Donelson said that “he thought the President would proceed, that the N. Y. Evening Post was urging a decision, &c” (Duane Family Collection, PPAmP). On September 17 the New York Evening Post had declared that delay in removing the deposits was “unaccountable” and that there were “many rumors afloat” concerning the reason.

From Martin Van Buren

Goshen Orange County
Septr 22d 1833

My dear Sir

Upon examining a bundle of papers in my trunk this morning I was ashamed to find that I had neglected to return the enclosed to you, & now hasten to do so. Be assured that the people every where are with you in regard to the Bank, & that those who calculate on a different state of things will, in the end, be woefully deceived.

Remember me affectionately to your Household. Your friend

M. Van Buren

ALS, DLC (73).

From William John Duane

Treasury department,
September 23, 1833

The secretary of the Treasury has the honor, respectfully to lay before the President, the enclosed communication from the Governor of Ohio, with a view that, if any action shall be deemed by the President to be necessary, he may give the communication the proper direction. Respectfully submitted by

W. J. Duane

[Endorsed by AJ:] The President refers back to the now secretary of Treasury the within communication of from the Governor of Ohio for his consideration. The President, on a careful review, can see no good reason for altering his former opinion. When the Legislature of Ohio makes their act conform to the act of Congress granting the land there will be no difficulty in the case. A. J

ADS, DNA-RG 56 (mAJs). LC, DNA-RG 56 (M733-1). Copy, DNA-RG 56 (23-0837). AJ later this day removed Duane as Treasury secretary and replaced him with Taney (below).
Congress in 1828 and 1830 had granted federal lands to Ohio to aid in extending the Miami Canal (Statutes, 4:305–7, 393). An Ohio law of December 31, 1831, for locating and selling the granted lands included a proviso disclaiming any pledge of state funds to build the canal other than the proceeds of the land sales (Acts of a General Nature . . . of the State of Ohio, December 1831 session, pp. 14–16). Taney opined to AJ on January 26, 1833, that this proviso, abjuring any promise to finish the canal, violated the intent of the grant and voided its terms (General Public Acts of Congress, Respecting the Sale and Disposition of the Public Lands, 2:179–80). AJ agreed, and on May 28 Elijah Hayward accordingly wrote Ohio governor Robert Lucas (1781–1853) that all sales and proceedings under the Ohio law were null and void. Duane now enclosed Lucas’s September 19 remonstrance against the decision (DNA-RG 56). Taney wrote Lucas on October 7, reaffirming AJ’s decision and urging the repeal of the proviso. The Ohio legislature repealed it on January 18, 1834 (Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, December 1833 session, pp. 32–47; HRDoc 114, 26th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 17–21, 24–25, Serial 386).

To William John Duane

September 23, 1833.

Sir—

Since I returned your first letter of September 21st, and since the receipt of your second letter of the same day, which I sent back to you at your own request, I have received your third and fourth letters of the same date. The two last, as well as the first, contain statements that are inaccurate; and as I have already indicated in my last note to you, that a correspondence of this description is inadmissible, your two last letters are herewith returned.

But from all of your recent communications, as well as your recent conduct, your feelings and sentiments appear to be of such a character, that after your letter of July last, in which you say, should your views not accord with mine “I will from respect to you and for myself, afford you an opportunity to select a successor whose views may accord with your own, on the important matter in contemplation,” and your determination now to disregard the pledge you then gave—I feel myself constrained to notify you that your further services as Secretary of the Treasury are no longer required.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

ANDREW JACKSON

Printed, Philadelphia Commercial Intelligencer, December 3, 1833 (mAJs). Duane Narrative and Correspondence, p. 112. Draft by Roger B. Taney, DLC (43); Bassett, 5:206.
To Roger Brooke Taney

Washington Septbr. 23rd. 1833.

Sir

Having informed William J. Duane Esqr. this morning that I have no further use for his services as Secretary of the Treasury of the United States—I hereby appoint you Secretary of the Treasury in his stead, and hope you will accept the same & enter upon the duties thereof forthwith so that no injury may accrue to the public service

Please signify to me your acceptance or non acceptance of this appointment. I am with great respect your most obdt. Servt

Andrew Jackson


From Roger Brooke Taney

Washington Sepr. 23. 1833

Sir

I have the honor to accept the appointment of Secretary of the Treasury which you have this day offerred me & hereby resign the office of Atty General of the United States. With sincere thanks for the many marks of confidence and kindness which I have received from you I am with the highest respect yr. obt. st.

R. B. Taney

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. Taneys acceptance of the appointment of Secretary of the Treasury vice Mr Duane—dismissed. Major Donelson will wait on the Secs. of State, War & Navy & inform them thereof—and request the Secretary of State to make out a commission for Mr Taney. A. J

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0845). Taney was commissioned this same day.

To Martin Van Buren

—Private—

Washington Septbr. 23rd. 33.

My Dr Sir,

I have this morning, from imperious necessity been compelled to dismiss Mr. Duane from the Treasury department—his conduct has been such of late that would induce a belief that he came into the Dept. as the
secrete agent of the Bank, to disclose the cabinet secretes for its benefit, rather than to aid the Executive in the administration of the Government.

I had a hope after the pledge he had given in his letter of July, that if he could not finally agree with me, that he would retire and give room for me to appoint a secretary who would act agreeable to my views. Contrary to this pledge, he took the stand that he would not resign and in a very indecorous letter told me I must remove him before he would leave the office. This was returned to him with a calm dignified note informing him of his pledge; that I could not now hold a correspondence with one of my secretaries on a subject on which I had decided—aluded to the indecorum of his letter and concluded by adding that all I wished now to know from him was, whether he would aid me in carrying into effect the measures which I had decided on, or not. Mr Duane addressed me another letter equally indecorous but professing the greatest personal regard &c before I had time to act upon this, he sent a note to Major Donelson requesting my permission to withdraw it &c &c—in the course of the day, yesterday, he wrote me two letters, and altho couched in more decorous language equally offensive containing palpable untruths & misrepresentations. These of course lay over for action until this morning, yesterday being Sunday; This morning I inclosed them back to him with a very dignified note which I thought suitable for the occasion concluding by telling him that “I had no further use for him at the head of the Treasury—appointed Mr Taney, who accepted, resigning the atto. Genls office, and unites with me heart in hand to meet the crisis. Mr. Tany is commissioned, sworn into office, and the business of the Treasury is progressing as tho Mr Duane had never been born. In his appointment I surely caught a tarter in disguise, but I have got rid of him—his father is here and if I can judge correctly, the papers that were so indecorous were withdrawn and others written for publication hereafter believing this, as I had him in the wrong, I have kept him so—therefore he must come forth himself, and if his letters are published by him it must destroy him, the blame that can attach to me is, that I did not dismiss him long before. I have been a good deal indisposed, would no doubt have been much worse, if it had not been for the exciting pills administered by Doctor Duane. But my friend how humiliating to me to be so much disappointed in a man whose purity of principle & politics I had so much confided—one who was always opposed to the Bank, who I had every confidence in when I appointed him that he would go hand & hand with me in carrying into effect a measure that I had called for the written opinion of my Cabinet in last March—professions will not do to be relied on now a days where the power of the Bank comes in question—hereafter I will have a Pledge—?Who shall I take to fill the atto. Genls place?—he ought to be right upon the Indian & Bank questions, & possessing legal talents & weight of character. Mr Woodbury says he ought to come from the south—who can we choose in
the south to fill the character Judge Parker;—some says Mr Dallas—write me freely and confidentially on this subject.¹ In haste yr friend—

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I send you no Globe as I expect the Major has—when read give me your views of it.² I now begin my message—it must be carefully adapted to the crisis. I will have a rough draft made for your examination when you come on. A. J.

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-0852). Van Buren replied on September 26 and 27 (below).

1. Richard Elliott Parker (1783–1840) was a Virginia judge and later a U.S. senator.

2. George Mifflin Dallas (1792–1864), later vice president under Polk, had been a U.S. attorney and senator from Pennsylvania.

Globe Headings on the Cabinet Paper

[Roger Taney drafted this text, which appeared nearly verbatim in the September 23 Globe above its printing of Jackson’s September 18 Cabinet paper.]

It has been generally known for some months past that the propriety of withdrawing the public deposits from the Bank of the U States was under consideration & engaged much of the attention of the President and of the different members of the his Cabinet, all of whom had been called upon by the President to assist him in his deliberations on this subject. After a very full and careful examination of this subject the President came to the conclusion that the public deposites ought to be changed to the state Banks—and his opinion was communicated in writing to his cabinet on Wednesday last, at a meeting held specially for that purpose & the facts and reasons on which it was founded. As public attention has been drawn to this subject it is deemed proper in order to prevent misunderstanding or misrepresentation to lay before the people the communication made by the President to his Cabinet as above mentioned and thus mentioned and a copy has been furnished to us for that purpose which we now proceed to publish.


To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Septbr. 24th. 1833—

My son being about to return with his dear little family to the Hermitage—I have thought it proper to make for him the following memorandum for his reflection and as far as my individual interest for his guide—
1rst. I recommend to him never to go in debt—a man indebted is a slave, & placed under circumstances with his creditors, that may subject his feelings to injury & insult. Therefore I wish you to live the life of a freeman, which you can always do, by living always within your real means—our real wants are few, our ideal wants many—to procure the latter never to in debt.

2nd. Twice I have been ruined by security ship. Therefore I would guard you against endorsing in bank for any one, or becoming security for any one. If your friend is in distress and you have the means loan or give to him what you can spare of either money or goods—if he is unable to return it, it never can distress you—widely different when you become security—in the first case you part with what you have to spare, and remain free from debt—but when you enter into security you never expect to pay the debt or to be called on for it, and make no provision to meet it—suit is brought & your property is sold by the sheriff to raise it—and always at sheriffs sale sold for much less than its value. Then I say to you give your property to relieve a friend, but steer clear of security ship.

You have my views as to the management of our farm. Have the cotton housed Ginned bailed & sent to market as early as possible, to our faithful commission merchant Col. Maunsel White at Neworleans, with instructions to sell as early after it reaches him as the market will justify—unless you can get for it, fifteen cents pr pound at our landing & then sell at home & send an order for the following articles, with the cash, out of the sales of the cotton, to Col White, if not sold at home, then forward the following order to him to forwarded by him, and retaining out of the price of the cotton the amount—

Three barrells best dry brown sugar—
three dozzen loaves White—Do Do—
one sack of best Coffee—
Twelve dozzen, bottled, claret—
barrell of good clean rice—
barrel Molasses—32-gallons—

Let every debt due by the farm, including the Doctors bill & overseers wages, be paid out of the proceeds of the cotton. When this is done the net proceeds that remain, you take one third thereof, as your portion, the two thirds have deposited to my credit in Bank, taking, before you make the deposit, one hundred dollars and give it to my dear Sarah—for her own use—the Union Bank of Nashville will be the safest deposit; I am told that bank gives an interest on the deposits.

I have been written to by William Donelson not to buy Mr Baldwins place, until he can know whether he will have to sell his. When you get home you can enquire as to his necessities & views. You know my means, that they are limited—but if he wants to sell, or is
compelled to sell, then with your means & mine united we can perhaps make the purchase—on that event, all the proceeds of our cotton after paying the debts due by the farm as before stated, and the articles ordered can be applied to the purchase of that tract of Williams—he says there is 800 acres—some of it first rate, and some inferior—taking the whole together, a full price in cash would be fifteen dollars pr acre. This is as much as you can afford to give for it. The cotton crop may pay the expence of the farm, &c &c—and leave a ballance of $4000 to be applied to the purchase. I can aid you in one thousand more there—and perhaps one thousand more here—but until my supplies for the winter is laid I cannot positively say. This would be one half of the purchase money the other six you would have to raise yourself but when you return inform me as soon as you can whether it will serve William Donelson to make this purchase, and whether he thinks $12,000 a fair price for the whole 800 acres—and if it will relieve him & be an accomodation to sell write me what you can do, and as far as I can raise the means without becoming two much incumbered I will go to make the purchase.

If you like Mr Baldwins land when you take a full view of it, and do not buy Williams. Then I think you might give $8000, for it—one half in hand, the other at twelve months after possession given, or $9000, one third paid down & the ballance at one & two years credit. These outlines are for your own reflection—and unless it is necessary to close the contract with William before you can write me the fully I would wish you to write & receive my reply before you close it—yr affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, PPRF (23-0856).

1. In the mid-1790s, AJ had taken notes from speculator and merchant David Allison in payment for western lands and endorsed them over to purchase supplies at Philadelphia for his Nashville store. When Allison defaulted, AJ became liable for the notes and sold his mercantile business to redeem them. In 1804, AJ had raised money to meet pressing merchant debts by selling his Hunter's Hill plantation for $10,000 and purchasing a less developed adjacent property, the Hermitage, for $3,400.

2. William Donelson was trying to raise means to clear the debts of John C. McLemore, for whom he was a security. He had written on August 28 asking AJ to wait before buying any land in the neighborhood, as he might soon need to sell his own place “that I have husbanded with so much care” (DLC-43). Edward Ward, who had purchased Hunter's Hill from AJ in 1804, later acquired an adjoining property which in 1830 he had sold to Henry Baldwin Jr. (1803–1868), son of Supreme Court justice Henry Baldwin. AJ wrote AJ Jr. again about the purchase on November 25 (below).
To Martin Van Buren

[This letter is available only in a published version.]

September 24th, 1833.

My dear Sir,

I did not intend to have written you again so soon. But this morning I was waited upon by Mr. Louis McLane and Gov. Cass, and, in a friendly manner, they introduced the delicacy of their situation—that the question made before the public would be a party question—that they as well as myself would be assailed—they for remaining in my Cabinet when it will be known that they were opposed to the measure, &c. &c. to all which I answered, kindly and firmly, that I could not see how their feelings or delicacy could be involved; the truth could be told,—that Mr. McLane had given me his full opinion on the subject with frankness—that he and myself had differed in opinion—that I had taken all responsibility upon myself—that I wished no support from either when their principles and opinions were not in accord: whether this satisfied them I can not say; I hope it has and it surely must unless they believe that when it becomes a party question they must, for principle and opinions’ sake, take open ground with the opposition—for I have declared to them, frankly and truly, that all I want of them is to attend to the duties of their respective departments, in the manner heretofore done. I hope they will remain but if it so happens that they do not the question arises—whom shall I select for the State, War and for Attorney General? they must be all known to be right in principle and good and true men.—Not men who differ on the great leading measures and believe that they have a right to transact the business of the department adversely to what the Executive believes the good of the country and prosperity of all require. Give me your views on this subject by the earliest moment in your power. I enclose this under cover to Mr. Cambreleng.

My night-fevers still continue but the press of business keeps me up in the day. In haste your friend

Andrew Jackson

P. S.—I hope for the best—but let what will come the sun will continue to rise in the East and set in the West—and I trust in a kind Providence to guide and direct me and in a virtuous people’s support.

A. J.

To Martin Van Buren

[This letter is available only in a published version.]

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25, 1833.

My Dear Sir,

I have this moment had an interview with Mr. McLane and with Gov. Cass and I have the pleasure to inform you that we are all united in our cordial friendship and confidence which on my part was never impaired. I have suffered more in my feelings in this great national matter than in any period of my eventful life. I had to struggle with my private friendship opposed to my public duty—but I could not struggle long. My God told me the measure was right—that the Morals of the People and the perpetuity of our republican government required it—and, as excruciating as it was to my private friendships and feelings, my public duty required my prompt action. I performed it and it is the first pleasure in my life that I can communicate to you that our friends McLane and Cass remain where they now are—harmoniously.

The system will succeed well and I am assured to day by one heretofore friendly to the Bank that nine-tenths of the people will sustain me—that the disclosures are so obnoxious to all principles of morality, so inconsistent with the course expected from the Bank, and for which it was chartered, that no honest man but must justify my course towards it: when its former friends speak thus we can have no fears of the result of public opinion. Let me hear from you. Mr. Cambrelenq says you will be in New York by the time this can reach you. I address it to you there. Your friend

Andrew Jackson


From James Alexander Hamilton

Confidential

New York Sepr. 25t 1833

My dear Sir,

I inform you in Confidence what I have lately heard from a source entitled to belief in relation to Gallatins Review Published at in the Walshs Review.

That work was written at the request of Biddle and upon a Promise that the author should be made President of the U.S. Branch Bank in this City Circumstances deemed sufficient by Mr Biddle induced him not to carry into effect that agreement—not so with the author he did not feel the force of these circumstances & was much dissatisfied. Biddle however
to heal the wound offered the Author 1000 Dollars whether he took it or not I cannot learn The impression is he refused so small a sum.¹

I have been disappointed in all my efforts to obtain the correspondence

It is quite unnecessary for me to say that I approve with all my heart all you have done as to the deposits The manner occasion you availed yourself to explain your course and views and the manner in which you have done it cannot be too much applauded The Change of Secty will be found a good one I regret that Duane did not explain by previous explanation (I mean before his appointment) render such the present measure unnecessary[.] I remain with sincere attachment your friend & Servt

James A Hamilton

PS The State Banks in this City on Monday were indebted to the Branch about one million of Dollars. It is said that Bennett has come to this City & offered to purchase The Standard from Mr Henry Hone for 50,000 Dollars one half to be paid down & the residue to be satisfactorily secured Whence comes the money If it does not come from Mr B’s breeches Pocket?² Yours &c J A H

ALS, DLC (43).

1. Philadelphia National Gazette editor Robert Walsh had solicited Albert Gallatin to write his “Banks and Currency” article for the December 1830 issue of Walsh’s American Quarterly Review. Biddle had furnished material and advice for the piece, and he offered Gallatin $1,000 on its completion. Gallatin declined on December 8, 1830, saying “I did not write, and would not have written, and do not wish it to be supposed that I have written, for the Bank of the United States; and I necessarily must accordingly decline any compensation. So far as I am concerned, I did write, on Mr. Walsh’s invitation, on a subject of great importance, and am quite satisfied provided the bank will at its expense print and publish my corrected copy. . . . Under existing circumstances, he who happens to have drawn conclusions favorable to the renewal of the charter must have no personal interest for having come to that result, if he wishes to produce any effect.” He also declined an offer of $500 from Walsh (Henry Adams, ed., The Writings of Albert Gallatin [Philadelphia, 1879]), 2:443–44, 447).

2. James G. Bennett had written Biddle from New York on September 23, seeking $50,000 to purchase the New York Standard & Statesman, published by Henry Hone (1800–1836). Bennett said he would use the paper to “demolish” AJ’s “Kitchen Cabinet,” and he proposed to mask Biddle’s involvement by making it appear the funds came from banks allied with Van Buren’s New York state political machine (Biddle Papers, DLC). Hone remained as proprietor of the Standard until it ceased publication in May 1834.

From Nathaniel Macon

Buck Spring 25 September 1833

Sir

Your letter of the 2d. instant was received on the 20, & would have been answered sooner, but company prevented. I have read it & the documents inclosed over & over again, they have not changed my opinion as
to the right of a State to secede, if this opinion be erroneous, it is of long standing & will probably go with me, to the grave, that South Carolina ought to have pursued a different course, was never doubted, but her doings, cannot take away the right of other states, or destroy her own. The first convention of North Carolina rejected the Constitution, the legislature called a second, which ratified, she had the same right to have called a third & that might if it thought proper have rejected it again; South Carolina could not have been in the union under the operation of her acts, she was therefore what she would have been, what North Carolina was before she adopted the constitution, a foreign power; The same feeling, which caused North Carolina to adopt, would have operated on South Carolina not to leave the union; The word Union has a force more powerful than fleets or armies

Nine states as well as I recollect, might have carried the federal constitution into operation, leaving four under the confederation, if they thought proper, to continue under it, yet the confederation was not to be altered without the consent of every state. The union will not be weakened by the right to secede, it is one that will not be abused, because it cannot, be the interest of one to abuse it, but if unjust legislation, should force a state to secede, that would not be an abuse, but if a state should secede with or without cause, she cannot get into it again by her own act

If a territory would not be a State, she could not be forced to be one, she could not be forced to be a member of the union as a state, without her consent, so that force cannot be used to bring a territory into the union or to keep a state in it

When the federal & state governments differ, the people must decide, which they will obey, without being guilty of treason, without this they must commit it against one or the other, a horrid choice, whether to be hung, by the Sheriff or the Marshal

A conquered country is at the mercy of the conqueror, no rights but what he pleases to give. The conquest of South Carolina would put her out of the union, & she would not be a Territory, with a right to come into it

Permit me, to observe, that I have constantly thought & often said, that the proclamation and nullification, ought to be laid by, as unfit for use in the United States, to nullify & to be in the Union & to be conquered & to be in the union, seem to be impossible

I never kept a copy, but of one letter I ever wrote, that was a private one, not connected with public affairs, of course I have no copy of the answer to Mr. Carsons letter, nor have I seen it in print, though I have been told it was in his circular to his constituents, it contained my opinion when wrote

In speaking of the proclamation, I mean that part which relates to rights state rights
The opinion, that a state cannot secede, seems to me, like the old British doctrine, once a subject always a subject, & that a conquered state would not be unlike Ireland; one of the most excellent & happy parts of our form of government is that either state or individual may leave it, when they please, our double governments cannot be kept together by force, if they can the condition of unhappy Ireland must be the fate of a conquered state.

I live 12 miles from Warrenton. I mention this, to account for the delay in the receipt of your letters, & scarcely ever go or send there.

You will perceive, that I have endeavored not to repeat the contents of my former letter. I do not yet recollect enough of the Massachusetts case, to say a word about it.

That your life may be as happy & contented as it has been prosperous & brilliant is the sincerest wish of Sir yr friend & Hble Sevt

Nathl Macon

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. Macon—on the subject of the proclamation. To be carefully filed—A. J.

It is evidence of weakness—his votes & speech in 1808 & 9—in support of the laws to enforce the embargo, he voted for the bloody bill then—it was treason to resist the laws by force—it was treason to secede—preserve this for history. A. J. 3

ALS, DLC (43).

1. North Carolina’s first convention had declined to ratify the constitution in August 1788. North Carolina became the twelfth state to ratify at a second convention in November 1789, months after the new government had gotten under way.

2. Article 7 of the constitution said it would go into effect upon ratification by nine state conventions. Article 13 of the Articles of Confederation prohibited its alteration without consent of every state legislature.

3. Macon had spoken in the House of Representatives on November 17, 1808, against rescinding or modifying the embargo. He asked if it had “come to this, that a law constitutionally enacted . . . cannot be enforced,” and declared that “it was right to pass laws to enforce it” (Annals of Congress, 10th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 497–98). He voted for the subsequent enforcement Act of January 9, 1809.

To Martin Van Buren

Washington Septbr. 26th. 1833—

My Dr. Sir,

Mr. Taney has just left me—he has selected three Banks in the city of Newyork—to wit—the macanics, the Bank of north america & McHatten Bank. These being all at present that we were prepared to select—a fourth is intended to be added—but until farther advised cannot in safety make
a selection. I therefore am requested by Mr Taney to ask your advice as to the fourth Bank—give it to me at as early a day as possible.

The instructions go out to day—and every thing will be ready to go into operation on the first day of October next. I write in haste to send it by the two o’clock stage. I have just recd. yrs inclosing me the atto. Genls opinion for which I thank you. I had searched for it—all things are going on well. Taney has energy sufficient to the Task—yr friend

Andrew Jackson


From Anthony Butler

Mexico 26. September 1833

Dear Sir,

I am very sorry to be compelled to say, that our prospects of effecting an amicable arrangement with the present Administration of the Mexican Government upon the subject of boundary is closed, and that should the present incumbents continue in office (of which there are great doubts) no other mode is left us but to occupy that part of the Territory lying West of the Sabine and East of the Naches (so called by the Mexicans) and to Garrison Nacogdoches by the Troops from Cantonment Jessup—there are present no Mexican Troops in that section of Country, they having abandoned the whole province of Texas East of the Guadalupe during the last fall after the Capture of Fort Velasco & Anahuac by the Inhabitants of Texas themselves. Such a proceeding would be justifiable as I conceive in every aspect of the question, and would lead no doubt to an immediate arrangement and adjustment of that question, and secure to us a boundary as far West as the desert, a boundary that Nature herself seems to have indicated as the true one between the two Nations. I say it would secure this, because I have ascertained in the most positive and satisfactory manner that the people of T. will resist any partition of the Country, they will insist in the most decisive manner to remain united and all belong to the U. S. or to Mexico; and as there is no difficulty in comprehending the meaning of their threat against division of the Territory, for they are confident of our insisting on the Naches as the boundary, it will have the effect of obtaining for us a relinquishment of the whole Country for a fair equivalent and afford the Mexn. Government the excuse of being compelled to make the Cession by the act of their own people. I have said that the
occupancy of the Country by placing a Garrison at Nacogdoches would
be justifiable, and I do so, because we have at least as strong grounds for
insisting on the Naches as the true boundary as the Mexicans have for
claiming to establish the line at what they call the Sabine, as a reference
to the enclosed topographical sketch I think will prove; and if our preten-
sions are apparently as clear and as strong as theirs we have equal right
to occupancy in the disputed Territory, Nacogdoches being about midway
between the Sabine and the Naches. The Mexicans have held possession
hitherto, and we have tacitly assented as I presume; first because it was
not so well understood then as now that a conflicting claim existed—and
secondly finding the adversary in possession at the period of discovering
the true condition of the question, they were permitted to remain, in the
expectation that an amicable arrangement would be entered into. As for
the present that expectation may be considered as overthrown, and as
the possession of Nacogdoches has been relinquished by the Military all
having long since retired—I cannot imagine a sound reason against our
doing ourselves right, and the more especially as every movement, and all
the conduct pursued on the part of this Adm’on indicate a hostile temper
towards us.

You may suppose it a strange idea of mine, but I can assure you that in
the Arrogance and folly of this people, they believe that we fear them—
and that they may take any liberties with, or make any exactions upon us
without hazard of resistance, and I assert as a fact, that an officer of Rank
in their Army said not long since, that if the Government would give him
10,000 men he would march to the Capital of the U. States and capture it
as the British had done.

As to the Hostility of which I have spoken, or at least a total disregard
of all our rights, my recent despatches to the Department of State will
furnish abundant proof. The case of Baldwin, the Case of the Ship Robert
Wilson of that of the Vessel seized and sold at Tampico, the maltreatment
of our Citizens, and the utter neglect to reply even to my remonstrances
requires on our part as I believe a total change in our policy towards this
Government: In fine we have suffered more wrong from the present party
in power during the seven months of their Administering the Government,
than we did during the whole period of Gen. Bustamente’s; Under the
Administration of the latter, there were liberal well informed men at the
head of the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Treasury, whose influ-
ence regulated and gave tone to the measures of the cabinet; and without
setting forth any boastful pretensions to liberality and justice as the pre-
sent men in power do, they proved by their acts, that Liberality and Justice
were the Landmarks they steered by. Upon the several matters referred
to in Despatches No. 53. & 54. I request and shall hope for immediate
instructions. I did not write you by either, being much pressed for time, in
consequence of the continual correspondence kept up with the Mexican
Government at that period.
I hope that before this arrives you will be in possession of my communications alluded to above, and have settled on the course of action to be pursued. I remain Dear Sir very Respectfully your friend & most obedt Servt.

A: Butler

[Endorsed by AJ:] Sepr. recd 6 Novbr—1833  Col A Butler Mexico—

ALS, DLC (43). Butler wrote again on October 2 (below). Two rivers flowing from the north converge at Sabine Lake, an estuary of the Gulf of Mexico. John Melish’s 1818 map of the United States labeled the eastern river the Sabine and the western the Neches. Citing Melish’s map as its authority, the 1819 Adams-Onís Treaty by which Spain ceded Florida to the U.S. stipulated a boundary between the U.S. and then-Spanish Mexico running north from the Gulf along the western bank of the eastern river, the Sabine, to the 32d parallel (approximately the modern Texas-Louisiana boundary). However, Butler had argued to AJ that the western river was really the Sabine, and AJ in 1832 had adopted that pretension in presenting a treaty to survey the boundary to the Senate (Jackson Papers, 10:120, 123–25, 242, 314, 491).

1. Cantonment Jesup, renamed Fort Jesup in June 1833, was located west of Natchitoches, La. Clashes between American emigrant settlers and Mexican government authorities near Anahuac, Texas, had climaxed in June 1832 when the colonists attacked and forced the surrender of the Mexican garrison at Velasco on the Brazos. Mexican forces withdrew from Anahuac in July, and in August 1832 emigrants attacked and expelled Mexican troops from Nacogdoches, located upriver between the Sabine and the Neches.

2. Bustamante had been acting president of Mexico from 1830 to 1832. Butler’s dispatches 53 and 54, written earlier in September, were never received. John Baldwin was an American merchant, planter, and sawmill operator in the state of Vera Cruz. In December 1831 the alcalde of Minatitlán had attempted his arrest on what Baldwin claimed were false charges. Baldwin resisted, broke his leg attempting to flee, and was captured and imprisoned. In January 1832 Butler had demanded his release and the punishment of his attackers. Baldwin had since been released but not compensated, and his assailants had not been punished. An 1839 convention between the U.S. and Mexico established a joint commission to adjudicate private claims, and in 1841 and 1842 the commission awarded Baldwin $157,978.14 for his various injuries and losses (HRDoc 291, 27th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 52–53, Serial 405).

The New York packet Robert Wilson had been seized at Vera Cruz for bringing in counterfeit Mexican coins. Butler had protested the seizure to the Mexican government as arbitrary and illegal. On April 9, 1834, Secretary of State McLane wrote Butler refusing official remonstrance or interference, as the case fell wholly under Mexican law. The ship was condemned and sold (HRDoc 351, 25th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 118, 484, 492–96, 518–19, Serial 332). The joint commission under the 1839 convention rejected a claim for $17,285.18 submitted by its insurers (HRDoc 291, 27th Cong., 2d sess., p. 55, Serial 405).

The ship seized at Tampico was probably the schooner Rebecca and Eliza, condemned in 1829 for bringing in provisions to supply an invading Spanish army. In 1831, Secretary of State Livingston had instructed Butler to obtain a record of the proceedings against the ship. It had still not been received on March 11, 1834, when Secretary of State McLane told Butler to procure it as a matter of right (HRDoc 351, 25th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 73–74, 117, 299–300, 388–89, Serial 332). In 1842 the claims commission awarded $12,110.43 to its owner and insurers (HRDoc 291, 27th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 52–53, Serial 405).
This sketch will serve to throw light upon the question that I presume must be contested between the Govt. of the U.S. and that of Mexico, in adjusting the line of boundary between the Two Nations according to the provisions in the Treaty of 1819.

By the sketch it will be perceived that two Rivers, or branches of the same River enter into and form a small Lake called the *Sabine Lake* distant from the Gulf of Mexico about 5 Leagues—from this Lake the Waters discharge into the Gulf by *one outlet only*, called the Sabine River. It is very clear therefore that the beginning point in running the Line is on the Top of the Bank on the Western side of the River Sabine where that River enters the Gulf of Mexico—it is equally clear that you must continue the course up the Western bank untill you strike the shore of the lake, and following the Western shore of that Lake untill you reach the bank of the River Naches, and at that point the contested question arises. The dotted line shews our beginning, and the continuance of the line to the River Naches. I will remark, that the Naches River at its mouth or the discharge into the lake is more than half a mile wide perhaps very nearly a mile, and is a bold deep River. The Sabine on the Contrary is shallow at the mouth and its navigation obstructed by flats & small mud islands grown up with flag & Rushes, so as to constitute the River Naches much the most important and conspicuous. If the point were conceded that both the Rivers were *Branches of the Sabine*, the doubt would be removed; because the fair Construction of the Treaty would confine us to the Western bank of the most Westerly branch. But the Mexicans say the Westerly River discharging itself into the Lake Sabine, has always been known as the “Naches” and the Easterly River as the Sabine; and that the Sabine or Easterly River is the true boundary. Ignorance of the Topography of the country has no doubt produced the difficulty, for had Mr. Adams been aware that the two Rivers Naches & Sabine entered into the same Lake within 2 miles of each other—that they had one common discharge into the Gulf—that by commencing at the Gulf and following the Western bank of the Sabine to the Lake, and the Western bank of the Lake, to the Eastern River called the Sabine would require you to cross a River nearly a Mile wide, and one much the most important of those which contributed to form the Lake, and the discharge from thence to the Gulf, it is very certain that a different *specification of boundary* would have been made. In the absence of this specification, the question is whether common sense and the reason of the thing does not authorise the interpretation that the Western branch of these two Rivers, entering the Gulf, (the point of beginning) by one common Mouth, should not be deemed the Branch contemplated in the Treaty as the boundary. The Commissioner may make the most of these suggestions.¹
In my own opinion the question never ought to be conceded, and it is equally my opinion that a clear manifestation of the determination on our part to maintain the position that the Western branch is the boundary, will obtain a Cession of what we want. Without something of this sort, I am convinced that from the present Administration we have nothing to hope; The principals are ignorant, obstinate illiberal Men, without perspicacity to see and comprehend their true interests, whilst they are governed and led by subalterns of some talent and address, and the most unprincipled villains to be found even in Mexico. Genl. Santa Anna is the reverse of all that he was represented to be,—He is neither intelligent, liberal nor friendly—his only land mark is self—his great characteristic unbounded egotism; and equal treachery and faithlessness towards friends and enemies; if he was a Man of energy and courage he would be dangerous to the Country. He is fortunately destitute of both, and thus Mexico may be saved.

A: B.

ADS, DLC (43). Butler’s sketch showed the confluence area of “the Sabine so called” and “the Naches so called,” with a dotted line running up from the Gulf and around the west side of Sabine Lake to the mouth of the Neches.

1. In 1832 AJ had appointed William McRee as commissioner to run the boundary line with Mexico. McRee had died in May and had not been replaced.

From Martin Van Buren

Newyork September 26th. 33

My dear Sir

This will be handed to you by my friend Mr. Irving, who continues to cherish the same exalted feelings of respect for your conduct & character that which he has ever entertained, & who, Mr Irving although he does not mingle in politics, has had good opportunities, recently, to observe the state of the public mind in regard to recent events. In consequence of Mr Irving’s being under the necessity of going south, I shall give up the rest of our tour, & remain here for a few weeks. 1 I shall therefore be in striking distance of you and we can communicate by letter every 24 hours. I have read the expose with the very highest satisfaction. It contains a most happy compound of all the various matters which you had before stated with new & important considerations—the whole expressed with extraordinary clearness, & dignity. Its effect upon the public mind, has, I learn been equal to its merits. The whole truth upon that subject is stated in a word. All the Democrats who are honestly attached to your administration, with not a single exception that I hear of this quarter, go with are enthusiastic in their support of your conduct & they are joined by very many candid upright & some in who are feel a personal interest in the matter of the opposition. Upon the subject of the Attorney Genl. let me beg you not to be in haste—as you say truly no more mistakes ought
to be made. In respect to this office particularly there is no necessity for haste, as Mr Taney will cheerfully attend to its duties in the interim. I shall write you again tomorrow as Mr Irving is upon the point of leaving me, & I have just had time to read your letters. I learn with extreme regret of your continued indisposition and of that of the children. I was in hopes that you had quite recovered. Accept my best prayers for your & their improvement, & remember me affectionately to Mrs Donelson & Mrs Jackson The Major’s Donelson & Lewis & to my friend Earle & believe me to be your friend

M Van Buren

[Endorsed by AJ:] V. B. by Mr Irwin—

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-0879).

1. Washington Irving spent the first half of October in Washington, seeing AJ several times.

From Martin Van Buren

[This letter is available only in a published version.]

NEW YORK, Sept. 27th, 1833.

My dear Sir,

Your letter of the 24th was handed me by Mr. Cambrelen at the moment of stepping into the carriage to visit the Town of Brooklyn upon the invitation of its trustees, and I embrace the first moment of my return to reply to it. You have done all that was required of you in regard to the suggestions of our friends McLane and Cass. If after that they choose to go, so it must be. Your course cannot be altered out of mere personal regard to any one. I do not however believe that such will be the case, but if it be, I think I ought to come down immediately and remain with you until your arrangements are completed, instead of making the suggestions you desire. I shall hold myself subject to your wishes.

Your letter of the 25th is this moment received after I had written thus far. I sincerely rejoice that matters have turned as they have. Our friends will soon see what a precipice they have escaped. Public sentiment is unprecedentedly strong in your favor. I dined yesterday with a party rising of 100, in King’s county, composed of the Senate of the State, now sitting as a Court of Errors, and of gentlemen of different politics: After several other toasts, Dr. Elwus of Fort Hamilton gave the following:—“The Oracle of Delphos said make gold thy weapon and thou wilt conquer all. Andrew Jackson has said make honesty thy weapon,”—and I never knew a toast received with more rapturous applause, long continued and several times revived. As this is probably the first direct test of the kind, and the company was respectable and of different politics, I think it of sufficient importance to mention it to you.¹

ⁱ September 1833
I think Gov. Woodbury is right in his opinion that the Attorney Gen’l ought to come from the South. You recollect what passed between us in regard to our friend Forsyth. He once (long ago) told me he would not think of accepting the appointment of Attorney General, and I do not know what effect the views he recently expressed upon another subject would have upon him in regard to this; but I feel so deeply how well he behaved for us all that I cannot think of suffering a single opportunity to pass without doing all in my power to serve him. If, for any reason, he should be out of the way I should like Judge Parker right well, if he is a speaking man. You will have time enough to cause enquiries to be made upon the point. You will recollect also that I spoke to you of Judge Ruffin, of North Carolina. You can cause the same enquiries to be made as to him so that you may finally act with a full view of the whole matter.2

There is one point you may depend upon, my dear Sir, and that is that there is an extreme anxiety on the part of the Democracy of the Country—your stay and support—that you should infuse a little more of their good spirit into your Cabinet than it now possesses. Recent events have given increased interest to this point, and the impression is extensive that if it had been heretofore otherwise in that respect things would have been better. Our quondam friend, Duane was either beyond or behind the age. Do not be in haste and do me the favour to remember me kindly to all your household. I hope to be with you on the 20th without fail. I am very truly yours.

M. VAN BUREN.


1. On September 26, Van Buren and members of the New York state senate had attended a civic reception, military review, and dinner at the invitation of the citizens of Brooklyn. Alfred W. Elwes (c1797–1842) was an Army assistant surgeon. The Oracle of Delphos reference is from the Suda, A3788.

2. Thomas Ruffin (1787–1870) was a renowned North Carolina supreme court justice.

To the Marquis de Lafayette

Washington
Sept. 28th. 1833

My dear Sir,

Your favor of the 6th. of August last was received in due time. I sincerely sympathise with you in the affliction which the sickness of your Grand daughter and Grandson was calculated to produce, but trust ’ere this that the medical skill of Paris has relieved them and enabled them to enjoy once more the pleasures of La Grange.1

The ill effects on the score of health, of my journey thro’ New England, have been counteracted since by the sea baths at old Point Cumfort, where

· 704 ·
I spent the month of August. My personal health is now as firm as when you saw me at my farm: and I promise myself but little inconvenience in future from this cause in the administration of the Government.²

You may have observed from the papers that besides the dangerous heresy of nullification in the correction of which it was necessary for me to encounter a considerable opposition in one quarter of the Union, I have placed myself in the same relation to another influence growing out of a measure I have recently taken in reference to the U States Bank. But in this as in the other steps adopted I do not doubt the approbation of my country.

We are happily free from the combinations of foreign diplomacy, to which you allude as sometimes giving a direction to public affairs not in accordance with the will of the nation particularly interested. There is nothing here to prevent the most free and general discussion of every question affecting the happiness and interests of the people: nor to interrupt the application of the remedies which experience may point out as due to the errors of Legislation or the abuses of constitutional power.

Mr. & Mrs. Donelson & all the members of my family unite with me in a tender of our warmest regards for your health & happiness. May you live to see France happy & prosperous as she ought to be with a population as intelligent as any on the Globe, and with a soil and climate among the most favored[.]

Truly yr. friend

Andrew Jackson

LS in AJ Donelson’s hand, NIC (23-0891).
1. La Grange was Lafayette’s estate outside Paris.
2. Old Point Comfort, Va., was the site of Fort Monroe, near the Rip Raps. Lafayette had visited AJ at the Hermitage in 1825.

From Martin Van Buren

Newyork Sepbr 28th. 33

My dear Sir

I have mentioned Mr Taneys wish in respect to the additional Bank & to Mr Cambreleng & requested him to confer with his associates in Congress from this City & write Mr T. upon the subject. I have no choice, & do not think that any very great mistake can be made in the matter. Mr. James of this City, a Director of the National Bank is now at Washington. He is a sincere friend of the administration & a highly respectable Citizen.¹ I am Dr Sir in great haste yours

M. Van Buren

P.S. I have seen something of Col. Canonge of New Orleans a member of their state Legislature, & as I understand a man of very considerable influence. He brought you a letter from Genl Dawson. He wishes to be
employed as auctioneer to sell certain property in dispute between the 
Government & City if a sale takes place, & I have promised to speak a
word to you in his behalf. Will you have the goodness to send a message
to him upon the subject through Mr Grimes expressive of what you can or
cannot do. He is appears to be enthusiastically attached to you.  

[Endorsed by AJ:] Sepr. 28. 1833 recd 1rst. octbr. 33. Mr. Van Buren—Mr Canonge &c—Banks &c &c &c—A. J

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-0897).

1. William James Jr. was a director of New York City’s National Bank, which had begun operations in 1831 with Albert Gallatin as president.

2. Benjamin Zephir Canonge (c1795–1839) was appointed register of the New Orleans land office in June 1834. John Bennett Dawson (1798–1845) was a planter, newspaper publisher, militia general, and later Louisiana congressman. The U.S. and New Orleans both claimed ownership of a stretch of the city’s Mississippi riverfront. A federal injunction in 1825 had blocked the city from selling the land. John Randolph Grymes (1786–1854), who was in Washington about this time, had been a U.S. attorney and an aide to AJ at New Orleans. Representing the property in its current state as a public nuisance and a hindrance to development, he had recently written AJ on behalf of the city asking him to order its sale, with the proceeds to go to whoever was determined to be its rightful owner (DNA-RG 56, M726-1). Taney had opined to Duane on September 19 that the president could not order a sale, but perhaps the district court could (HRExdoc 55, 31st Cong., 2d sess., pp. 867–68, Serial 602). The dispute remained unresolved until the Supreme Court ruled for the city in 1836 (Mayor of New Orleans v. United States, 35 U.S. Reports 662).

To Martin Van Buren

—Private—

Washington Septbr. 29th. 1833.

My dear Sir,

yours of the 27th. is just to hand—it is gratifying to me to learn that my friends approve the course I have adopted—my duty to my country, & the perpetuity of our happy republican government dictated the course which I have adopted & if the people do not sustain me, then indeed a private station is the post of honor.

I am quite unwell to day—have had fevers for several days particularly in the night—nothing but the excitement has kept me up—and to add to my perplexities. The Globe has come out with an explanation of the proclamation which require none. I spoke my sentiments fully when the true definition was given to it, which the instrument itself declared—not the interpretation which the nullifiers choose to place on it. The folly of explanation at all when 99, out of every hundred approved it was useless. When an improper interpretation was given to it by the nullies & seceders, it was well enough to meet, & expose the falsity.  

I have written to Genl Spaight, and caused a letter to be written to Genl Saunders on the subject of judge Ruffin—his talents & opinions on
some cardinal points must be had before a determination is made. I have had too much perplexity in my cabinet to permit any but those of the true faith to come into it. I have made such enquiry as I could with regard to judge P.'s oratorial powers—have not been able to obtain as yet satisfactory information on the subject—will take time.²

I would be happy to have you here as soon as it will comport with your convenience. Your views is always grateful to me. They are like my own, always based upon the just grounds of the prosperity of our country & the general good. I have therefore a desire that you should be here to aid me in carrying into effect the great work now in execution Mr. Taney is a host—his energy combined with his clear views will enable him to carry into effect the change—he has taken the precaution to place in the hands of the State Banks the power of drawing one million from the U.S. Bank if it makes a run upon them, but only to be used in the defensive—a good general will always keep his enemy in check—we have the Bank now check mated, will treat her gently if she behaves well.³ I am obliged to close—all unite in good wishes to you—yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-0903).

1. On September 21 the Globe had published a lengthy exegesis of AJ's proclamation against nullification, intended to silence renewed Virginia criticisms that it propounded dangerous constitutional doctrines of an all-powerful consolidated national government.

2. Romulus Mitchell Saunders (1791–1867) was a former and future North Carolina congressman and at present the state attorney general. On October 22, AJ commissioned Peter V. Daniel of Virginia as attorney general. Daniel declined, and AJ offered the post to Benjamin F. Butler of New York, who accepted on November 12 (below).

3. On September 28, Taney had sent each of the three deposit banks in New York City a draft for $500,000 on the BUS branch at New York to counter any attempt it might make to injure them by demanding payment of their balances. One of the drafts was presented for payment on November 18 after the BUS branch suddenly called on the Manhattan Company for $80,000 in specie. The other two drafts were not used and were later returned to the Treasury (SDoc 16, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 337–52, Serial 238).

Copy of an Opinion by Roger Brooke Taney

[The date of Taney's composition of this opinion is unknown. Jackson entered this text in his memorandum book sometime after September 19, the date of the preceding entry. The Globe incorporated it, unattributed and slightly amended, into a September 30 editorial defending Duane's dismissal and the removal of deposits.]

The right & Duty of the President—by Mr. R. B. T.

1st. It is not only the right but the duty of the President to examine into the manner in which the heads of the different Departments conduct their business & to see that the laws are faithfully executed and those
measures adopted which are best calculated to promote the public interest—and if in his judgment the laws are not faithfully executed & if the lawfull powers of the officer are not exercised in the manner best calculated to promote the public interest it is his duty fearlessly to state his opinion to the officer and the reasons on which it is founded.

2nd It is the duty of the officer, if he believes the measure recommended to be a violation of law or injurious to the public interest, it is his duty not to carry it into execution—and it may be admitted that the President cannot issue an order to him to do it. That question can never arise.

3. But as the president is responsible for the manner in which the duties of the Different Departments are conducted, if the difference of opinion is upon a matter in which the public welfare is concerned, it is the duty of the Secretary to tender his resignation to the President. For no man can without a violation of justice, continue a course of measures for which the President is responsible, against the known wishes and opinions of the President, and insist still in holding his office under him.

4th. If the secretary tenders his resignation, under the impression that the difference of opinion is of so serious a character that he ought not to make the President responsible for measures which he disapproves—it then rests with the President to determine whether in his opinion the measures adopted by the Secretary are so clearly illegal or injurious to the public interests, as to make it his duty to accept the resignation of the Secretary in order to enable him to appoint another whose opinions in that respect coincides with his own. And if he thinks so—it is his duty to accept the resignation.

5th. If the Secretary does not tender his resignation it then remains for the President to decide whether he is willing or not to continue responsibility for his acts—and if in his judgment the laws are not faithfully executed or the powers possessed by the officer are not exercised in the manner in which the public good requires—it is the duty of the President to dismiss him—and if he does not do so and the public interest suffers by it the President is responsible.

It is not contended that the President has a right to issue an order to a secretary to do any act which is committed to the independent action of the Secretary by law. But as the President is responsible for the manner in which the different Executive Departments are conducted the power of appointment and removal is given to him in order to enable him to fill them with competent and faithfull officers—neither is the tender of his resignation by the Secretary any disrespect to the President nor the dismissal of the Secretary necessarily disrespectful to him. It most commonly happens that unkind feelings grow out of such seperations on the one side or the other. But a resignation or dismissal may become necessary from an honest & friendly difference of opinion without any reproach to either
or any want of mutual respect or good will and when both parties are sincerely seeking to do their duty according to the best of their judgments.

R. B. Taney Esqr—


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**Last Will and Testament**

[This is Jackson’s earliest surviving full will. On September 4, 1834, he added a codicil revising the bequests in its third and fourth clauses to reflect a land exchange made six days before with Andrew Jackson Donelson. Jackson drew a new will to replace this one on September 1, 1842, and then another, final version on June 7, 1843.]

Washington City
30th. September 1833.

Being of sound mind, and reasonably impressed with the great uncertainty of life and the certainty of death, and being solicitous to dispose of my temporal affairs, so that after my death, no strife, or contention may arise—Therefore I Andrew Jackson of the County of Davidson and State of Tennessee do make ordain, publish, and declare this to be my last Will and Testament—revoking all others by me heretofore made.

First. I bequeath my body to the dust, whence it came, and my soul to God who gave it, hoping for immortality and happiness thro’ the atoning merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the World. My body I desire to be decently buried by the side of my dear departed wife, in the vault prepared in the Garden at the Hermitage, and all expenses paid by my Executors.

Second. All my just debts (if any) to be paid out of my personal estate by my Executors.

Third. I give and bequeath to my adopted son, Andrew Jackson Junr., all that tract of land whereon I have lived, and where my hands now are, known by the name of the Hermitage, agreeably to its butts and boundaries, and with all its appurtenances thereto belonging, or appertaining, together with the Winston tract, and one hundred and fifty acres bought of Peter Mosley, adjoining said Winston tract on the North, with all their appurtenances, and agreeably to their butts and boundaries, laid down in the deeds of conveyance; as also the three lots of land bought of Thomas, Samuel, and Alexander Donelson, adjoining the Hermitage tract, being part of their father’s (Severn Donelson) tract, with all their appurtenances and agreeably to their butts and boundaries, as expressed in their deeds of conveyance, and enure to the only use and behoof of the said Andrew Jackson Junr. and his heirs forever.
Fourth. Whereas I have heretofore exchanged with my beloved Nephew, Andrew Jackson Donelson, son of Samuel deceased, eight hundred and forty acres of land, situated in the Western District of the state of Tennessee, for one hundred acres taken off the north end of the tract whereon he now lives—the intention of this exchange being to give timber to the Home tract, the Hermitage. I now for good reasons, me thereunto moving, do give and bequeath the said one hundred acres to the said Andrew Jackson Donelson and his heirs forever.2

Fifth. I bequeath to my beloved nephew, Andrew Jackson Donelson, ten negroes, to be taken from my farm, to be worth three thousand dollars for the use and education of his eldest son, Andrew Jackson Donelson; but should any difficulty arise in the selection, then my will and desire is that my son, Andrew Jackson Junr. pay to the said Andrew Jackson Donelson, for the use aforesaid, in three equal annual instalments, the sum of three thousand dollars, with interest from one year after my death.3

Sixth. I bequeath to my nephew Andrew Jackson Donelson, son of Samuel deceased, the elegant sword presented to me by the State of Tennessee with this injunction—that he fail not to use it, when necessary, in support of the Union and constitutional rights of his Country.4

Seventh. After all my debts and funeral expenses are paid I bequeath to Andrew Jackson Donelson one third of the cash I may die possessed of—including all notes for cash that may be due me at the time of my death.

Eighth. I bequeath my adopted son, Andrew Jackson Junr. all my household furniture, together with my kitchen furniture of every kind whatsoever, with all my negroes, horses, cattle, sheep, and all other of my real, or personal estate not otherwise disposed of in this my last Will & Testament, which I now possess or may die seized of as tho’ they were enumerated and herein expressly named and set forth, to him and his heirs forever.

My adopted son, Andrew Jackson Junr. is to keep and wear the Gold Medal presented to me by the United States, with the hope that should any attempt from without, or unhallowed effort from within be made to subvert the freedom of his Country, or to sever the Union, it may stimulate him to exertions in its defence and protection.4

The Gold box presented to me by the Corporation of New York—the large Silver Vase presented to me by the Ladies of Charleston, of my native State—the sword presented to me by the Rifle Company of New Orleans, commanded by Capt. Beal, and the sword presented to me by the State of Mississippi I leave in Trust to my son, Andrew Jackson with direction that should our happy Country not be blessed with Peace, an event not always to be expected, he will at the end of the conflict, or close of the War, present each of said articles of inestimable value, to that Patriot residing in the city or state from whence they were presented, who shall be adjudged by his country men, the most patriotic and valient in defence of his Country’s rights.5
The pistols of Genl. Lafayette which were presented by him to Genl. George Washington, and by Col. Wm. Robertson (one of the Legatees of Genl. Washington) to me, I bequeath to Genl. Lafayette, if living, and if dead then to his son George Washington Lafayette as a memento of the illustrious personages thro' whose hands they have passed—his father and the Father of his Country.\(^6\)

The pocket spy-glass which was used by Genl. Washington, during the Revolutionary War, and which has been presented to me by Mr. Custis, I bequeath to the Philadelphia Museum with a request that it be presented to that Patriot who, hereafter, in time of war, may best signalise himself in defence of that rich and beautiful City, where first was proclaimed the Independence of these United States.\(^7\)

Lastly, I do appoint my beloved son, Andrew Jackson Junr. and my well beloved nephew Major Andrew Jackson Donelson my Executors to this my last Will and Testament and direct that no security be required for the faithful discharge of the trust reposed. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this thirtieth day of September eighteen hundred and thirty three

Andrew Jackson  Seal

Witnesses
W B Lewis
R. E. W. Earl
A. J. Hutchings
Saml. Donelson\(^8\)

\[The 1834 codicil follows.\]

\[Endorsed by AJ:\] Andrew Jackson Senr. Last will & Testament  A. J.

The within will containing two sheets, with the codicils annexed, cancelled by me by the will this 1rst. of September 1842 made by me cancelling and makeing void the within will.

Andrew Jackson

This to be kept, as a memorandom of land tittles of exchanges of land with the dates of Deeds, should they originals be lost. A. J.

DS in William B. Lewis's hand, DLC (43; 23-0910).

1. AJ had purchased the farm of his late neighbor Anthony Winston (1750–1827) in 1828, and in 1830 he bought 151 acres abutting it on the north from Peter Guerrant Moseley (1776–1858). Thomas, Samuel, and Alexander Donelson were AJ Jr.’s brothers by birth, all sons of Severn Donelson (1773–1818). AJ had acquired their lots for AJ Jr. beginning in 1831.

2. Samuel Donelson (c1770–1804), AJ Donelson’s father, was a brother of Rachel Jackson. On February 22, 1827, AJ had conveyed to AJ Donelson two parcels totaling 840 acres in Haywood County in west Tennessee in return for 100 acres from Donelson’s estate adjoining the Hermitage (DLC-34). On August 29, 1834, AJ conveyed the Winston tract and half the 100 acres to Donelson, and Donelson returned to AJ the 840 western acres
3. On November 22, 1819, the Tennessee legislature had voted to award a ceremonial sword to AJ for his service in the 1818 Seminole campaign. Governor William Carroll presented it to AJ on July 4, 1822. It is now at the Hermitage.

4. On February 27, 1815, Congress had voted AJ a gold medal for his victory at New Orleans (Statutes, 3:249). President Monroe presented it at a White House ceremony on March 16, 1824. The American Numismatic Society in New York City acquired it in 1933.

5. On February 19, 1819, on a visit by AJ to New York City, the Common Council voted to present him “the freedom of the City in a gold box with a suitable inscription.” At a ceremony on February 23, mayor Cadwallader D. Colden administered a formal oath to AJ and admitted him as a Freeman of the City (Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1784–1831 [1917], 10:254–57, 263–66). In May the mayor’s son, David C. Colden, delivered the box and a parchment certificate (DLC-26) to AJ at Nashville. In 1859 the Jackson family bestowed the box on Ward Benjamin Burnett, colonel of a New York regiment in the Mexican War. The Hermitage acquired it from Burnett’s heirs in 2013.

The silver vase, an ornate covered tureen with designs commemorating the Battle of New Orleans, was commissioned by “the ladies of South Carolina.” It was completed in 1816 and presented to AJ’s representatives in Charleston on February 7, 1817. In 1858 AJ Jr. gave it to the Palmetto Association, survivors of South Carolina’s Palmetto Regiment in the Mexican War. It now resides at the State Museum in Columbia.

Thomas Beale (d. 1820) had commanded a city volunteer rifle company at the defense of New Orleans. In 1817 the company presented AJ with a commemorative sword. AJ’s revised will in 1842 left it to John Coffee’s son, Andrew Jackson Coffee (NNFoM, 35-0905). The sword was damaged by fire during the Civil War, and its remnant blade was later returned by Coffee’s brother to the Hermitage, where it now resides.

In January 1814 the Mississippi territorial legislature had voted a ceremonial sword to AJ for his campaign against the Creeks. It was presented in May 1815. AJ’s later wills did not mention this sword, which may have perished in the 1834 fire at the Hermitage.


8. Samuel Donelson’s signature, written in the margin, may date from the addition of the 1834 codicil, which he witnessed.
October

To Anthony Butler

—Private—

Washington Octobr. 1rst, 1833—

Dear Sir,

your letter of the 5th. of August last has been some days before me—ill health with an unusual press of public business has prevented me from replying to it sooner.

I was compelled to suspend my nothern tour at Concord New Hampshire from bodily infirmity, reaching Washington with great debility, worn down with the constant fatigue I was compelled daily to encounter. I repaired to the Rip Raps, where the sea bathing and salubrity of the air soon restored my health & strength. Business compelled me to leave that healthy & retired spot and to return hither—incessant labour with the prevalence of billious disease occasioned by the unholsome miasma from the vegetable deposit thrown up by digging the canal thro the swamp of the tiber, that has rendered our city very sickly, has visitted me for the last ten days. Thank god, I am now clear of fever, and altho debilitated have prospects of speedy restoration to my usual health, which has become feeble at best. The late change of my Secretary of the Treasury, with the frauds & corruptions recently unfolded in the Bank of the United States, you will see from the public Journals, has occasioned me some additional labour, and has given me an excitement, far better for my recovery, than all the stimulating medicine of the faculty. I hope to live my dear Sir, until your arrival with the Treaty of boundery with Mexico, that will place our relations with that country on a friendly and lasting basis, forever. This much in reply to your kind enquiry after my health.

I sincerely regret the unsettled state of the political affairs of Mexico. I still hope that Genl St. anna patriotism and good fortune may succeed in tranquiliising that unhappy Country, giving it peace a true republican government, not executed by the bayonet, but by the wholesome adminis-tration of just and equal laws.

I have read your despatch to the Secretary of State with great interest. I hope and trust you may succeed. You must urge them as much as possible upon the conclusion with of a treaty in regard to the settlement of our boundary. If you succeed it will be a lasting feather in your cap, and prevent
a bloody civil war that Mexico is not now able to carry on with any hopes of success against T. so far removed as T. is from her—and should a war ensue, all renegadoes from all countries & climes will float to Texas. We cannot restrain our citizens from emigrating to any country they please, we can & will restrain all from arming & raising troops within our Territory. This is all the Executive power can do—when beyond our limits our power ceases. Therefore it is that we may be, & continue on the most friendly footing with M. that I wish this question speedily settled. It will be to us an evil for a while; to introduce a due execution of the law into that country will be both troublesome & expensive business—but it will lay a basis for perpetual friendship with the republic of Mexico. Bring it to a speedy issue if you can.  

I must refer you to the Secretary of States despatch for farther particulars & the news papers he is directed to send you—with my best wishes I must close this hasty scroll—my debility will not permit me to write more.

So soon as I can, my attention will be bestowed upon the subject of the consul—your friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, TxU (23-0924). AJ wrote Butler again on October 30 (below). Butler replied on February 6, 1834 (DLC-44).

1. Tiber Creek was a Potomac River tributary flowing along what is now Constitution Avenue. It had been incorporated into the Washington City Canal that opened in 1815 between the Potomac and the Anacostia. In 1833 construction was under way to link that canal with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal at Georgetown.

2. Butler’s August 5 official dispatch, probably sent with his letter to AJ, had arrived on September 25. Butler reported that upheaval in Mexico impeded progress in negotiation and threatened the security of American property, but that Mexico’s unwillingness to grant the Texans greater autonomy combined with its inability to suppress them created a better prospect for U.S. acquisition than at any time since Lucas Alamán had left office (DNA-RG 59, M97-7).

3. Butler wished the removal of James Smith Wilcocks (c1777–1838), the U.S. consul at Mexico City, whom he had charged in a June 21 dispatch to McLane with neglecting his duties and inflating his official station (DNA-RG 59, M97-7). Wilcocks had previously written the State Department on February 15, calling Butler “totally unfit” and charging him with “tyrannical disposition” and “insatiable” avarice. Wilcocks listed eleven instances of Butler’s scandalous public conduct, from cheating in trade to fighting in the street and openly propositioning respectable Mexican women (DNA-RG 59, M296-1).

From Anthony Butler

Mexico 2d. October 1833.

My dear Sir,

A few days I wrote you on the subject of T.— and advised an immediate occupancy of the disputed Territory. I hope we shall differ in opinion on that question, and when I recollect the advice you gave, and the opinion
you expressed to Mr. Monroe in relation to East Florida, a case presenting features nothing like so strong as the present, and with not a tithe of the circumstances to justify the proceeding which we have in the T— affair, I cannot doubt but you will concur with me in the propriety of the movement. One half the Garrison from Cantonment Jessup would be sufficient for all purposes, still if the course recommended be adopted, it would be better to send the whole force. In addition to the old church and other public buildings hitherto occupied by the Mexican Troops as Barracks, Gen. Leavenworth or the Officer commanding might construct other buildings and a stockade fort if deemed necessary, as Timber is very convenient; and the expence of subsisting the Troops at Nacogdoches would be very little more than where they are—a small additional expence in transportation by Waggons. The Territory once occupied by any portion of our Troops, and the people of T— would themselves do the work, they require nothing but our countenance—nothing but an assurance that they would not be rejected by us. There are at present in Mexico two Gentlemen from T—bearers of a petition to the Supreme Governmt. for permission to assume an Independent State Government and be separated from Coahuila—it will be denied them, in which event say the Agents, “We will immediately declare ourselves Independent” and I know positively that one of the Gentlemen, has already written to his Constituents informing them of the probability of their petition being rejected, and advising that the minds of the people be prepared to hold a Convention immediately on his return, and declare their Independence. I do not like to commit names to paper lest my letter should be intercepted—but the same individual has spoken with me freely on the subject, and I have listened to all he wished to say, without committing myself to any thing. He declares that he is decidedly for attaching that Country to the U. S. and that nothing short of the Desert will do as the boundary. That the application for a state Govt. is all humbug, and only meant to prepare themselves the better for their final movement: That no one thinks of remaining connected with Mexico longer than the arrival of a convenient period for separation &ca. &ca.

All this I listen to, and excepting concurring with him in opinion that it would be better for all parties, that T— was united with us I express nothing that would commit either myself or the Governt. to that of Mexico, were all I have said known.

Pray write me soon and fully, not only officially through the Department of State but privately and freely under your own hand. Let me know all you wish and all you intend, and rely on my efforts and cooperation with you to Death. I will negotiate or fight just as you think best. I am frank and speak to you in all the confidence of an old and tried friend when I say that my preference is for the latter. We have abundant cause for quarrel and it would cost less by one half aye two thirds to take, than to purchase the Territory. In truth to take it would cost nothing—or rather
nothing more than the expence of removing from the Cantonment to Nacogdoches. Think well on this, and I know your decision will be right. Santa Anna is a vile hypocrite, and most unprincipled man, you can have no hold on his moral principles because he is without any, count therefore on nothing but what we may be prepared to enforce. always and faithfully your friend & most obedt. Sevt.

A: Butler

ALS, DLC (43).

1. On January 6, 1818, AJ had written President James Monroe urging “the whole of East Florida seized & held as an indemnity for the outrages of Spain upon the property of our citizens” (Jackson Papers, 4:166–67).

2. Brevet Brigadier General Henry Leavenworth (1783–1834) commanded the Third Infantry Regiment, of which six companies were at Fort Jesup.

3. Stephen F. Austin had reached Mexico City on July 18 with the Texas petition for statehood, which was now pending before the Mexican government.

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From Martin Van Buren

NYork Octobr 2nd 33

My dear Sir

I thank you for your kind letter but regret, sorely, your continued indisposition. I cannot but think that much of your fever & inconvenience at night, is attributable to those infernal hot coal fires; & I sincerely hope you will be induced, at least to make an experiment with Liverpool coal, If you cannot do with wood. When I was at Gadsbys last spring, I suffered more than I can well express from this source, & Mr Adams (who may be good authority in this matter, however bad he is in others) informed me, that he was satisfied, that he had recd great injury from the use of it in his bed room.¹

You will see by the enclosed, that the opposition have commenced the game I anticipated. They have found by experience that their abuse of you is labour lost, & they conclude, wisely, that if they could succeed in shifting the Bank question from your shoulders to mine, they would be better able to serve the mammoth than they are at present. Now, although I cannot grumble at the service they are rendering me with the people, by the position in which they seek to place me by identifying me with you in this matter, it will not do for us to expose the great measure to prejudice, by doing any thing that would tend in the slightest degree to withdraw from it the protection of your name. I think therefore that this Editor has treated the matter in a sensible way.² I am glad to hear that our friend McLane is taking an excursion. It will do him no harm to mix a little more with the people. Gov Cass is here. I have yet seen as much of him as I intend to do. You may talk very freely to Mr Irving—he is a sensible,
discreet, & honest friend—though not a politician. Remember me kindly to all your household & believe me ever yours

M Van Buren

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-0936). AJ replied on October 5 (below).

1. John Gadsby (c1766–1844) was proprietor of the National Hotel in Washington. Former president John Quincy Adams was now a Massachusetts congressman.

2. Van Buren probably enclosed the October 1 New York *Evening Post*, which hailed the removal of deposits as a salutary measure and charged that opposition papers, afraid to meet it on its merits and recognizing the futility of further “violent invectives against General Jackson,” were instead pursuing “an organized plan to assail Mr. Van Buren as the author” on no evidence whatever. William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878) and William Leggett (1801–1839) edited the *Post*.

*From Big Elk et al.*

To our Great father the President of the United States.

The chiefs and warriors of the Omahaw tribe of red men in behalf of our tribe humbly represent; that the Omahaws reside far up the Missouri river, that they are the friends of the white men, and love to open their ears to the advice of their Great father.

The Omehaws are a brave people, and were once numerous and happy. They are now few and unhappy. Once there were Buffaloe Elk & deer in abundance. But the white men have killed some and our red brothers who have come from the East to live here, are killing what is left. The game is almost gone. What shall we do? Must we die so soon? Our great father has sent us a good father Mr Ellsworth to talk to us. He has told us we must work and cultivate the ground and then we shall be happy. Our agent Mr Dougherty has told us the same many times.1 It is a good talk for us. But we have no cattle, and know not how to work as the white men do. We send to our great father who takes care of his red children, to ask him to give us some farmers to tell us how to work, some cattle and agricultural implements; some potatoes and other seeds to plant; and then we will not go to the chase, but live at home and work as our great father tells us to do. We are willing to locate ourselves on our land, where our great father thinks best for us to live for agricultural purposes.

Our father and friend who has talked to us here, has told us to send our children to school, that they may learn to read and write as white boys and girls do. This we like very much, and wish our great father would send us some teachers to live in our villages, and we will send our children to school for we want to have them learn.

Our father, here, tells us not to make war any more, for you want all the red men to live in peace; but if we have any difficulty with neighboring tribes to refer the matter in dispute to some arbiter whom you shall
appoint to settle the same. This we are willing to do. We have done. Will not our great father help us, that we may be again happy; That we may once more have enough to eat, and our women & children not starve and die when the cold winter comes.

Dated at Otoe village on the Platte river this third day of October 1833.

Ompahtongah, or Big Elk first Chief
Big Eyes—Second Chief
Iron Eyes—Chief
Ahgaha money—Chief
Way rugaron—Chief
Wah Coo ra, a Brave
Ne gosh shuday, a Brave

Signed in presence of
Henry L Ellsworth.
Edward Ellsworth

DS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-883). Copy, DNA-RG 46 (23-0940). SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 2d sess., vol. 4, pp. 595–96 (Serial 247). Big Elk (c1772–1846), or Ongpatonga, was the principal chief of the Omahas. This petition was penned by western Indian commissioner Henry Leavitt Ellsworth (1791–1858), who enclosed it on October 4 to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Elbert Herring. Ellsworth explained that he had encouraged the Omahas, numbering around 1,800 and residing on the Elkhorn River in present Nebraska, to relocate east to the Missouri River. With game disappearing, they were “brought to this certain alternative, to till the ground or starve,” and were now “anxious to give up the chase and pursue an agricultural life” (DNA-RG 75, M234-883; SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 2d sess., vol. 4, p. 595, Serial 247).

1. John Dougherty (1791–1860) was the Upper Missouri Indian agent.
2. Iron Eyes may have been Big Elk’s son (d. 1853), who succeeded him as principal chief in 1846 and also took the name Big Elk.
3. Edward Augustus Ellsworth (1817–1837), Henry L. Ellsworth’s son, was acting as secretary to the western Indian commissioners during the absence of Samuel C. Stambaugh.

From Andrew Jackson Jr.

Middle Town Md Octbr 4 1833

My Dear Father,

I take pleasure in writing you a few lines from this place—and will endeavor to do so every other day on our route. We have gotten on quite well so far—and comfortably; our Dear little Pet seems well, and has been quite good so far—does not seem at all fatigued—but has been cheerful all day—and much amused. I hope she will so continue—in fact I believe the journey, will be of great service to her & Mother. Sarah has been quite well so far. She will write you a few lines from here. We felt yesterday and to day very melancholy, about leaving you behind. Cheer up Father. I pray god will take care of you and us, may he watch over you, and give
you health & happiness until we meet again, which I hope will not be a
great while, We have found the roads quite good so far & understand they
are very good on to Wheeling, Adam seem’s to improve a little—but his
coughf is a dreadful one.¹ I shall do all I can for him poor fellow—remem-
ber us kindly to Andrew, Emily & Col. Earl & Lewis. May god bless, and
Take you in his holy keeping. your affectionate son

A Jackson junr

Please drop me a few lines to Wheeling Va. & tell me of your health.

ALS, DLC (43). AJ replied on October 6 (below).

1. AJ had purchased the slave Adam (d. 1834) in 1831 from John G. Stuart of Virginia
for $420.

From Martin Van Buren

NYork October 4 1833

My dear Sir

I believe Mr Leavitt to be a most upright man & sincere friend. I regret
however that he desires to leave Congress. Your friend

M. Van Buren

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. Leavitt applies for the office of D. judge for ohio,
vice Campbell deceased—a member of Congress cannot be appointed
unless from his superior fitness to any other. A. J

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-14). Ohio congressman Humphrey Howe Leavitt (1796–1873)
had written Van Buren on September 28 seeking appointment as U.S. district judge in Ohio
to succeed John Wilson Campbell (1782–1833), who had died on September 24 (DNA-RG
59, M639-14). However, on October 7 Leavitt wrote AJ endorsing the candidacy of his
townsman Benjamin Tappan. AJ gave Tappan a recess appointment on October 12. The
Senate rejected Tappan in June 1834, and AJ then nominated Leavitt, who was confirmed.
After his defeat for the presidency in 1824, AJ had charged that executive appointments of
congressmen invited corruption and threatened the purity of elections. He proposed restrict-
ing them by law, with judicial appointments as an exception so that “no barrier should be
interposed in selecting to the Bench, men of the first talents, and integrity” (Jackson Papers,
6:110). His first annual presidential message to Congress in 1829 had repeated the recom-
mendation (Richardson, 2:448).

To Martin Van Buren

—Private—

Washington Octbr. 5th. 1833.

My dear Sir,

your very kind letter of the 2nd. instant was received yesterday—but
the accumulation of business on thursday, and from my absence from my
table on that day, accompanying my son, daughter, & little babe, a few miles on their way to the Hermitage where they will spend the next winter, prevented my acknowlegement of it. 1

We have got the Bank in Baltimore Philadelphia Newyork & Boston perfectly under check mate. Biddle finds himself precisely in the situation that Genl Hamilton and his counsillies found themselves—the Genl thought he would possess the fortresses magazines, & arsenals & became bold with this hope in his immagination—but behold when he made the move he found the fortresses well defended, the magazines secured—just so with Mr Biddle, he had all his plans laid to destroy the State Banks and oppress the union by bringing down upon every section of it at once, a pressure in the money market—he made a shew of his hand & views; first in Newyork, & Baltimore, by rejecting their own Branch notes as a credit to the State Banks & sending them instantly back—an interview immediately by the President and director of the State Banks, was the first intimation of their being in check—they directors begged time until this day to give an answer whether they would not receive & cash all their Branch paper received by the State Banks. If the answer in the negative, then one million & a half of coin will be taken from their vaults in Newyork in an hour, &c &c—until all is secure. 2 We act solely on the defensive, and I am ready with the screws to draw every tooth & then the stumpts—fear not therefore, for abuse—the more the heap upon you, the more will the virtuous portion of our Country appreciate you—we will, if I mistake not, have Mr Biddle & his Bank as quiet & harmless as a lamb in six weeks—for we extend the preventive system, as fast as safe Banks can be had in every section of the Union, so that the State Banks by the deposits may accomodate to the amount that the U.S. Bank curtails. The curtailments by the U.S. Bank will oppress only their own friends, & when done for mischiefs sake only, it will raise up the whole in hostility to it. From this hasty view which I give you, it will be at once discovered that we have nothing to fear. The exposed corruption of the Bank, & improper use of the public money, has, as I was sure would be the case, filled every honest mind with indignation against it—and must rouse the Stockholders at once to denounce it & change its direction, or loose the value of their Stock.

I now invite you here. I have my dear Sarahs room prepared for you, until your own House can be put in order. I have now only one trouble, and that is my next message to congress—our Foreign concerns, I hope I can say, are all on the most friendly footing—all our claims upon them amicably settled—at home peace & tranquility and general prosperity prevades the whole country—our commerce flourishing and the revenue more than ample for the wants of the Government—and then, the causes that led to the removal of the deposits, & with a forcible, and in a concise manner, referring to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury. This part must be well considered.
I am happy you are to be at the Baltimore races, from that point I shall expect you here. I have much to say to you when we meet. My health is not good, but I think improving.

My little family now here all unite in kind salutations to you—your friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-0978).

1. Thursday was October 3.

2. On October 2 the Union Bank of Maryland and Mechanics’ Bank in New York, both now government depositories, had presented BUS notes payable at out-of-town branches, which they had collected as payments on customs bonds, to the local BUS branches for crediting to their accounts. Following established policy, both BUS branches refused to accept them. The state banks protested, and the branch officers promised to consult with BUS headquarters in Philadelphia. On October 5 at Baltimore and October 7 in New York, the BUS branch cashiers informed the deposit banks that they would henceforth accept and credit as cash all BUS branch notes deposited on government account (SDoc 24, 23d Cong., 1st sess., Serial 238).

From Roger Brooke Taney

Treasury Department
October 5th. 1833—

Sir

In pursuance of the power reserved to the Secretary of the Treasury by the 16th. Section of the Act incorporating the Bank of the United States I directed the money of the United States collected in Washington Baltimore, Philadelphia New York and Boston on and after the first of this present month to be deposited in certain local Banks which I have designated as the Depositories of the public money. And arrangements are now in progress to make a similar change throughout the United States¹

It is believed that public money when placed at the disposition of a public officer in order to be applied to the public service remains the money of the United States while it continues in the hands of the disbursing agent and is consequently subject to the control of the Secretary of the Treasury as to the place of its deposit. I therefore respectfully propose for your consideration and sanction,

First, That all public money placed at the disposition of the public officers shall be deposited in one of the Banks having the Deposits of the public money if there be any such Bank at the place where it is to be disbursed where the nature of the disbursement will admit of such deposit.

Second, That the Banks employed as depositaries of the public money, in the returns of the state of said banks required by the Treasury Department shall present an account of all public money deposited in them to the credit of any public officer and shew the amount at the disposition of such officer at the date of the return.
Third, That the Treasury Department when required by either of the
other Departments shall furnish a transcript of the return of any Bank
shewing the amount standing to the credit of every or of any officer of
such department

All which is respectfully submitted

R. B. Taney
Secretary of the Treasury

DS, DNA-RG 56 (23-0965). Copy, DNA-RG 206; Copy, DNA-RG 112; Copy, DNA-RG 46
(23-0968). Copy, DNA-RG 94 (M567-81). Copy, DNA-RG 56 (M415-1). Copy, DNA-RG
59 (M179-77). Copy, DNA-RG 45 (M124-140). Copy, DNA-RG 75 (M234-435). Copy,
DNA-RG 77 (mAJs). HRDoc 2, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 41–42 (Serial 254). Several of the
copies include “approved October 5” by AJ.

1. Taney selected nine additional deposit banks on October 9, including the Bank of the
Metropolis in Washington. By December there were twenty deposit banks in fifteen cities
47–48, Serial 272).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington Octbr. 6th. 1833

Dear Andrew

I was this morning gratified with the receipt of your kind & affection-
ate letter of the 5th. from Middle Town—which relieved me from the
great anxiety and fear that our dear little Rachel would not be able to
stand the journey. I now hope that Mr Blairs prediction may be realised,
that the travel will improve her. I thank my god that you are all in good
health but Adam who is mending. I have no doubt but the mountain air
with care in not taking cold, will benefit him, & the continuation of your
prescription will add to his speedy recovery. I rejoice that you get on so
well & the weather has been so fine. I trust in a kind providence that he
will protect & preserve you all from harm or accident on your journey
and that you will reach “sweet home,” in safety & in health.

I see from the last papers from Europe that cotton is still rising.1 When
you reach home you must, as proprietor, assume the direction and direct
the management of the farm and see that every hand that can be spared is
employed in getting in the cotton & preparing it for markett. I have seen
several merchants from Philadelphia who are of the opinion that it will
keep up thro the season—it is worth twenty seven cents pr lb. in Paris,
clear of all expence. This would justify at Neworleans 20 to 22—have
ours well handled well ginned & bailed & as usual it will command the
highest market price, and have it as early in markett as you can. If the
markett keeps up you had better ship it to Col. White at Orleans—he will
obtain the highest price—but I fear the cotton markett will be fluctuating
and if it should fall in price early, then I would hold it up for it must rise in
the spring—fifteen cents cash is a good price at your landing and if offered be you the sole judge whether to take it, or ship the cotton. I will write you again to Wheeling. I hope you have purchased Gracys sister & child it will be a comfort to them all, and negroes, with the rise of cotton has taken a great rise—five hundred dollars I am told is offered in alabama &c for them be sure to write me from Wheeling giving me information of your health & the situation of the water\(^2\)

My head aches to day, but my health is better I think than when you left me—but I have not been able to sleep but little for the last three nights when I hear that you have reached Wheeling and have found the river in good order & a good Steam Boat to take you to Louisville I will sleep better.

Recollect that when on the river it will be dificult to get milk for the child—send out every day and get milk & in sufficient quantity to allways have a surpluss of milk on hand—have it fresh from the cow & boil it well & it will keep well for twenty four or thirty hours—attend to this particu-
larly & have it in your agreement with the Capt. of the Boat.

Kiss Sarah & the sweet little Pet for me and accept the prayers of your affection father for the health & happiness of you all.

Andrew Jackson

P.S. Inform me from Wheeling whether you have bought Gracys sister & child—if you have not, the name of the owner & the price asked. A. J.


1. On October 5 the *Globe* reported a rapid rise in cotton prices at Havre, France.

2. In 1832 AJ had purchased the slave Grace, or Gracy (1810–1887), to be Sarah's maid-
servant. Early in 1833, AJ had purchased Grace's mother Nancy, her sister Louisa, and her brother Peter from William Hebb of Washington. On October 9, on route to the Hermitage, AJ Jr. bought Grace's sister Rachel (c1816–1868) and Rachel's daughter Nancy from William Hebb's brother George Hebb (1777–1846), a former state senator living in Cumberland, Md. The price was $400, with $200 paid immediately and the rest due after the sale of the Hermitage cotton crop. AJ wrote AJ Jr. about the sale on December 22 (below).

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To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Washington October 6th. 1833—

My dear Sarah,

This morning your letter and that of Andrew reached me. I am grateful to providence to hear that you are all well, and dear little Rachel stands her journey thus far very well I have yielded you Andrew & her to the protection of our lord & Saviour, in full confidence that he will preserve & protect you on your journey & land you safe at the Hermitage—where, if providence prolongs life to then, I will join you next summer at the Hermitage—where, I hope to find you all blessed with health, and contentment.
I parted with you & the little pet with much reluctance, but I found Andrew was anxious that you should go with him, & that you would be more contented with him at the Hermitage than here, and the idea that you might not be able to go with me in the Spring, I yielded to both your wishes. I dreaded the long journey of travel for our sweet little pet, fearful that it might not stand the journey—that it might get sick & no doctor near—but when I reflected that she, as well as you & Andrew were under the protection of the Phician, our saviour & our god, my fears vanished, and consented to your leaving me, & resigned you all to his holy keeping—trust in him and you have nothing to fear. I hope to hear from you often, & that my dear little Rachel is still improving, and that you all enjoy good health & are progressing well.

I have not rested well at night since you left me—every thing appeared silent & in gloom about the House, and when I walked into your room—found it absent without its occupants—every thing changed, the cradle of the little pet without it, and its little waggon there—my feelings were overcome for the moment, until I recollected you all were on your way to sweet home, where you would in the enjoyment of your little family & be retired, have much more contentment than here, my mind became calm & reconciled to my fate—saying with calm resignation, the “Lords will be done.” Your happiness & that of Andrew & our dear little Rachel, is near and dear to me. I remember my promise—that so long as you would a loving daughter to me, I would be a tender father to you, you have thus far my dear Sarah fulfilled your part—and I trust I have and will perform mine. I told my son to marry & when he did, to make a selection of one who would make a good wife—in your selection he has met all my wishes, and I sincerely hope he never may do any thing that will give you pain, or disturb that mutual affection that so happily exists between you—and which that dear interesting little pet, is so well calculated to rivet & perpetuate. She was given to us as a blessing—let us be thankful of for the boon, but never for one moment be unmindful of that gratitude we owe to god, for this precious gift.

My health is better—but I have not slept well since you left me. I will, perhaps write you again to Wheeling if time will permit. Present my love to Andrew & kiss the dear little Rachel for me—tell Adam to take care of getting cold, & the more he exercises the better—it will make him throw off the flume—with my prays for the safety prosperity & happiness of you all believe me yr affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I have just returned from sermon—there I missed my dear family—it was a very impressive one—

ALS, CSmH (23-0986).
To Elijah Hayward

Octbr. 8th. 1833—

P.S. of the letter inclosing a scrap from the Hemisphere, “I have opened this letter to inclose you the scrap from the Hemisphere, Columbus. Mr Hayward does no good by his letter, is there no way to restrain him.”

The following is the scrap—

News—A rare bit—our readers are always fond of news—and we are always glad to gratify them. We now offer them a choice bit of intelligence, confidently, assuring them that it is both late and authentic. It is this:—

The commissioner of the Land office at Washington, has very recently written to the “Central Committee” at Columbus, apprising them that the President indulges a preference for Lewis Cass Secretary of the War Department, as the Candidate for the Presidency!!

The President with his respects to judge Hayward incloses him a copy of the P.S. of a letter just presented to him & a copy of the scrap from the Hemisphere, Columbus, enclosed. The president cannot persuade himself that judge Hayward could be the author of the letter referred to, as it is so foreign from the truth as well as inconsistent with all the course of the President, & he therefore he lays it before judge Hayward that he may over his own signature contradict the falsehood.

The President would be happy to see the judge on the subject of the arrangement of his clerk. That the head should have his election in the clerk to fill Mr Tylers place is reasonable & just—but that those clerks who have performed their respective duties well for years should be over-slaughed by Clerks just brought into the office cannot be permitted—the President will see the judge in the lower parlour�

[Endorsed by Elijah Hayward:]

Explanation.

The article in the Hemisphere, above alluded to, was wholly and entirely false, and I published the same so, with my signature, in the Washington Globe, which was extensively copied into the Ohio papers, at the time; the Hemisphere also acknowledging it was imposed upon.2 The Hemisphere, at the time, was an advocate of John McLean, for the Presidency.

Elijah Hayward

AL, MB (23-0991; mAJs). The two-paragraph scrap quoted by AJ had first appeared in the Circleville Herald, an Ohio Clay paper. The Columbus Western Hemisphere had printed it on September 25, while saying it did “not hesitate one moment to pronounce it FALSE.” On October 11, Hayward wrote Francis P. Blair denouncing the story as an entire fraud. The Globe ran his letter on October 14 and the Hemisphere on October 23.
1. On September 10, AJ had appointed senior GLO clerk Charles Tyler to be register at the Crawfordsville, Ind., land office. Hayward had written AJ on September 12, proposing to promote Sacket Reynolds of Ohio, a GLO clerk since 1831, to succeed Tyler (Rotheus Hayward Papers, OMC). However, on September 16, with Hayward absent from illness, Treasury secretary Duane had instead appointed Sterling Gresham, a GLO clerk since 1816, in Tyler's place. On October 15, Hayward rescinded Gresham's appointment and promoted Reynolds to replace Tyler (DNA-RG 49, M25-28).

2. Hayward misrecalled. As stated in his own October 11 letter to Blair, the Hemisphere had never countenanced the story.

**To Andrew Jackson Jr.**

Washington Octbr. 8th. 1833—

Dear Andrew,

I expected to hear from you by this mornings mail, but am disappointed, I hope I shall not be by tomorrows.

On yesterday was shipped on board the schooner—Union, for Philadelphia to the care of Henry Toland Esqr. to be shipped to Nashville via Neworleans with the articles now at Philadelphia the cases & boxes & Trunk agreeable to the within bill. I have requested the freight to be paid on all the articles from Philadelphia to Neworleans by Mr Toland which I will remit to him, therefore you will only have to pay the freight from Neworleans to Nashville. The goods will be sent by Col M. White to the care of the Messhrs. Nichols, Nashville, The Box with the china, you will have put into the cellar (the box no 3 for Major Donelson) and not opened untill Emily goes home. The bal lance are for the Hermitage, and will be disposed of as you & Sarah may think proper, for the benefit of the House & herself &c I shall keep this letter open until in the morning in hopes to hear from you, Sarah & my dear little Rachel.

My health is still not good. I did not rest well last night, and troubled with head ache to day—hope to be better tomorROW—nothing new since you left us—all well & desire their affectionate regards.

Octbr. 9th. The mail has arrived and no letter from you or Sarah this morning. I trust in god that no accident of any kind have happened, and our dear little Rachel continues to improve in health, and is less fretful at night than she was here for the last two nights. I know the difficulty of writing on a journey, but it would have been a great satisfaction to have heard from you this morning. I hope Adam continues to mend, & the rest of the servants enjoy health. I feel better this morning, and hope to hear from you soon—no intelligence from home since you left me—nor do I expect any, until you & Sarah reach the Hermitage and give it me. And my prayers are constantly offered up for your health & safety on your journey home, where I hope you may reach without accident of any kind.
Present my warmest affections to Sarah, kiss her & my dear little Rachel for me, & believe me to be your affection father

Andrew Jackson

P.S. give my good wishes to the servnts.

ALS, DLC (43). AJ addressed the letter to AJ Jr. “on his way to Tennessee.”

To Virgil Maxcy

Octobr 9th. 1833—

The President with his respects to the solicitor of the Treasury V. Maxcy Esqr. requires of him forthwith to make report, whether any of they Marshalls or attornies in the various Districts of the United States, have failed in a prompt attention to the various duties of their offices, or have been neglectful in making all necessary reports required of them by the solicitor—and if any who.

AN, DNA-RG 206 (23-0993). Virgil Maxcy (1785–1844) of Maryland was the Solicitor of the Treasury. He reported to AJ on October 26. Saying that he had already reported about the marshals on October 5, Maxcy named district attorneys William A. Harrison in Virginia, George Shannon in Missouri, and James Collinsworth in Tennessee as delinquent in making their regular returns. He proposed sending those three a copy of his report with details on their delinquency (DNA-RG 206, 23-1092). AJ approved on October 28 (DNA-RG 206, 23-1107) and made a note to himself on Maxcy’s report not to reappoint Collinsworth, who was delinquent more than a year and had not answered repeated admonitions, unless he cleared himself of neglect (DLC-59; 23-1095). AJ reappointed Collinsworth in February 1834.

From Henry Toland

Philada. Octr 10 1833

Dear Sir,

I have received your very esteemed letter of 8th ins’t, in which you say “that you are always giving me trouble without any profit.”

I really believe that if any thing affords me pleasure, it is in doing any thing I can for you. That feeling has existed for 30 years, and I am sure it will endure, whilst we endure, which, I am afraid, will not be 30 years more.

When the postman handed me your letter, I was writing one to Andrew, enclosing him the different bills. The bill of lading was not then signed for the furniture. I have since received it, and enclose it to you herein. I paid the freight $45\frac{2}{100}$, to be added to the bills of yesterday.

1
The ship sails on Saturday, and I have enclosed to Mr. White a bill of lading, begging him to be careful in the transhipment of the articles. I have also enjoined on Cap Matheiu to see that the cases are tenderly used on leaving his ship. The boxes and trunk from Washington are not yet arrived. So soon as they come, they will be shipped in the packet Hercules, to sail in a few days.

I understood from our friends Horn and Leiper that you had been a little unwell, and am glad to hear from yourself, that your health is improving. My little children enjoy most uninterrupted health, owing to the discipline of early rising, and eating plain food in moderate quantity.

I have very much at heart, the appointment of young Cadwallader as a Midshipman. There are circumstances about this Young Gentleman, and also of his Father, which attach me very much to them. The dispositions of the Young man are entirely bent on a military life, and his appointment would, I am sure, be productive of the kindest feelings towards yourself, and probably, of great future good to the service. I am a good and bold beggar for others, but your invariable friendship for me assures me, that if you cannot grant my boon, you will pardon my importunity. I am most sincerely Your friend

Henry Toland

ALS, DLC (43). AJ replied on October 14 (below).

1. Toland had written on October 9 to AJ Jr. in Washington (Stanley F. Horn, 23-1000), reporting that the furniture for the Hermitage had been loaded on the packet Chandler Price for New Orleans. AJ received his letter and forwarded it on to AJ Jr. on October 11 (below).

2. John Emile Mathieu (c1788–1860) was captain of the Chandler Price.

3. Henry Cadwalader (1817–1844) was the son of lawyer and BUS operative Thomas Cadwalader.

From Unknown

Washington City Oct 10th 1833

General

Be not displeased a poor ignorant woman presumeing to address the first officer in the purest nation of the known world on a subject most calculated to do lasting good to yourself and the Nation of which you are its most popular son, I would here enumerate the many ways in which your Country has been benefited by your services but lest you should the object was to soften you by descending to flattery I forbear, only request you to take an impartial retrospect of your own life and the conviction must be you have been among her most active Sitizens, while you have been and are her active and useful servant in the tactics of war and peace there is one other subject that demands your personal attention it is to set a pattern before this Nation and all others (for the world is looking up to Amaric as a model of perfection) by giving all the aid your fource of
examples would do in establishing a pure gospell Church upon earth after the plan prescribed in the pure word of God. pleas do not infer from this that I view you as not being a christian after the re conceived opinions and practices of men but the pure word is like its auther peacable not like it is made by the corrupt education and practices of men Confusion we see and hear of sect upon sect rising up and spreading contention and confusion over the whole face of the globe. is that the work of god? I say No. is it following the word of truth I say No. the chrisian religion reveiled in the scriptures of truth is simple and plain 1st. Sorrow for sin 2ly Faith in christ as the Saviour of sinners through repentance and complying with his commands, which are 3ly love to god and man. 4ly Baptism by immersion as soon as you beleave with all your heart that Jesus is the christ, not before you are capable of believing as a great portion of the professing christians do by throwing a few drops of watter on an infants face and profane the scriptures of truth by calling it Baptism a thing the word of god nowhere teaches, and thereby shut themselves out from the kingdom of heaven and those that would enter they hinder by faulse teaching. 5ly the receiving of the Lords Supper in commeneration of his death till he come again for at midnight a cry will be made. Behold the Bridegroom cometh go ye out to meet him. how happy will all the souls be when they hear the cry who have suped at the Lords table before reposing to await his arrival. But wo to them who have reposed without filling there vessels with the bread and wine of attonement which being refined by the holy sperrit becomes the oil in our vessels that burn brigter through all eternity. such is the plain and simple plan of salvation which every reasonably man will acknowledge to be according to the Scriptures as will also every professing chrisian and yet rather than surrender the predijuses of education or examin the word of god for themselves they allow men to teach from the Pulpits doctrines the testamony of god does not contain and thereby corrupting there principles and encouraging zeal without knowledge which leads to disputes hatred defamation of charcter. Bloodshed. and everlasting misery. are those not sufficent reasons to inspior every lover of souls residing in this City with an ernist desier for the great work Propheseyed of should now commence and in this the capitol of the U. S. and send forth a light to the whole earth and should you be the happy instrument in opening the way by your exampil for the oppressed people of god now. who can estimate your glory when you come to lay down the Lorrels with which men have intwined your brow, and in stead receive a brillient crown studed with Brillient perl’s of great price) (for which the ritchest man on the would then sell all he possest to buy one) which will shine brighter and brighter and brigter still through an endless day.²

N.B. The righter of this to knowledg never see you nor is it probable she [ . . . ] from the disparity of situation of her life her walks being among the [ . . . ] and dispised salt of the earth.³ she therefore can have no other interest than your everlasting happyness and the salvation of souls.
[Endorsed by AJ:] A. Jackson, feels grateful to the writer of the within scriptural explosion—altho he differs from her with regard to baptism—he fully accords with all the rest of her doctrine. This is worthy to be preserved and read by every Christian. A. J. to be kept on my private files Octbr. 10th 1833—

AL, DLC (43).


To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington Octbr. 11th. 1833

My Son

I inclose you to Wheeling a publication containing my expose to my Cabinet of my reasons for removing the deposits &c &c. It may amuse you as you pass down the Ohio—you will have a full tide from the rain now falling here. This movement which was thought by some of my friends would destroy me works well. My conscience told me it was right to stop the career of this corrupting monster. I took the step fearlessly viewing it a duty I owed to my God & my Country—providence smiles upon the act and all the virtuous of the Land sustains it. I wish you to preserve it & file it at home. The history of my administration will be read with interest years after I am dead, & I trust will be the means of perpetuating our happy union & our liberties with it. I was closing this letter commenced last evening when I rec'd our dear Sarah's & now inclose this with my answer of hers rec'd this moment.¹ Kiss Sarah & Rachel for me and believe me yr affection father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (43). AJ enclosed a September 26 Extra of the Albany Argus, a twelve-page pamphlet that included his September 18 Cabinet paper, the August 19 report of the government BUS directors, and approving commentary from the Argus and Globe (DLC-43).

¹. AJ wrote Sarah this day (below).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington Octbr. 11th. 1833—

My dear Andrew

I have this moment rec'd. the affectionate letter of my dear Sarah, with your postscript. I rejoice to find that you are all in health & that our dear little Rachel bears the travel so well, & that you have recovered from your attack by the timely prescription of your dear Sarah. I trust in a
kind providence that you will all reach home without further sickness or
accident & that our dear little Rachel may continue to improve—present
me affectionately to Sarah & kiss her & the little Pet for me, and with
my prayers for your health & happiness believe me yr affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I received the enclosed under cover of one to me, which I have opened
& read & now enclose to you at Wheeling with instructions to the
Postmaster, if you have passed to forward it to Nashville. You will see
that the furniture & other articles have been shipped before those sent by
me from here reached Philadelphia. Still the sloop on board of which they
were, may have got into port before the chanler price sailed. When you
reach home please write me, whether the plate clocks & all other articles
have safely reached the hermitage. I am in hopes adam will get well—A. J.

ALS, MoSW (23-1004). AJ enclosed Henry Toland’s letter to AJ Jr. of October 9, giving
news of the shipment of furniture for the Hermitage to New Orleans on the packet Chandler
Price (Stanley F. Horn, 23-1000).

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Washington Octbr. 11th. 1833

your kind letter of the 7th. came this morning, my dear Sarah, in good
time [to] relieve me from great anxiety about you. I had not heard from
you after you had left Middletown where your letters of the 4th were writ-
ten—that being the second day after we parted, & not hearing from [you
yester]day I became quite uneasy [least] our dear little Rachel or some of
you, might be sick. I am therefore rejoiced to hear by your letter of the
7th. that Andrew has recovered from his attack, & Rachel & yourself
is in good health. Adam mending & the girls well, and feel thankful to
providence for his kind protection of you all.

My health is improving but I cannot say I am well. I [did] not rest
well last night—all here [are] well but John who is unwell[ll] with fever
and chills—he ha[d a] high fever last night, is better [this] morning—all
they family joins me in kind regards Mr Earle particularly—he has fin-
ished little Rach[el’s] picture—it is an admirable likene[ss] and from your
description of Rachell[s] improvement in complection must be now a very
perfect likeness[. Kiss the] dear little one for me, [and acce]pt prayers for
the health saf[ety and ha]ppiness of all, and believe [me] to be your affec-
tionate father¹

Andrew Jackson

P. S. The next will be addressed to the Hermitage. A. J.

ALS, THer (23-1009). The manuscript is deteriorated. Text in brackets has been supplied
from an accompanying typescript.
1. Ralph E. W. Earl painted a 30 x 20 inch portrait in oil of young Rachel Jackson in a pink dress. It is now at the Hermitage.

From Martin Van Buren

Nyork October 12th. 33

My dear Sir

I congratulate you most sincerely on the results of the elections in Maryland, Pennsylvania & New Jersey, in all of which our success has been complete. A more triumphant commentary upon recent events, & a more sincere rebuke of the ruthless and unprincipled course of the opposition, could not have taken place. When will our friends at Washington be made sensible, that you understand public sentiment infinitely better than themselves. I propose to leave here on Monday, & will avail myself of your polite invitation to stay at your house. Accept my thanks for your last friendly letter & believe me yours truly

M. Van Buren

P.S. The public mind here is all but united upon the subject of the Deposits—

[Endorsed by AJ: Mr. V.B.—will be here from Baltimore—take a room with me for a while—A J]

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-1027).

1. The three states had all held legislative elections in early October.

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Washington 13th. octbr. 1833—

My dear Sarah—

Your letter of the 10th. is just received. I regret very much the continued [good ill] health of my son—& to hear that Louisa is taken with the chills—but trust in a kind providence, that they will be soon restored to health, and as you say you think Andrew will be able to travel on Saturday I feel persuaded he is mending & will soon recover. I regret I had not written you to Cumberland—but it is now too late. If you leave Cumberland on Saturday, no letter can reach you until you reach Wheeling, and I have concluded, after much reflection, to send this there. How happy I am to learn that our dear little Pet continues to improve in health—all others can bear chills & fever better than she could, and I trust in a kind providence that he will preserve her health & protect her from all accidents & harm.
Major Donelson has recd. a letter this morning from Stockly—who says all is well at home—cotton crops fine & H[oltz]claw has got out upwards of an hundred thousand if this be so, he will have two hundred thousand out in all November—with the aid Andrew can give him when he gets home. From Stocklys description of the crop of cotton, I have no doubt but Holzclaw will make upwards of 200,000 lbs, seed cotton. This will meet all our wants—say to my son I will write him to Nashville and enclose him a copy of a letter which I will write to Col M. White in his memorandom for supplies add to it five dozen champagn.

The church bells are tolling I must close—my best wishes to Andrew & yourself—kiss Rachel for me & receive the salutation of all here and believe me yr affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THer (23-1030).
1. The slave Louisa (c1816–1888) was Grace’s sister.

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From John Alexander Bryan and Bela Latham

Columbus, O. 13th. Oct. 1833—

Dear Sir,

Ohio will stand by you on your second veto. Your determination for the removal of the deposits, has given a death blow to the Bank. If there were any doubt before as to its recharter, it now no longer exists. In no quarter of the union will you be more nobly sustained in this measure, than in the west; and no where has the effort of the opposition been more untiring than here. It is true, that your election to the Presidency last fall, was sufficiently indicative of public opinion, in relation to the Bank; but many of your enemies indulged the belief that if the deposits were removed, a successful effort might be made in favor of a recharter, thro’ the means which the Bank itself might bring to its aid. Your reasons for this last step taken, and the report of the government Directors, has staggered many of the most credulous, and there are numbers among your most unrelenting opposers, who dare not take ground in defence of the Bank and its profligate career, during the two last years. We name this merely as evidence of a rapid change in public feeling in this quarter, which will afford you ample assurance, that what you dare honestly do, in sustaining the Constitution, and in defending the government, will be seconded by the warm and hearty co-operation of your friends. This feeling is common with all your supporters, and includes some of the most honorable of the opposition. If the question were tried to day in Ohio, as on the 2d. Tuesday of Octobr. 1832, we are fortified in the belief that
your success would still be more triumphant by the addition of many thousands.¹ In behalf of the State Centl. Come.

John A. Bryan Chairman.
B. Latham Secy—

P.S. Our elections are just past. We will have a decided majority in the next Legislature of from 20 to 30, an increase from last year of from 10 to 15.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Committee Ohio—approving the course of the administration to be returned. A. J This is a good offset to Mr Clays reply to Sargeant & Co. inclosed. A. J²

ALS, DLC (43). Ohio state auditor John Alexander Bryan (1794–1864) and Columbus postmaster Bela Latham (1794–1848) were officers of Ohio’s Democratic State Central Committee.

¹. October 9, 1832, the second Tuesday, had been the date of Ohio’s county, state, and congressional elections. AJ had carried the state in November.

². John Sergeant had been Henry Clay’s running mate on the National Republican ticket in 1832. On October 14 he and four other Philadelphians, “deputed by a large and respectable meeting of the citizens,” invited Clay, who was in town, to a public dinner. Clay declined the same day, while warning that “the time is come when we must decide, whether the constitution, the laws, and the checks which they have respectively provided, shall prevail, or the will of one man shall have uncontrolled sway” (Philadelphia National Gazette, October 17, 1833).

From Eli Simpson Davis

[This letter survives only in print. The Globe printed it on October 22, 1833, omitting the names of author and recipient and with asterisks in place of the word “cowardly.” In 1906, The Collector magazine published the full text given here, evidently from a surviving manuscript that was signed by Davis but had no recipient’s name. Davis’s subsequent letter on October 18 confirms Jackson as the recipient.]

Abbeville, So., Ca.
Oct. 13, 1833.

My Dear Sir:—

I am confident that it is not generally known that the Nullifiers in this State still keep up their Military forces with all the preparations necessary on an approach of hostilities.

I have been at home eight days, during five of these days this village has been invested by a strong Military force, consisting of Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery all organized and trained as a separate and distinct corps from that of the Militia. Indeed the Militia who consist almost exclusively now of the union party are not mustered at all, and under sundry late
elections of officers the governor has positively refused to commission them. But yesterday the great drama was performed before the Regiment of Nullifiers. The Gov. attended by eight aids-de-camp, Mr. McDuffie, two of Mr. Calhoun’s cowardly brothers, James and William, besides a large body of country gentlemen and ladies, delivered a speech on presenting to the commanding officer in the name of the state a flag, which in future is to be respected as the flag of the nation of So. Carolina.¹

In this speech the Gov. descended to the lowest and most vulgar abuse of the President. He stated that So. Carolina by her brave and determined course had driven the tiger within his den, that the tyrant with his bloody bill had to succumb to the brave and chivalrous spirits of Carolina and that they never would lay down their arms till congress repealed the force bill. He directed their attention to Alabama who had risen in her might against the tyrant and when the hour of trial came So. Carolina would aid her in maintaining her soil against the oppressions of the despot Jackson.

Now after this disclosure and after witnessing the exertion, the personal exertion, of Calhoun in Georgia to unite that state in his treasonable designs can there remain a doubt but disunion is the object of this party. I inquired yesterday of an officer of this band why all this Military parade? Who were they going to fight? He replied Jackson and the general government. He observed that Jackson had quarrelled with Jno. C. Calhoun in order to keep him out of the presidency, but the South could have a president of their own and would have one in spite of the tyrant. Thus you see they all have pretty much the same lesson which is taught them in their secret meetings.

All the Nullifiers are in favor of the bank.

With much esteem, I am Dear Sir, Your friend,

E. S. Davis.


¹. On Friday, October 11, Governor Hayne had reviewed the Abbeville District volunteer regiment and presented a palmetto flag to its colonel, Alexander Bowie (1789–1865). A report of the proceedings in the October 17 Abbeville Whig and Southern Nullifier and the October 23 Charleston Mercury said that Hayne’s speech “incidentally touched up that old tyrant, whose despotic sway controls not only the rights and liberties of the people of the United States, but, to a great extent, even public opinion.” Calhoun’s brothers James Calhoun (1779–1843) and William Calhoun (1776–1840) were Abbeville District planters.

To Henry Toland

Washington Octbr. 14th. 1833.

My dear Sir—

Your letter of the 9th. instant to my son & that of the 10th. to myself have been duly received—that to my son after he had left here for
Tennessee, which as directed, I opened, and found the Invoices of goods & articles furnished for the Hermitage, & coal & wine for me. I have the pleasure herein to inclose you a check, for the amount of the several bills, including forty five dollars fifty two cents paid since for freight to Neworleans, on the Bank of the United States Philadelphia, for the sum of thirteen hundred & seven dollars five cents. 1 I herein return the bills, to prevent trouble in copying them, that you may have them all receipted & returned to me, that I may forward them to my son at the Hermitage. The young gentleman you name has not been forgotten—but as yet there is no vacancy and we are so pressed from other states who have not their quota that we cannot, as yet, with any propriety appoint him. 2 I am very respectfully yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, Sotheby's (mAj)s.
1. AJ wrote a check for $1,307.05 to William B. Lewis, to exchange at the BUS in Philadelphia for a check to Toland (DLC-78).
2. Henry Cadwalader was appointed a midshipman on December 13.

To Francis Preston Blair

—Private—

octbr. 18th. 1833—

Dr. Sir,

After you left me last evening Col Gardiner called to see me—he tells me Genl Mc.Hatten will not do for receiver—he saw & heard him at Indianapolis vociferating amongst the people in strains hostile to the administration and in strongest abuse of myself & Van Buren, more than this note will permit me to name—let me see you this morning[.] yrs

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (43). James Booker Gardiner (1789–1837) of Ohio had been appointed in May to examine land offices in Indiana. On October 16, GLO commissioner Elijah Hayward had recommended removing Indianapolis register Arthur St. Clair and receiver James P. Drake, based on an August 17 report by Gardiner charging them with malfeasance, speculating in public funds and land scrip, and gross neglect of duty (DNA-RG 49, M25-28; SDoc 439, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 51–69, Serial 243). Robert Lytle McHatton (1788–1835) was a former Kentucky congressman. He was not appointed. Abner McCarty was commissioned to replace Drake on December 4. AJ replaced St. Clair with William B. Slaughter on October 19. St. Clair wrote AJ on October 30 (below).
My Dear Sir,

In my last letter I gave you some account of the Military array in which the nullifiers still present themselves. I now inclose you a piece cut out of one of their papers.\(^1\) I regret that they have not published Govr. Haynes speech. As I employed a man to take it down when delivered I may publish it for them. All Hamiltons billingsgate and all Calhouns falsehoods combined are nothing when compared to this envenomed production. I always told you that Hayne was a cowardly dastard, with all pretentions of bravery. On Monday week the Union party will hold a meeting when I intend to propose the adoption of some measures to be brought before Congress. I do assure you that the situation of the Union Party in this states is becoming intolerable, and insufferable. I stated to you in my last letter that all the Nullifiers had volunteered consequently the beat companies of the militia are altogether composed of the Union men and are perpetually harrassed by fines, and other vexatious schemes. All fatigue and other duty of a disagreeable nature the Union men have to perform.

I wish in your Annual Message to Congress you would bring the conduct of this State before the American people. I am sensible that a large portion of our citizens I mean throughout the U. States, have not the most remote idea of the dangerous lengths to which Calhoun is leading the people of the South. He is now in Georgia pedlar like retailing his treason to the ignorant, & deluding the youth of the Country. Mr. McDuffie is to be created a Maj. Genl. and has employed a teach musician to teach a band of his negroes.\(^2\) I assure you this is a fact. He lives within a short distance of me. Accept my best wishes,

E. S. Davis.

P.S. Calhoun has given it as his Opinion that you can be Impeached.

ALS, NjP (23-1058).

1. Davis probably enclosed the account in the October 17 Abbeville Whig and Southern Nullifier.

2. On December 19 the South Carolina legislature elected George McDuffie a major general of militia.
To Lewis Cass

Octbr. 19th. at night, 1833—

The President with his respects to the Secretary, requests to be informed of the number of U.S. Troops now in the Indian (creek) country—or cherokee, and what officer commands them.

There ought to be at least a full Battalion & command by a man of stern integrity & Bravery—such a man as Col Twiggs. Furnish me the report early on Monday next.

AN, DNA-RG 108 (23-1062; M1635-3). In October 1833, two artillery companies under Captain Francis S. Belton were stationed at Camp Armistead in Cherokee country in Tennessee, and three infantry companies and one artillery company were at Fort Mitchell in Alabama. Brevet Major James Simmons McIntosh (1787–1847) commanded at Fort Mitchell and had been charged with removing intruders from the Creek and Cherokee domains. Lieutenant Colonel David Emanuel Twiggs (1790–1862) was in command at New Orleans. On November 20, Cass ordered the two companies from Camp Armistead and eight artillery companies from Fort Monroe to Fort Mitchell and directed Twiggs to take command there (DNA-RG 108, M857-1). Twiggs assumed command at Fort Mitchell on December 13 (DNA-RG 94, M617-785).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington Octbr. 19th. 1833—

My dear Andrew,

your two letters of the 13th. & 14th. instant, the last from Mr. Wiggins has been duly received—& I feel grateful to divine providence for his restoring you again to health, and that our dear Sarah & little Rachel enjoy so fine health & that Adam & Louisa is getting well. I pray god that he may watch over & preserve you all on your journey, and deliver you all in good health at the Hermitage where this is addressed to you.¹

In my last, which was addressed to you at Wheeling, I advised you that I had received the Invoices of the goods laid in at Philadelphia, for which I had remitted to Mr. Toland a check for the whole amount & returned the bills to be receipted, that I might forward them to you—this moment Mr Toland has handed them to me, which I now inclose.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>Mr. T. Sharpless</td>
<td>$251.68  100</td>
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<td>Beson &amp; son</td>
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<td>Charls. H. &amp; Jno. White</td>
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<td>828.53</td>
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I inclose Mr Toland’s letter to me on his first forwarding the accounts for your satisfaction. Mr Toland has just informed me that the goods sent from here—my dear Sarah’s trunk, plate, & china ware, had just reached Philadelphia before he left, & would be shipped in a Packett that sailed a day or two after their arrival.

Mr. Hart waited upon me the other day & presented me an Invoice & order for the tools, which he said you had ordered. I found from looking over the bill which amounts to $62—that the Tools are of the finest kind that a cabinet maker uses, & the Box made of Mahogany & charged at twenty dollars—finding the old Gentleman was bound for the whole, I directed him to have them well boxed, marked A. Jackson, jnr., Nashville, Tennessee—have them sent to Mr. Toland, & on his receipt for the Box of tools, I would pay him the amount. My dear Andrew remember my advice—never buy any thing that is useless, or that you have not immediate want of—and particularly when you do not pay for it. These tools are not fit for coarse work, nor to be used by negroes—therefore I would suppose useless for the farm—be this as it may, I could not permit your name and character, to suffer for the amount, & only now name it by the way of advice to you in future. I repeat again my dear son, buy nothing but what is useful to yourself, and wanted by your family. This is a proper oeconomy for you entering into life to observe—pursue it, and you never will be encumbered with debt, & will die independent, with the pleasing reflection that you have done justice to all men, leaving none to say, you have lived upon the labour of others, & left debts unpaid.

I have not time to day to write to our dear Sarah—kiss her and my dear little Rachel for me, & present both with my blessing—as soon as you can after reaching home write me, how you all are, and how you find the family & the farm—how much cotton is got in, & how much to pick. I shall endeavour to write Sarah tomorrow—and you a long letter upon the subject of business and the purchase of adjoining land.

Poor little John is still very sick, a little better, but weak—all join in salutations to you Sarah & connections & believe me your affectionate father.

Andrew Jackson
To Andrew Jackson Donelson (1815–1861)

Washington Octbr. 20th. 1833—

My dear Nephew—

I have to thank you for the excellent address delivered before the Philanthropic and Dialectic Societies of Chapel Hill by the Honble. George E. Badger. I have only time to recommend it to your careful perusal & consideration—to adopt the principles & precepts which it inculcates as your guide, and your passage thro’ life must be a prosperous & happy one, and a blissful eternity beyond the grave. I ask you to read it again, & again; it is a treasure to the youthful mind if adopted and practised upon which will carry him smoothly over the thorny path of life and your his end will be a happy and glorious one.¹

My health has not been, nor is it now good. My labours are arduous which impairs it. My son Andrew & his dear wife & child have left me for the Hermitage to spend the fall & winter there. Major A. J Donelson and his little family are with me, his youngest child very sick, but I hope on the mend. They unite with me in kind salutations to you.

Will you be able to visit me here this winter—advise me.

Why do you not write me—altho my labours are laborious arduous & incessant, & leaves me no time to correspond with my friends, still I would be happy to receive yours & find pleasure in reading them, as it would afford me the opportunity of judging of your improvement.

When will you graduate, and do you hear from your friends in Tennessee—if you do, how are they. I receive no letters from them lately.

In haste your affectionate uncle

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (23-1069). Donelson (1815–1861), the son of Rachel Jackson’s late brother William Donelson, was a sophomore at the University of North Carolina.

¹. George Edmund Badger (1795–1866), later a U.S. senator, was a Raleigh lawyer and a University of North Carolina trustee. On June 26 he had delivered an address urging students to live by Christian precepts and make learning a lifelong pursuit (Address Delivered Before the Philanthropic and Dialectic Societies, at Chapel Hill, N.C. [Richmond, Va., 1833]).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

[This portion of the letter is available only in a later printing.]

I would also advise you to examine Mr. Shute’s tract well before you purchase. On this you will find about two hundred and fifty acres of first rate land, the ballance rocky and without timber, and very broken on the Cumberland river. Remember you have in these two gentlemen, men, accustomed to speculation and you must be guarded. Conclude no con-
tract with either, without furnishing me with the propositions and have all the propositions reduced to writing before you accede to any.

Extract, Stan V. Henkels catalog, 1930, item 63 (23-1071). John Shute (1770–1844) owned the farm north of the Hermitage. AJ wrote AJ Jr. again about the purchase on November 25 (below).

thro the process that has entirely cured Major Barrys son, which, if she has not recovered, I will communicate to you.

I would like to be informed of the appearence of the three yearling stud colts—particularly the bay, oscar fillys colt, whether he is hipshot or not, & whether you think he is injured so, that will prevent him from appearing on the Turf. I wish this colt to be well trained to bring his sire into notice as I believe him the best blood & cross in the United States now.

I have to request you to hand the inclosed letters to my dear Sarah with a kiss—and a kiss from each of you to my dear little Rachel—when I hear you are safe at the Hermitage I shall write you on our domestic concerns—tell me what is the real situation of William & Stockly & my friend McLamore. I feel for them. Little John is still quite unwell—my own health is better & the ballance of my Houshold well & all join in kind salutations to you & Sarah & all connections yrs affectionately

Andrew Jackson

ALS fragment, DLC (60; 23-0922). The Henkels catalog dates the letter at October 20 and says the last part is missing. This stray page is likely it.

From Burnard Warner Holtzclaw

Hermitage October 21th. 1833

Deare Sir

I Recived your Letter on the 20 of October I am glade to Say we are all well at Presant your Family are all In good Halth at this time and are giring alongue as well as I can you wish to no abought your crope of Cotton how mocn I have Out I will Tell you I have one Hundred Thosan and I Think we have out In the field yet 60 or 70 Thosan or 90 I wose Plage a gratele abought Our gin I just begining to gin don’t be unesy I will do the best I can

Deare Sir your Mares and Colts and work Horses and Mules and cows and Ox and Hogs and Sheeps and caffs and Stude all are well and fate I have 86 Hogs to kill only I have 7 Beffes to kill. we have now wete and cold wether This day we Snow and Hale cole I have all of my Shoes and Socks and Stocking made and Nite and making up the Winter Close.

Andrew has not Rich the Hermitage yet but I have all Things Redy To Recive him and are Looking for him daly and also will be glade to see him at Home
Sir I have cut a new Rode on the Line betwin you and worde and wont to Turn the Rode a Rown on the Line and fences in all the woods, Next to words I will feed my Hogs In hole and think I git water in this woods lote water Stands after a Rain for 2 weeks by feding all winter on the Place can git water to Stand 6 or 8 month in the yeare cut out all the under groth[.] I am respectfully your

Burnard. W. Holtzclaw

ALS, DLC (43).

To Lewis Cass

Octbr. 24th. 1833—

Dr Sir,

I have reflected on the subject you submitted to me on yesterday as it relates to Dr Thomas, and the result of my reflections are, that from the confidence reposed in Dr Thomas here, it would produce a good effect to have him stationed in this city for a while at least, if it can be done in justice to others—& it would have a good effect in doing away the prevailing idea of the favoritism of the Surgeon Genl. which now exists. yrs respectfully

Andrew Jackson

ALS, Mariam Cannon Hayes Public Auction, March 1, 2008, lot 85 (mAJs). John McGill Thomas (1801–1834) was a Washington physician. He was commissioned as an Army assistant surgeon effective December 1. Joseph Lovell (1788–1836) was surgeon general of the Army.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

I am out of all patience with our overseer. Not a line from him since you left me. I had urged him to have our cotton in & ready for market as early as possible, requesting him to write & advise me of his progress—yet not a line from him. I brought to his view that the high price for cotton could not last & the early sales must be the best . . . Have every exertion made that you can in safety to have our crop ginned & baled & sent to market if you cannot sell for 15 cents cash at our landings . . . I wish you to add to the list of supplies ordered three or four dozen champain wine . . .

Extract, Swann Galleries, sale 2077, lot 172, April 27, 2006 (mAJs).

18 & 20 cents pr lb say to him that when it will neat 15/100 to us sell—but that this is not controle his judgt. if he thinks it will fall lower, to embrace the first market after it reaches him
I shall be anxious until I hear from you & Sarah & the family at home. Little John is still low but mending to day—all join in kind salutations to you Sarah & the little Pet—her likeness, from the improvement in her health, must be very correct, Mr Earle has finished the head perfectly.

Let me hear from you & Sarah often & believe me yr affectionate father.

Andrew Jackson

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington Octbr. 26th. 1833—

I have this moment my dear Andrew received your letter of the 20th. current, on board the Steam Boat citizen—and your slip from Cincinati, which gives me cheering information of your returning health of yourself, the good health of our dear Sarah & the improvement of my dear little Rachel, and of the prospect of getting a passage to Nashville by water—if you should be so fortunate then indeed ought you all to be doubly thankful to a kind providence for his kind favours thus bestowed as well as his superintending care & preservation of you all on your very fatiguing & tedious journey. I trust you will be at home whilst I am writing this hasty scroll to congratulate you on the kind protection of providence & your safe arrival at the Hermitage, where I hope to hear soon from you that all is well there—present me kindly to Sarah with a kiss & to my dear little Rachel, whose health has been of much solicitude to me—but from her mending so much & getting two more teeth I trust that a kind providence will continue his protecting care over her for a blessing to us all. Kiss the dear little Pet for me & believe me to be affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (43).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington Octbr. 27th. 1833—

Dear Andrew—

I have this moment recd. from Mr. Toland the within Bill of ladin—of five Boxes & one Trunk, being the articles sent on from here, to be shipped to Nashville via Neworleans. I inclose it that you may be enabled to judge know when they arrive whether there are any missing. I will
thank you & Sarah for information whether all the articles last spring & this fall which were sent for the Hermitage has reached you in safety.

My health is improving—little John is mending slowly—the rest all well and unites with me in kind salutations to you. Kiss D Sarah & little Rachel for me & believe me yr affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I shall be quite anxious until I hear from you at Home A. J.

ALS, DLC (43). Toland billed AJ $3.50 for shipping the boxes and trunk from Georgetown to Philadelphia and $5.67 from there to New Orleans (DLC-44).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington Octbr. 28th. 1833—

My son

I hope ere this you have safely reached the Hermitage—not hearing from you at Louisville I conclude you got a speedy passage by water on to Nashville and that you reached home on the 24th. instant & that I shall hear from you by the 3rd. or 4th. of next month.

I have nothing new to communicate except what you will find detailed in my letter to Sarah. I have not been well lately—have recovered and am very busy preparing for congress.

Deliver the inclosed to Sarah & kiss her & little Rachel for me & believe me your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P.S. as soon as you can with convenience let me know whether the Union Bank at Nashville gives any interest, & What upon deposits—make this inquiry as tho it was for yourself without mentioning my name.

you can say to Sarah that the Arabs are getting into credit—one of them won the 4 mile purse at Baltimore running 16 miles for it. The mother of her Arab having as much merit as any other, she has a right to calculate on hers becoming famed in her offspring. It is a pity that the two fillies before being put to breeding could not be trained—but this is not possible now but the three stud colts must, & I would like that you could make arrangements with Elliot & Williams for this purpose—give me a description of them, & the fillies—their size form & general appearence A. J.¹

ALS, DLC (43).

¹. Tuberose, a five-year-old by Arab, won a $1,000 purse at the October 24, 1833, four mile heats at the Timonium race course near Baltimore. George Elliott (c1784–1861) and Green Berry Williams (1778–1874) were Sumner County horsemen.
From Anthony Butler

Mexico 28. October 1833.

My dear Sir,

I have just had a very singular conversation with a Mexican, and as it was on a subject that you have much at heart I set down to detail it to you, in hopes that my letter will be in time for the next New York packet. I preface my narration by saying that the Gentleman I allude to is one of the most shrewd and intelligent men in the Country, holds at the present time a high official station, and has much influence with the Presidt. Genl. St. Anna.

The conversation commenced by his enquiring whether I had abandoned the question about boundary—I replied that after the last note recd from the Secy of State on that subject, it seemed to me to be closed—He observed, you are mistaken—it is not closed, but perhaps it is best that you did not at that time press it further; and added; On Sunday next Gen. St. Anna will be here, and we shall then be relieved from the ignorant vagaries of the Vice President—And after a pause and some hesitation, he observed, There is one man who must be brought over to us in this affair, without whom we can do nothing, with him on our side, every thing—And enquired have you command of Money? (I recollecting that you had authorised me to employ the amount designed for this object in any way which according to my discretion was best calculated to effect our purpose) replied to his question—Yes, I have money—He went on—There will be a large sum necessary ½ a million or upwards—this man so important for us to gain must have himself 200, or 300 thousand dollars, there are others amongst whom it may become necessary to distribute 3 or 4 Hundred thousand more. Can you command that sum? I replied assure me of the object, and the money shall not fail—It is very well said he, in a few days we shall converse on this subject again—that is so soon as we get over the ferment of the triumphal entry of the president, and settle down into business habits.1

You will doubtless consider this a most strange and remarkable conversation, and not the least remarkable feature in it, is the very direct and frank manner in which a question of such a character was treated—as if indeed it had been a mere question of contract between individuals for a part of their property: and it develops at once the Character of these people—selfish, corrupt, utterly unprincipled, Any of them may be successfully appealed to through their cupidity. Well as I know them, I confess, that the interview and conversation just described went farther than my expectation or hopes would have warranted; but I now believe the prospect once more a fair one—and although not perhaps reduced as yet to so much certainty as I had it with Mr. Alaman—still it is evidently
once more within the reach of an effort. You will be at no loss to imagine who the important Individual was, which he considered it all important to gain over—I had him as manifest to me as if the name had been given, at the next interview; the name will be given no doubt. If I close this negotiation successfully I shall be myself the bearer of the Treaty to the U.S. because it may be necessary to make explanations which can only be done personally, and in pursuance of your permission heretofore given me I shall come.2

In the mean time I shall expect instructions of the most clear and explicit character upon the several subjects submitted to the Department of State—vizt. Our claims on the Mexican Govt.—The case of the Ship Robert Wilson, that of Doct. Baldwin &ca. &ca—You know me well enough to be assured that I am not afraid of responsibility of which I have more than once given proof since my residence here, but at present I want instructions, with the assurance that every thing shall be done which you direct even at the hazard of my Life. If indeed the event should occur to which in the early part of this Letter I have alluded, why in such case, much of the instruction asked for and expected will be superseded, because all the Claims at least will be provided for—but should that project fail, I must then have something to guide me in the ulterior proceeding.

If the person alluded to in the foregoing part of this letter succeeds as he thinks he can in arranging a treaty on the subject of boundary, we shall proceed and adjust the Articles in six hours, because they will be few and simple, and once I can put them in the right humor, rely on it that but short time will elapse between that of effecting an understanding on the subject and the signing & sealing. With great respect I am My dear Sir your friend & most obedt. Servt.

A: Butler

I shall write you again in a few days.

[Endorsed by AJ:] A. Butler private rcd 27th. 1833—answered the same day rough draft within A. J. To be preserved A. J.

ALS, DLC (43). AJ replied on November 27 (below).

1. On September 6, Butler had written to Mexican foreign minister Carlos José María García y Arriaga (1786–1838) urging a renewal of boundary negotiations, but García had declined on September 20 (William R. Manning, ed., Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Inter-American Affairs, 1831–1860, 8:263–64, 683–84). Santa Anna had left Mexico City in July. He returned on Sunday, October 27, after defeating insurgents in Guanajuato. Vice President Valentín Gómez Farías (1781–1858) had administered the government in his absence. Santa Anna wrote AJ on November 1 (below).

2. In 1832, Butler had requested and received permission to deliver a completed boundary treaty to the U.S. in person (Jackson Papers, 10:427, 545).
From Samuel John Carr

[This letter appears in several late 19th-century newspaper accounts of visits to the Hermitage, whose texts vary slightly. Printed here is the earliest known version.]

WASHINGTON CITY, Oct. 28, '33.

SIR:—I have the honor to present to you the accompanying edition of the Holy Bible in Latin, printed at Tubingen, two hundred and forty years ago. The binding which is of the same age, is in excellent preservation and is a good specimen of the art in that day. I know of no man, sir, with whom I could with so much propriety deposit a relic of this kind, as one like yourself, who has been, and ever will continue to be, while he breathes, alike the depository of his country’s hopes in the hour of danger, as well as the source of her most grateful feelings of pride and exultation in the moment of her prosperity.

I therefore entreat your acceptance of it, sir, as a small, but sincere evidence of the unaltered, respectful veneration and esteem with which I have the honor to be your Excellency’s

Most obedient and humble serv’t

SAM’L J. CARR, of South Carolina.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Dr. Carr presents an old edition of the Bible in latin—valuable as an ancient relic. It must be more perfect, if it can be correctly translated.¹

From Henry Augustus Dingee

Mr. President

It may be thought presumption in a youth of my age, to attempt to address the Chief Magistrate of this Republic; but, Sir, young as I am, I have read a little, and heard more of the national benefits, and blessings, resulting from the acts of great and good men. Among such, you, Sir, deservedly hold a distinguished rank. The American Revolution found you, though then a youth, but a few years older than I now am, engaged in the cause of freedom—and fighting the battles of your country. Since that time your matured skill and abler services were required in the preservation of that freedom and independence, which when a youth you

¹. This sentence is not in the Mississippian version, but appears in later printings.
contributed to establish. To this paramount duty you were called by the Executive, and placed at the head of an army of citizens and soldiers.

You led them to the field of battle; you fought; and you nobly conquered. For this, as well as the many other great and good acts of your life, you have been twice honoured with the highest office in the gift of the American people. Since your elevation to the arduous and responsible station you now fill, you have had great and serious difficulties and embarrassment to encounter and overcome; “peaceably if you could, but forcibly if you must.” Recently, a dark cloud arose in one of our sister states, threatening disunion; and portending all the awful horrors of internal war. But by your judicious measures, you put even Nullification at rest, without the loss of blood. All is now quiet. Peace and tranquillity reign both at home and with all foreign powers, and to your decision and firmness, with the aid of other great and good men who seconded and sustained you, are we indebted, under a just and wise providence, for a continuance of the multiplied blessings we have hitherto enjoyed. It is confidently believed that South Carolina possesses her full share of able and patriotic men; but it is feared that they, like those in another section of the union, and at another and more critical and perilous period, were deluded and led astray by aspiring, and ambitious, but disappointed men.

Men, who had stood high in the councils of the nation, and confidence of the people, Who were looked up to for good advice and example worthy the imitation of all; But whose disappointed ambitious views, rendered them in after life, reckless of all consequences, regardless of thier own fate and indifferent to the fate of thier deluded votaries, as well as all others: whose conduct, therefore, stands recorded on the darkest page of thier country’s history; and at which the finger of scorn is pointed by all good men. But suppose Sir, that South Carolina had been permitted peaceably to withdraw from the union, and set up for herself? what would have been the consequence? Other states might and probably would, have done the same. And, thus, we should have been cut up into a multitude of distinct governments. War and bloodshed would have followed. Father would have been enrolled against Son—Son against Father—and Brother against Brother until we should have become nought but an impoverished, degraded, and enslaved people; despised by all the world, as a monument of childish folly, and manhood’s wickedness.

Like our sister, South America, a country abounding in the precious metals, blessed with a salubrious climate, and a soil fertile in all the productions necessary to the comfort, convenience, or splendor of life; having for years fought, and at the expense of much blood and treasure forced an acknowledgment of her independence, now presents us with numerous distinct and independent Governments; a divided and distracted people, continually at war among themselves, butchering and enslaving each other, to gratify a few ambitious and aspiring demagogues, whose business seems to be, thus to sport with the liberty and lives of thier fellow
beings. Let this be a warning to the good people of these United States—
And let them stand firm in the support of the Union; and treat with proper
indignation and contempt the propagation of any principle which might,
even by possibility, lead to its dissolution.

A few years will soon roll round, when you Sir, will retire to the
“Hermitage” there, in the shade of retirement, to wait the final close of
an eventful and well spent life. And I pray God, that he will be pleased to
continue his blessing upon you—and render your future days, even more
comfortable and happy than any which have past. And should your suc-
cessors prove themselves as good pilots, in steering this great National
Ship as you have been I think we shall have very little to fear.

Henry Augustus Dingee of New York.

ALS, DLC-Blair-Rives Papers (mAJs). Washington Globe, November 1, 1833 (23-1096). The Globe headed its printing: “Speech of Master Dingee, of New York, a boy 12 years old, made to the President of the United States, on the 28th October, 1833.” Dingee (1822–1889) was later a businessman. AJ wrote William J. Leiper about him on November 21 (below).

1. On January 14, 1811, Federalist congressman Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts had warned that if Louisiana was admitted to the Union, opposing states would have the right and duty “definitely to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must” (Annals of Congress, 11th Cong., 3d sess., p. 525). Often invoked or censured thereafter, the phrase was commonly rendered as “peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must.”

To Hardy Murfree Cryer

—Private— Washington Octbr. 29th. 33.

My dear Sir.

your letter of the 15th. instant has been received. I have read it with
attention and hasten to reply.

The bereavement you have met with by the loss of your dear wife
I can duly appreciate, and sincerely sympathise with you on the occa-
sion.¹ You are young & surrounded as you are, with a helpless mother
& two young children, one a daughter, who wants the superintendent
care of a mother, I do suppose that none of your friends would advise
you not to marry again, provided you could make a discrete choice of
one who would become in all respects a mother to your small children &
do a mothers part by them.² Your decased wife had a sweet temper, in all
respects congenial with your own & you were a happy pair, should you
meet with such a temper & such a soul, then I would say to you, marry,
because you would secure domestic happiness and find in the second
wife a tender mother for your present children. There is danger in being
disappointed in this. You are both young, and may expect children by the
second marriage—suppose you are disappointed in her benevolent dispo-
sition—that she really becomes the stepmother to your children becomes
jealous of them, & instead of being a tender mother to them, becomes the real stepmother & maltreats them. What heartburnings must arise & end in domestic strife. mark me, “you want a mother for your children, and survey the temper, disposition, and all the traits of benevolence about the intended mother well & then judge for yourself—your happiness & that of your dear little ones depend upon the choice you make—if a prudent one, your & their happiness is secured; if disappointed in the disposition & benevolence, then your condition will be every thing but contentment & happiness.

But you say that your dear wife anticipating her exit, pointed to this lady as a mother to her children. This certainly ought to be consoling to you, provided your own judgment concur in the qualifications of the lady, as being by disposition, becoming in feeling & in practice, a real mother to yours as well as to her own children, but the judgment of a person on a dying bed, who has formed friendly attachments may not be capable of viewing how changed one may become, when placed in the situation of a real mother, when all their affections might be withdrawn from others & placed upon their own, therefore it is, that I draw your attention to the propriety of your judging for yourself, & if your conclusions correspond with your dear departed wife, you have a right to conclude, in following her advice, you are securing your own happiness & obtaining a real mother for your motherless children.3

you have a right to believe you have my friendship—and my prayers are that you may be as happy in your second as you were in your first choice—and you will be happy here and hereafter—for nothing can tend more to our prospects of future happiness than our domestic. I tender to my dear little Rachel J. a kiss with my best wishes for your prudent & discrete choice. I remain yr friend

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I have been quite unwell, am mending, but a good deal debilitated. A. J

ALS, THi (23-1115).

1. Cryer’s wife Elizabeth had died on August 16.
2. Cryer’s mother was Mary Cotton Cryer Foxall (1770–1846).
3. Cryer had already married Susan Ann Duval (1802–1845) on October 15.

To Anthony Butler

—Private—

Washington
Octbr. 30th. 1833—

Dr. Sir,

I received in due time your favor of the 14th. of September last, and have given to its contents the careful consideration which they merited.
In relation to the boundary I can only repeat what I have so often repeated before that it is vitally important to the two Republics. Its settle-
ment peaceably and permanantly is essential to the future peace and to the maintenance of those harmonious relations without which it is impossible for neighboring states to be auxiliary to each others welfare & prosperity.

I regret to hear of the slanders of Yturibide and Tornel which have no foundation either in the acts or views of myself, or any part of the Government. The statement made of my intimacy with Houston is not true. The very opposite would have been nearer the fact, for we have had, ever since the intimation of his being regarded as unfriendly to the existing Government of Mexico, a secrect agent watching his movements and prepared to thwart any attempt to organise within the United States a military force to aid in the revolution of Texas. Genl Houston I am informed is connected with the Newyork company who you are apprised have obtained a large nominal Grant in Texas.

In your negotiation on the subject of the boundary, you must keep within your instructions, and within the limits of the five millions as the consideration money for the purchase of the Country East of the Grand Prarrie. By your instructions you are at liberty to apply as much of the five millions as will liquidate all claims within the Territory to be ceded, but no grant is to be acknowledged but such as has been complied with in all its conditions—such for instance as Austins & others similarly situated. The frauds [we] have experienced under the Florida cession afford us a lesson on this subject by which we must profit.

Be careful therefore on this point to throw upon the Government of Mexico the extinguishment of all titles the conditions of which have not been compleated, diminishing as far as you may think it safe & proper for this object, all that will remain of the five millions to be applied generally as the consideration for the cession. Provided you keep within your instructions and obtain the cession it is not for your consideration whether the Government of Mexico applies the money to the purchase of men or to pay their public debt. It is not for you to enquire how they will apply the consideration for the cession which we shall pay—all we want is a good and unencumbered Cession of Territory that will gives us a good and permanant boundery. I pray you my dear Sir, to close this negotiation soon—four years has nearly elapsed since it commenced and our boundery remains unadjusted.

The case of the consul at Mexico has been duly considered—he will be removed & another appointed. I refer you to the despatch from the Secretary of State, on this as well as other subjects. My health has not been good of late, but is improveing. I am very much employed preparing for the meeting of congress which is near at hand[,] I am Dr Sir, very respectfully yr mo. obdt. servt.

Andrew Jackson
From Arthur St. Clair  
Indianapolis Octr 30th 1833

Sir

To my surprise I was informed, on Monday last by a confidential letter, that Genl Drake and myself were both removed from office; as Receiver and Register of the Land office at this place, and that it was based on James B Gardener’s Report as Examiner. When Mr Gardener was appointed and arrived here, I was informed, that he was an unprincipled man, and was determined to prostrate me, to gratify his feelings against my Brother in Law Lt John F. Lane, my reply was that Genl Jackson would suffer no steps taken against me, without giving me an opportunity of defending myself; and being conscious that I had faithfully and honestly discharged my duty—I did not think it prudent to trouble my friends.¹ I can fearlessly state that I am prepared to prove false, every charge that Gardener has made against me. And all I ask, is a fair and honest investigation, by any unpredjudiced man you may please to send, or by Judge Parke our district Judge who is as honest a man as ever lived; who will hold his court in this place on the last Monday in next Month; And if they can point out one single error or neglect of official duty, I shall cheerfully consent to my removal.² I have a reputation dearer to me than life, which shall be sustained. I have to high an opinion of your integrity and magniminity to cast the least reflection on you. I when but a youth advocated your Election from principle. I never thought of an office I have night and day opposed every man who was a Candidate for office, where I thought his Election

ALS, TxU (23-1119). Butler replied on February 6, 1834 (DLC-44).

1. José María Tornel y Mendivil (1789–1853) had been Mexican minister to the U.S. in 1830–31, and Agustín Jerónimo de Iturbide y Huarte (1807–1866) had been briefly chargé d’affaires in 1833. Writing to McLane on July 26, Butler had accused both men of arousing Mexican hostility against the U.S. by falsely charging it with trying to foment a revolt in Texas (William R. Manning, ed., Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Inter-American Affairs, 1831–1860, 8:262). AJ’s secret agent was William Savin Fulton (1795–1844), secretary of Arkansas Territory. AJ had deputed him to keep watch on Houston in December 1830, after receiving reports that Houston was recruiting Americans to conquer Texas (Jackson Papers, 8:643–47, 683–84). In 1832 Houston had become an agent for James Prentiss, a major New York speculator in Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company scrip.

2. AJ had instructed Butler regarding a Texas negotiation at the commencement of his mission in October 1829 (Jackson Papers, 7:364–67, 487–90).

3. McLane had written Butler on October 18, informing him of Mexico City consul James S. Wilcocks’s pending removal and granting Butler’s request for an increase in contingent expenses. Just previously, on October 12, he had written Butler requiring his answer to the charges of misconduct that Wilcocks had sent in February (HRDoc 351, 25th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 109–12, Serial 332). McLane informed Wilcocks of his removal on October 22 (DNA-RG 59, M78-6). Butler wrote McLane on February 3, 1834, assailing Wilcocks’s character and promising a detailed refutation of his charges (DNA-RG 59, M97-7).
would embarrass your Administration. Mr Hayward has for a number of years been my violent and bitter personal enemy. I know he will do every thing in his power to prejudice regardless of principle. I am confident Gardener has made a falsely Report—yet I am certain you will do me ample Justice, when in possession of all the facts.

With sentiments of the highest Esteem your friend

A St Clair

ALS, DNA-RG 56 (M726-22; 23-1137). St. Clair (1803–1841) was a lawyer and former Indiana legislator. He and James Perry Drake (1797–1876) had been appointed register and receiver of the Indianapolis land office by AJ in 1829. AJ had removed St. Clair on October 19 on Elijah Hayward’s October 16 recommendation, based on James B. Gardiner’s August 17 report charging him with malfeasance and neglect of duty (SDoc 439, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 51–69, Serial 243). William B. Slaughter was given a recess appointment in his place.

Indiana senator William Hendricks (1782–1850) enclosed this St. Clair letter to AJ on November 1, seconding his request for an investigation of Gardiner’s charges and endorsing St. Clair’s “fair and excellent character” (DNA-RG 56, M726-22). He wrote again more strongly on December 6, declaring St. Clair “a man of the most sensitive honor, and of the most unquestioned integrity,” and proposing a reexamination of the charges against him and Drake (DNA-RG 46, 24-0407). AJ referred Hendricks’s first letter to Taney, noting that “nothing can be done by us” since the removals had already been made, but that the Senate might investigate before confirming replacements. On December 3, Indiana congressmen George L. Kinnard, Edward A. Hannegan, and Amos Lane also wrote AJ, branding Gardiner’s charges against St. Clair and Drake as falsehoods (DNA-RG 46, 24-0176 & 24-0192).

On December 18, Taney instructed U.S. district attorney Tilghman A. Howard to re-examine the Indianapolis land office. Howard reported on January 24, 1834 (DNA-RG 46). On May 21, AJ as “an act of justice” nominated St. Clair to be register again in place of Slaughter, whose recess appointment had not been submitted for Senate confirmation. AJ said that Gardiner had discharged his duty “honestly and faithfully,” but that Howard’s report had acquitted Drake and St. Clair “of any intentional misconduct.” On June 24 the Senate confirmed St. Clair by 23 to 18 (Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:404–5, 428).

1. AJ had given Gardiner a recess appointment as register of the Tiffin, Ohio, land office in 1829. In May 1830 the Senate had rejected his nomination by 46 to 0. He had since been employed as an Ohio Indian treaty commissioner and removal superintendent, in which capacity he had complained of St. Clair’s brother-in-law, Army disbursing officer John F. Lane, for failing to provide needed funds for emigrating Indians in 1832 (SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 2d sess., vol. 4, pp. 111–16, Serial 247).

2. Benjamin Parke (1777–1835) was the U.S. district judge in Indiana.

To Andrew Jackson Donelson

Washington Octbr. 31rst. 1833,

Sir

I have read Mr Reeds letter, agent of Mr. Porterfield, and have barely to remark—that my funds were placed in the hands of Mr Josiah Nichol & he was my agent in all my transactions in Nashville & was authorised to apply my funds in his hands to my engagements. I never had any transactions
with Mr Porterfield, & if any freight was due or cost in drayage all Mr Porterfield had to do was to apply to Mr Josiah Nichols who always had my funds in his hands. Therefore the agent of Mr Porterfield will apply to the representatives of Mr. Josiah Nichol who will, if the charge is a correct one pay it.

As to the item charged for cash paid Jos. Nichol & son on G Steels order on me I am well advised it cannot be correct. When the order by G. W. Steel was drew upon me, I owed Mr Steel not a cent. The indorsement was made by me to secure out of Mr Steels wages which would become due on the first of January 1832—the amount due to Stockly Donelson for a horse sold to my overseer—before the order with the memorandum was presented to Mr Nichol Grave Steel had recd. all his wages from Mr. Josiah Nichol and Mr Josiah Nichol told the holder that he would have nothing to do with it. That I he knew I owed Mr Steel nothing, that he had recd. all his wages for the year 1831, and that he Mr Josiah Nichol would have nothing to do with it. The drawee was notified of this, and grave W Steel was there in the country—you may say to Mr Reed that I will have nothing to do with this order. I owe neither Graves W. Steel, or the drawee one cent & if the holder has let G. W. Steel go out of the country without paying his debts the holder or drawee must loose it—as to the other account if it is not included in the accounts of Mr Josiah Nichol then my son, and the Representatives of Mr Josiah Nichol will have this account adjusted.

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Donelson Papers (23-1141). AJ wrote AJ Jr. about these claims on November 1 (below). AJ’s agent Josiah Nichol had died on May 31 and Nashville merchant Francis Porterfield (1785–1833) on June 3, both of cholera. Thomas Jones Read (c1790–c1866) was also a Nashville merchant. The surviving partner in Josiah Nichol & Son was Josiah’s son Charles McAllister Nichol (1805–1867).
November

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington Novbr. 1rst. 1833.

Dr Andrew,

I have just recd. a letter from Mr. Hotzelaw, which informs me that my family were all well on the 21rst. ultt.—that he had picked out one hundred thousand pounds of cotton & had from 60 to 90 thousand in the field, but had only started his Ginn. I regret to learn that we will not get our crop early to makett & I fear that the price will go down before spring. I wish your attention to the getting out the cotton & having it ginned & baled & sent as early to makett as you can.

Mr Hotzelaw sent me by Major Donelson a memorandom of my stock of hoggs &c which I handed to you. Their number was upwards of 400—he now writes me that he has only 86 hoggs to kill. What has become of them? there has been more corn fed to them than would buy more Pork than the 86 will make, and from the small number fattened last year, and the number turned out I had supposed that we would have an ample supply of Pork this year—out of 400—half ought to be fit to kill, or at least one hundred & fifty—to feed 400 a year for 86 killing hoggs is paying too dear for the whistle—inform me how this happens, & what number of hoggs are now in the stock on the farm their age &c all hoggs 18 months old ought to be killed they are after that age an expence, never paid for the feeding by their increase of weight

Mr. Hotzelaw informs that he has seven beeves to kill.

I have just seen Mr Leiper who informs me that Mr Saml Wetheral & his lady sets out in a few days to visit you—this will be gratifying to you & Sarah—give my kind respects to them and Miss Lippincot, who I am informed is to accompany them. I have just recd. a letter from A. J. Hutchings who informs me he is to be married to Miss Mary Coffee on the 14th. instant. I sincerely rejoice at it—and wish them much happiness

Present me affectionately to your dr. Sarah & my little Rachel with a kiss. I feel great solicitude for you all & am anxious to hear of your safe arrival at—sweet home. My kind regards to all inquiring friends[,] yr affectionate father

Andrew Jackson
P.S. I wish you to see they young Messhrs. Nichols have a settlement with them & inform me what they have done with the ballance of the last shipment of Cotton last year which came to their hands\(^2\)

I have been presented thro Major Donelson with an account of Mr. Potterfields for freight and drayage. I have also been presented with Steels draft in favour of Stockly Donelson, which I had authorised Mr Josiah Nichol to save out of Steels wages for S. D. Steel had received all his wages before it was presented and Nichol did well not to have any thing to do with it. I have told Major Donelson to reply that I never had any dealings with Mr. Potterfiel, that Mr Josiah Nichol was my banker and my agent, was directed to pay all freight for me which I have no doubt was done as all articles shipped by me was to him—but if any freight is due that you & Mr Nichols would settle & pay it. Steels order you are to have nothing to do with—if they have let Steel go off, you can say to Stockly I shall not pay him Steels debt. I would have not ever made the attempt to save it out of Steels wages if it had not been for Major Donelson it was a peace of great impudence in Steel to draw on me, & imprudent in Stockly to ask it, when he knew I did not owe Steel one cent. A. J.

ALS, DLC (43).

1. Andrew J. Hutchings and Mary Coffee were married at Florence, Ala., on November 14.
2. Charles M. Nichol's brothers William Nichol (1800–1878) and James Nichol (1803–1878) were executors of their father Josiah's estate.

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To Mary Ann Eastin Polk

[This letter is available only as excerpted in a modern printing.]

. . . I am happy to find that you were invited to the wedding of our mutual friend Miss Mary Coffee. You are not so good at guessing as I am, or you would have guessed A. J. Hutchings as the happy man, I could have guessed the moment I heard that our friend, Miss Mary McL. and Hutchings were off. I knew H. and had an exalted opinion of M. C. and I am sure that you will agree with me that Hutchings has made a happy choice.

I know no one whose disposition is better, or whose authority better calculated to make the matrimonial state one of happiness and contentment more than Miss M. C. . . . I hope Hutchings may prove worthy of such a jewel—if he does they will be a happy pair, for whom my prayers will ascend daily. You know I had great solicitude about Hutchings. I tried to give him good council and a thorough education, and my solicitude was to bring him into life with talents and unblemished character and good estate. I have, I think, done two of these things—a good fortune and unspotted character—and freely do I resign my guardianship of him to Mary Coffee . . . I have here to stop—I have been twenty times interrupted
since I commenced this letter . . . kiss the darling daughter for me . . .
believe me your affectionate Uncle,

Andrew Jackson.

Printed extract, Pauline Wilcox Burke, Emily Donelson of Tennessee (Richmond, Va., 1941), vol. 2, pp. 57–58 (22-0796). Burke's printing includes the ellipses. A footnote (p. 203) says the text comes from a copy in a scrapbook and gives a clearly incorrect date of March 18. The likely date is early November. AJ had learned of the wedding from Hutchings by November 1 and wrote him on November 3 (below).

From Antonio López de Santa Anna

Great and Good Friend

Although I was elected by the general vote of the States composing the Mexican Confederacy to occupy the Chief Magistracy, as early as the end of March last, yet have I hitherto been prevented, first by my avocations which did not permit me to assume the office on the day appointed by the Constitution, and next by the necessity of assuming the command of the army, in order to put down the revolution in the State of Guanajuato, from declaring the sentiments which animate me respecting the prosperity of the United States of America, and towards the worthy Chief who presides over them. Now that heaven has crowned with success, the efforts of the defenders of Federal Institutions, that the revolution is entirely extinguished, and the Nation begins to recover the precious benefits which discord and Civil war had taken from it, I comply with my duty, in offering to Your Excellency, the post to which my fellow citizens have called me, and assuring you that while my administration lasts, nothing shall be neglected which can contribute to preserve and increase those relations, which now happily subsist between the two States. I flatter myself that my sentiments, as well as the principles which guide me in objects so important, will correspond with those of Your Excellency, who has given such unequivocal proofs of the interest taken by you, in cementing the friendship and harmony between the two Countries. I conclude with intreating Your Excellency, to be convinced of the sincerity of my sentiments, and to accept the assurances of my most distinguished consideration and true friendship, with which I sign myself Your Good Friend,

Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna

Translation, LS, and Copy, DNA-RG 59 (M54-1). HRDoc 351, 25th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 688–89 (Serial 332). AJ replied on February 8, 1834. The LS reads:

Palacio del Gobierno Federal en Mejico á 1o. de Noviembre de 1.833.

Grande y buen amigo

Aunque electo por el voto general de los Estados de la Federacion Mejicana para ocupar la primera magistratura desde fines de Marzo del presente año, las diversas atenciones de la campaña que no me permitieron encargarme en el dia designado por la Constitucion,
del Supremo Poder Ejecutivo, y la necesidad en que me vi después de mandar en persona
el Ejército para terminar la revolución concentrada en el Estado de Guanajuato, me han
impedido dirigirme a V.E. y protestarle los sentimientos que me animan por la prosperidad
de esos Estados y la del digno Gefe que los preside.

Hoy que el cielo ha coronado los esfuerzos de los defensores de las instituciones Federales,
que se ha estinguído la revolución y que la Nación amenaza á recobrar los bienes preciosos
que le había robado la discordia y la Guerra civil, cumple el deber sagrado de ofrecer á V.E.
el puesto en que me han colocado mis conciudadanos y de asegurárselo que en el período de
mi administración se conservaran y aumentaran cuanto de ella dependan las relaciones que
felizmente existen entre esos y estos Estados. Yo me lisonjeo de que mis sentimientos, así
como los principios que me dirigen á objeto tan importante, serán correspondidos por los de
V.E. que ha dado pruebas inequívocas del interés que toma en estrechar los lazos de amistad
y concordia entre ambos países.

Sirvase pues V.E. admitir la sinceridad de mis sentimientos y las seguridades de la más
distinguida y verdadera amistad con que me subrigo Vuestro buen amigo.

Ant. López de Santa Anna

1. Santa Anna had been elected in March 1833 to succeed Gómez Pedraza as president.
His term began April 1, but he did not enter Mexico City until mid-May, and then left in July
to quell the Guanajuato revolt. He had returned on October 27.

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To Andrew Jackson Hutchings

Washington Novbr. 3rd. 1833—

Dear Hutchings,

your affectionate letter of the 22nd. ultimo is received, from which I
learn with great pleasure & satisfaction that on the 14th. instant you are
to be united in the holy bonds of matrimony with the amiable & accom-
plished Miss Mary Coffee—your choice is one of judgment & prudence,
and every thing will depend upon your kind affections as a husband, to
make you both contented & happy—her amiable temper, good sense
and oeconomy will insure her in all respects to be a good & affectionate
wife, so long as you will be a kind & loving husband—which I trust you
will be in all respects as your dear father who now slumbers in his grave
was. I wish you always to remember that good humor is the weapon that
keeps a wife affectionate and true, and this I trust you will always hold
in keeping for Mary. I view her as a treasure to your welfare & happiness
in this world, & by her gentle conduct will lead you in the paths of virtue
thro this life & prepare you for a better, beyond the Grave. I hope there
will be no disappointment in the way; therefore tender you, and thro you
to Mary, my heartfelt congratulations on this Joyfull occasion. To me it
is Joyfull. I have had great solicitude on the subject of your education
and your welfare from the moment your were bequeathed to me by your
dying father—as far as I could, I have fulfilled my obligations to him & to
you—that you should enter life with unspotted character & good moral
habits, were my constant solicitude—and as you now enter life with as
prudent & accomplished companion as Mary (for whom I have always
had the highest regard) I am satisfied that you will not only do well, but become a leading member of the society in which you are placed; always recollecting, that honesty is the best policy, & that life without an unspotted character, is not worth possessing—present me affectionately to Mrs. Coffee and all the family with prayers for all your & their happiness in this, and the next world. We are all in improving health here & all unite in affectionate regards to them.

Inclosed you will find Major Lewis note in reply to yours, which I inclosed him. When you visit Nashville call & see Mr Currin at Franklin on your way—if he has not made arrangements to pay the debt—then call upon Mr Crutcher & shew him Major Lewis note to me now inclosed, and ask him to sell as much of the Bridge stock as will meet your debt—but you are too young to be dabbling in stocks—your prudent course is to collect your money & invest it in good land well situated, that will improve in value—your investments is then safe & whilst you are sleeping your land will be increasing in value.1

I would like to hear what Hogg has done—has he paid you, or if not has he secured the debt. I feel some solicitude about this matter.2

I hope you will find no difficulty in the settlement of William Eastons note—it was to be satisfied in supplies for your farm as they were wanted until the principle & accruing interest was paid.

I am happy your crop is so promising but regret your loss of the boy attending your Ginn as I suppose he was one of the most valuable—he ought to have been one of the most careful—he never to repine at the acts of providence—he holds our lives in the hollow of his hand—he has given it & he has the right, and the power to take it away at his good pleasure & shews the propriety of all living so that the are always prepared to die—say to miss Mary Coffee that I shall expect her promised letter soon—she is the only one of my connection that has written me—she knows I am her friend—that her dear departed father was my favorite friend—and that my regard for him descends to his dear & amiable family.

I have not been well—write in great haste & expect to hear from you soon. I will be pleased to hear of the real amount of your crop & for what sold. I haste your affectionate uncle—

Andrew Jackson

P.S. The idea you have expressed in your note gave umbrage to Major Lewis—you threaten suit—pospone this until you write me—as soon as Major Eaton arrives here, Major Lewis will make some arrangements to pay this debt. The extravagance of his daughter before her marriage has involved him.3 A. J

ALS, THi (23-1176).
1. AJ found Lewis’s letter in his pocket on November 4 and sent it to Hutchings, asking the return of whatever he had by error enclosed in its place (THi, 23-1184). On his spring
visit to Tennessee, Lewis had promised Hutchings to pay his debt by the end of the year, and had written AJ on May 1 of his intent (above). But on February 15, 1834, he wrote Hutchings pleading for further patience, as pressure in Eastern financial markets made it “impossible” for friends of the administration to raise money on any terms (Coffee Papers, THi).

2. Samuel Hogg’s debt to Hutchings was still unpaid in June 1835.
3. Mary Ann Lewis had married Alphonse Pageot on November 29, 1832.

To Benjamin B. Cooper

Washington Novbr. 6th. 1833—

My Dr Sir,

I have this moment received your letter of the 2nd. instant, & hasten to reply to it. I have full confidence in you, that you will have the accounts relating to the season of B settled justly, and am disposed to leave it to yourself to have it closed them fully settled. I am anxious that this matter should be finally closed as early as possible & it would be a convenience to me to receive any sum that might be due me by Mr. Shinn when he comes on to congress. I have only to add, that I have also full confidence in Mr Shinn and as if it is should be your desire after you read this that I should give him Mr Shinn full power to settle my three fourths of Bolivers season in the spring of 1832, and he will accept of the agency, I do hereby impower him to settle all matters for me relating to the season of Boliver in the spring 1832 ratifying & confirming any settlement he make in my behalf in the premises, provided you will not undertake to have the settlement made yourself & he will undertake the same for me & in my behalf.

But my Dr. Sir, I would rather you would settle the business yourself with Mr. West. I will be contentt with any adjustment you make. I am intitled to ¾ of the spring season of 1832, and you to one fourth, first deducting the expence of his keeping and Mr West part for superintending him thro the spring season ending, I think by the advertisement the last day of June. I have no claim to any of the fall season—that was transfered with the horse—you having all the papers concerning this matter can easily settle it without refering it to Mr Shinn, but should you prefer that Mr Shinn you have my authority to submit it to him.

Major A. J. Donelson has now here one of Bolivars colts—a two year old, which if no accident happens to her will make her sire, Boliver, worth, as studs now sell, ten thousand dollars—he will run her accidents accepted next spring—here and at Baltimore.

I pray you my Dr Sir to settle this matter yourself, & send me by Mr Shinn whatever is due me. I am Sir with great respect yr mo. obdt. servant

A. J
ALS Draft, DLC (43). Cooper had written AJ on November 2, asking him to authorize New Jersey congressman William N. Shinn to settle accounts with stable master John West for Bolivar’s spring 1832 stud season and carry AJ’s part of the proceeds to Washington (DLC-43).

**To William Berkeley Lewis**

Novbr. 7th. 1833—

My Dr Major

I have cast my eyes over the piece marked in the news paper you handed me. I would like to be informed why it was sent for my perusal. I never trouble myself with dead Ducks or Madmen—or even those who are not mad, when their plain object is to draw the public mind from their own debasement, or wish to change an Issue, that has been made with another, and which is dreaded least it might be tried before an impartial public!—nor is it necessary to keep a worthless fellow before the public to add to his notiery who if let alone would sink into forgetfulness in a moth—the paper is inclosed as I have no room for it with me.

Andrew Jackson

ALS, NNPM (23-1195). The piece AJ returned was probably Nathaniel Beverley Tucker’s in the November 5 United States’ Telegraph, headed “Mr. Randolph, The President, &c.” On October 26, Tucker had published in the Telegraph his February 23 letter to AJ (above) and called on AJ to “disown” the Globe’s charges of hypocrisy and concealment against the late John Randolph. On October 30, the Globe riposted that Tucker’s “insolent scurrility” towards AJ had “put him so far out of the pale of respectability, as to render an answer to his interrogatories disreputable. He is beneath contempt and will be so treated.” Tucker’s November 5 Telegraph piece repeated that AJ “owes it to his own honor” and to Randolph’s reputation to repudiate the Globe’s slanders.

1. The posthumous controversy over Randolph had erupted when the US Telegraph on July 22 published a July 4 letter from James Hamilton Jr. to a nullification celebration at Slab Town, S.C. Hamilton said he had a letter from Randolph embracing nullification and condemning AJ’s despotism—a letter that he said “shall see the light. When it does, I promise you, that Andrew Jackson, Esq., will not have skin enough upon his back to determine the color of his epidermis.” The Globe on July 23 doubted the letter’s existence and demanded that Hamilton produce it, saying that such a letter would convict Randolph of vile hypocrisy in his friendly professions to AJ. Hamilton had not yet produced the letter, and the Globe on October 30, dismissing Tucker’s entry into the controversy as a diversion, had again demanded to see it: “The issue, as to the relations of Mr. Randolph with the President, was made with General Hamilton. It shall abide with him.”

**To Sarah Yorke Jackson**

[This letter is available only in two later printed extracts with overlapping texts.]

I was relieved this morning from great anxiety and solicitude by receiv-
are all well and that my dear little Rachel improves, is in good health and growing finely.¹ May that kind Providence to whom in your absence to me, I have resigned you all, continue to bless you all with every blessing this world can afford. It is late at night and I must close for the present. I am much employed with my preparations for Congress which is as I may say at hand, and the office hunters multiply in a four-fold ratio.² Pass my love to Andrew—cannot write him tonight, and kiss my dear sweet little pet for me, and believe me your affectionate father,

Andrew Jackson.

My regards to all the negroes who I know rejoice to see you at home. First leisure I will write you a long letter.

Andrew Jackson.


1. Clarksville, Tenn., is on the Cumberland, about 60 river miles below Nashville.
2. This sentence appears only in the AAA catalog. The rest of the text appears entirely in the South Atlantic Quarterly and partly in the catalog.

To Virgil Maxcy

Novbr. 9th. 1833

The President with his respects to the Agent Solicitor of the Treasury—returns the papers to him that he may call upon the atto. of the U. States for the District of West Florida, for a full statement of the intrusion and waste committed on the public Lands in west Florida and also, of intrusions & waste committed in east Florida by a call on the atto. for east Florida. The President deems this report necessary before he gives the order to the Marshall to remove and prosecute them under the act of Congress of 1807. The President intends to Issue a general order to the Marshalls in every Territory & State where there are public Lands for the indiscriminate removal of all intruders on Indian & public Lands—he finds no other alternative to put an end to these frequent & Lawless intrusions, but to order, remove, & keep them from the public Land.

AD, DNA-RG 206 (23-1213). TPUS, 24:911. On October 14, U.S. attorney George Walker had reported extensive timber-cutting on West Florida public lands to Maxcy and asked if he should bring suit against offenders. Maxcy consulted GLO commissioner Elijah Hayward, who opined on October 30 that civil process would likely be ineffectual and instead recommended forcible expulsion by the marshal. Maxcy presented the alternatives to AJ on November 7, pointing out that ejectment of intruders under the March 3, 1807, law prohibiting trespass on federal lands required direct presidential authorization (TPUS, 24:893–4, 896–97, 910–11).
Pursuant to AJ’s instruction, Maxcy wrote Walker and East Florida district attorney Thomas Douglas (1790–1855) on November 16. Douglas replied on December 16 that there was little trespass in his district, mainly by settlers cutting timber for their own use rather than for sale. Walker wrote on February 5, 1834, that the offenders were not “intruders” in the usual sense, but resident operators of mills on adjacent purchased land. As they intended to also purchase the timber lands if, as expected, Congress soon reduced the price, Walker hoped that “no step will be taken against them by the President, for the present” (TPUS, 24:928–29, 956). AJ made a note to himself about a proclamation to remove intruders on or about December 11 (below). In the end, no general order or proclamation was issued.

From Benjamin Franklin Butler

[On October 22, Peter Vivian Daniel of Virginia was commissioned as attorney general to succeed Taney. The Globe announced his appointment on October 24. However, Daniel had not yet accepted, and after subsequent consultations with Jackson he declined. On November 8, Van Buren wrote Butler at Jackson’s behest, tendering him the post. He explained that, “having in good faith” first sought a southerner, Jackson was now free to appoint whom he wanted “free from difficulty or objection” (Butler Papers, NjP).]

(Copy)

Albany November 12th: 1833.

Sir,

Mr. Van Buren’s letter of the 8th. inst. informing me that the office of Attorney General of the United States was still vacant, & that you had proposed to confer it upon me, reached me yesterday, and has received my most deliberate & respectful consideration. Under existing circumstances, and in view of the various motives submitted to my reflections, I do not feel myself at liberty to decline the appointment in case it shall be your pleasure to bestow it on me.

However reluctant I may have been to engage in public life, and to assume the responsibilities of a station so important, I beg you to be assured that I shall ever cherish the deepest sense of obligation to yourself, for the partiality & confidence implied in the honor you propose. The conviction also that I am to be associated in the public service, with one whose history is identified with the glory of my country, will at least stimulate me to the performance of the duties assigned me, however I may fall short of my own wishes or of the just expectations of the public.

As it appears to be necessary that the person appointed should immediately enter on the duties of the office, I shall this afternoon set out for Washington, and after stopping at New York long enough to confer with the Vice President, proceed without delay to the seat of government. I have the honor to be, with high respect, Your obt. servt.

B. F. B.
ALS copy, NjP (23-1225). AJ received this letter on November 15 and commissioned Butler the same day.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington Novbr. 13th. 1833—

My dear Andrew,

I have this morning received your affectionate letter dated the 1rst. instant at the Hermitage. I feel thankfull to a kind Providence for his goodness in preserving all your healths on that tedious & disagreeable journey up the Cumberland, exposed, as you must have been, to so much unhealthy measma, with which you must have been surrounded until you left the river at Clarksville, and delivering you and your dear little family, all in good health, at the Hermitage.

I was astonished when I read in your letter that you had recd. none of my letters. I have answered every letter of yours, or Sarahs received, and have written several besides—all must be in the Post office, or on their way, several, you will find have lay many days in the P. office before you reached home.

I rejoice to learn that our dear Sarahs health with our sweet little one Rachel, is so good, and that the dear little Pet is running all over the House. I wish I could see her walk, and hear her begin to prattle—it would be a great consolation to me—but I must console myself with looking at its very excellent Likeness by Mr Earle which I have in a frame, until providence may permit me to visit you at the Hermitage next year—or you Sarah & my little Pet shall return to me here—but I hope & trust in a kind providence that he will enable me to visit you at the Hermitage.

I am happy to learn that our negroes are all well—has Dicks daughter, Hannah, recovered? inform me?

I am pleased at the prospect of our Cotton crop, have it well handled & baled—and hope you will be able to get it all out before the middle of Decbr. next, after that it is not worth the picking of it out—it is always unfit for markett. I regret you have said nothing about the progress in ginning & baleing. I am fearfull there has been neglect in this branch of the management. I had drew Mr Holtzclaws attention to this subject in order that by sending the Cotton early to markett we might benefit by the rise which will go down I fear before the close of the sales of the present crop—advise me on this head. I am pleased with the description of the brood stock—you recollect the oscar Colt got hurt & Hutchings wrote he was ruined—inform me whether there appears any defect in either of his hips, that will injure his appereance, or prevent the hope of his being a good runner—and give me the relative hight of the three stud colts. The oscar, the Virginian by Bolivar, & the motherless colt—and I would like to hear you give a description of the two fillies—recollect that an arab
Colt won the 4 mile purse at Baltimore. Why not Sarah’s Arab prove also a good runner.

You will find in my former letter my remarks about the Pork for killing this fall as stated by Mr. Holtzclaw. I would like to be informed how it has happened that out of all those turned out last fall, all the stock hogs (upwards of 400) that only eighty six is fit to fatten & kill—better sell the corn & buy the Pork than raise it for our neighbours negroes.

Major Donelson has been very sick—he lost at least 26 ounces of blood last night, and is much better to day & I hope he will soon be up. Little John has got well but is very feeble. Emily is with him and Mary on a visit to Baltimore to improve him. Major Donelson will be happy to hear from you of his concerns—his family & farm—pray write him.

As soon as you can see the Young Mr Nichols & have a settlement with them and see how the proceeds of our last cotton sold last year has been applied—the amount $700 & odd dollars and send me on their statement how applied. My son, you must learn to do business & to examine accounts well, & in all & every case take receipts.

I shall expect to receive my dear Sarah’s letter to morrow—present me to her & my little Rachel with a kiss—all here join me in kind salutations to you & Sarah and all inquiring friends—my health is improving a little but my labours are incessant. The removal of the Deposits works well—write me often & believe me yr affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (43).

To William Moore

Washington Novbr. 15th. 1833.

My dear Sir,

Your letter of the 7th. instant is just to hand. I hasten to reply, that Lyncoya, was the child found sucking his dead mothers breast after the battle of Tallahassee was over, & sent to me by Genl Coffee.¹ The wounded child which you brought into camp, was the one taken, & raised by Doctor Shelby—he cured him of his wounds, & adopted him as a child, & educated him—he turned out badly as I believe, & ran away from the Doctor. The Doctor can give you his history.²

I am much pressed with preparations for Congress whose session is at hand & must conclude with my sincere regard & best wishes for your welfare & happiness[.] yrs. sincerely

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THi (23-1237). Moore (1786–1871) was a Tennessee state senator from Lincoln County. He had been a volunteer captain in the Creek War.
Shortly after the death of Lyncoya (c1813–1828), AJ had written out “a short narative of Lyncoya for Major Lee.” He gave it to Henry Lee, then in Nashville assisting AJ’s campaign and preparing to write his biography. Lee rewrote it and published it in the June 17, 1828, Nashville Republican over the signature “Porus.” AJ’s recently rediscovered narrative is the original source for much of what is known about Lyncoya. It reads:

“Lyncoya. When a child about ten or twelve months old, was found, after the battle of Tallashatchy on the 3rd. of Novbr. 1813, in the arms of his dead mother who unfortunately had been killed during the conflict—he was brought & delivered to me. There were many Squaws taken prisoner on that day, some of whom had children at the breast, to these I applied to take this child & take care of him, offering to reward them for doing so. They all refused, saying, all his friends are killed, kill him also; we were destitute of provisions, I had nothing to sustain him, only a small portion of brown sugar, and some crumbs of biscuit found in the bottoms of some barrels, this I carefully preserved for him, & placed him in charge of my faithful servant Charles, who sustained him on the sugar & crumbs of biscuit, until an opportunity offered to send him to Huntsville, when I wrote to Col Reroy Pope to take charge of the child until an opportunity offered to send him to Mrs. J. Col Pope humanely received him, and his amiable daughter, Maria, now Mrs. Purcy took charge of him, and gave him the name Lyncoya, and kept him until the close of the creek war, when on my return march, I took him home, delivered him to Mrs. J. and adopted him as one of our family. Having been deprived of his mother at so early a period, he was very sickly & feeble untill his teething was over, when he acquired his health & began to grow finely. When about five years old he appeared to delight in being alone, and shew displayed a macanical genius by making a bow, the first I ever saw on my plantation was one made by him. I was a good deal surprised at this, as he had no intercourse with the Indians except when the chiefs visited me—whether from instinct, or seeing the chiefs (who paid but little attention to him), he had all the habits of an Indian, by dressing his head with all kind of feathers he could pick up, & amusing himself with his little bow. at about eight years of age I sent him to school, having a good one near me, at first, he disliked his book, and was a long time before he learnt his letters, about ten years of age he became fond of his book & gave signs of genius—and progressed well in his learning. I had intended to have had his education compleated at the military academy at West Point, & had made known my wishes to Mr Monroe then President of the United States, & had obtained his promise of aid in obtaining for him a warrent of admission so soon as he had obtained a sufficient education for that purpose—before this was obtained, Mr Monroe had retired from office, and for reasons I need not name I made no application for a warrant for Lyncoya to enter the M. academy.

Lyncoya having acquired a good english education, in 1827 I bound him to Mr Hoover to learn to be a saddler, he having made choice of that trade—being with Mr Hoover some time he was taken sick, under the care of Doctor F. Robertson he was restored so far to his health that he resumed his work, but had a bad cough. Lyncoya came to see us, as was his habit once a month, on his way the he was with taken with exposed to a sever rain, got very wet, was taken with chills; I detained him at my house called in a phician to attend him, he grew worse, I sent for Doctor Hogg, who pronounced he must die, that he was far gone in a consumption, but recommending a continuance of the Liverwort, which he had been taking, he lingered about eight weeks, and on the morning of the 1st. of June died—we performed the last act of friendship to him, by giving him a decent burial. A. J.” (Charles Carter Lee Collection, ViU).

1. On November 3, 1813, troops commanded by John Coffee attacked and destroyed the Red Stick Creek village of Tallushatchee in Alabama.
2. John Shelby (1785–1859) of Nashville had served as a hospital surgeon during the Creek War.
To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington Novbr. 16th. 1833—

My son,

Inclosed you will receive Mr. Tolands receipt to Mr. Brown for the chest & Tools laid in for you by your friend Mr. Hart, and Mr. Browns receipt for a check for $62.3⁄100 drew by me in his favor for that sum being in full for that bill—(you will find the chest (from the price charged a nice peace of furniture for the parlour) not well suited to a negroes work shop, & the tools very fine such I suppose, as Cabinet makers use—be this as it may, bought wit is the best when not bought too dear, and I could not permit either your feelings, or character, to suffer for the amount of the bill—but I trust that it will hereafter admonish you to purchase your own Tools for the farm & not intrust it to an agent—remember my advice my son—never purchase any useless article—those that are needful for your comfort or that of your dear little family purchase always as far as you have the means, & be alway certain, if you wish to die independent, to keep your wants within your means, always when you have the money, paying for them when bought. I have said before and now repeat—the world is not to be trusted. Many think you rich, and many you will find under false pretentions of friendship would involve you, if the can, and strip you of your last shilling, and afterwards laugh at your folly, and yr distress. Real charity always (when you have the means) relieve it, and providence will smile upon the act, provided it is done in the way pointed out by our saviour in his Sermon on the Mount which I beg you to read—you will find it recorded in the fifth & sixth chapter of Mathew.

I have not received the promised letter from my dear Sarah nor any from you since yours of the 1rst. I am anxious to hear from Sarah—you said she and the little Pet had taken cold and I fear that she is sick not having received the letter she was to write on the date of yours. Present her with my prayers for her health and happiness & that of my dear little Rachel, and salute them both for me, with a kiss.

I will be anxious to hear from you & how you all are. Inform me how Mr. William Donelson &c &c are getting on with their incumbrances. I hope my friend Mr McLamore may get thro his Pressure & preserve a competancy—no man deserves it more.

I just learn to day, that Mr. Weatherall & his Lady has given over the trip to the west, and Sarah will meet with the disappointment of not seeing her sister & little ones this fall. What Thomas is doing or when he sets out I know not—we have not heard from him since he wrote Major Donelson

My health is improving. Major Donelson is up again, & Emily and the two children are in Baltimore—write me often, & say to my dear Sarah that a line from her will be always acceptable—all here salute you & her
& the little Pet kindly particularly Mr & Mrs. Blair. Present me to all enquiring friends, & believe me to be yr affectionate father—say to Sarah I will write her son, I have not time to day

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (43).

1. AJ had written John T. Brown a check for $62.31 on November 14 (DLC-43).

To Martin Van Buren

Washington Novbr. 16th. 1833.

My Dr Sir,

On last evening I recd. a letter from Mr. Butler giving me the pleasing intelligence that he had recd. your letter & would accept the appointment of atto. Genl for the United States. I lost not a moment to have the commission made out for him, and is now remaining in the State Dept. for his arrival, which I expect this evening, from his the tenor of his letter. The letter of Mr. Butler is creditable to him—it is a display of that open can-
dor, which always flows from great minds and pure hearts. My Cabinet (now here) are all delighted with this acquisition to our strength. Mr Taney truly so. Providence is always kind to me & orders all things for the best. I am relieved from the embarrassing question that would have arisen in Pennsylvania your note on this subject is committed to the flames, & your injunction observed

Judge White has arrived—visited me and was very anxious to have seen you, I told him you would not be here until the 15th. proximo—that you concluded this would be most proper as you he would have the power to appoint the committees; that if you took your seat they would have to be appointed by ballot.¹ The judge appears in good spirits, and in good humour with us all, and I have no doubt will act his part well.

I have to ask yr forgiveness for opening & reading the inclosed—it being addressed to me on the outside, without noticing the address within, I, as I am too much in the habit, tore it open & never discovered the mistake until I had read part, & I continued to read the whole.

Major Donelson has been quite sick—is up again Emily not returned from Baltimore. I need not say that we are all busy here—all unite in kind respects to you, & your son John & Martin, & believe me yr friend.²

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-1247).

1. A Senate rule change adopted in December 1828 had given the Senate president pro tempore the power to appoint committees, replacing the previous practice of election by ballot. If there were no president pro tempore because the vice president was presiding, committees were still to be chosen by ballot (Senate Journal, 20th Cong., 2d sess., p. 51,
Serial 180). On December 2 the new Twenty-third Congress convened; and Hugh L. White, who had appointed the committees the year before, resumed the chair as president pro tempore. However, on December 10 the Senate, with an anti-Jackson majority, voted by 22 to 18 to resume appointing committees by ballot. Van Buren presided over the Senate for the first time on December 16, and committees were elected the same day (Senate Journal, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 37, 39, 43–46, Serial 237).

2. John Van Buren (1810–1866) and Martin Van Buren (1812–1855) were Van Buren's second and third sons.

To James Buchanan

Washington
Novr. 18th. 1833

My dear Sir,

I have received your note by Mr. John Van Buren and am delighted to hear that you have reached your country in good health, after so long an absence in her service. I anticipate much pleasure from the personal interview which you have promised me I shall have in the course of this week, but do not desire to hasten you more than your convenience or the wishes of your friends will permit. I leave until then all else that I would say except my congratulations on your safe arrival, which I beg you to accept with my best wishes for your health & happiness. very sincerely & Respy. yr. servt.

Andrew Jackson


From James Alexander Hamilton

New York Novr. 18th. 1833—

Dear Sir

My late severe indisposition admonishes me that I ought not to continue much longer to perform the arduous duties of my present office; I am therefore induced to request you, by giving me an appointment abroad to enable me to go to Europe in the Spring, as I am advised by my Physician & strongly urged by my inclination to do.

I must frankly say that large as have been the receipts of my office (not half what they have been represented in the newspapers) my means are unequal to this expenditure without jeopardy to my future independence; This however, so strong do I consider the necessity for a change, would not of itself deter me from resigning & going abroad. But should I do so after the recent attacks upon me particularly those in the Evening Post, a paper devoted to the support of your administration & to the election of
our friend Van Buren, without some public mark of your continued confidence in my integrity and ability, it would be believed that I had resigned to avoid the disgrace of a removal & thus those slanderous attacks would acquire increased consequence from seeming to have your concurrence.¹

I have supposed as there is no representative at Naples or as in the event of Don Pedro’s success a change at Lisbon would be expedient that this application would not be embarrassing.²

I have not intimated my purpose to any person except my Daughter who writes this letter & my wife & will not do so except to Van Buren as I know if it were public you would be overwhelmed with applications for my office.³ With the truest attachment Your friend & servt.

James A. Hamilton

[Endorsed by AJ:] Col Hamilton recd. 19th. Novbr 1833 Private—when a charge de affairs is wanted to be remembered A. J

LS, DLC (43). Hamilton served as district attorney until his commission expired in March 1834. He did not receive a diplomatic post.

1. On August 3 the New York Journal of Commerce had accused Hamilton of making $100,000 off four years as district attorney. Continuing the attacks of which Hamilton had complained on August 13 (above), the Evening Post on October 16 had condemned his “incompetency and extortionate spirit” and called for the appointment of someone “less grasping, less ignorant, and less litigious.”

2. Auguste Davezac, the U.S. chargé d’affaires to the Netherlands, was presently in Naples with powers to negotiate a commercial treaty. No resident chargé had been appointed to replace John Nelson, who had returned home after concluding a claims convention in 1832. Portugal was the scene of a civil war between the usurping monarch Dom Miguel and his brother, the former king Dom Pedro (1798–1834), who invaded the country in 1832 to restore the throne to his daughter Maria II. Dom Pedro prevailed in 1834. Thomas L. L. Brent, appointed chargé at Lisbon in 1825, remained until late 1834.

3. Hamilton’s wife was Mary Morris Hamilton (1790–1869).

To Martin Van Buren

—Private—

Washington Novbr. 19th. 1833—

My dear Sir,

I expected to have written you yesterday by Mr. Butler—but really had not time. Mr Butler reached here Saturday evening recd. his commission which was made out ready for him, sworn into office on Monday morning, signed & examined all the Patents necessary, dined with me with the heads of Departments, and left the City in the 9 oclock stage for Baltimore This is dispatch—he has left us all favorably impressed with his amiability & fine talents. I again repeat, providence always directs things for the best.¹
Mr. Gordon (Collector of New Orleans) is now here. From testimonials submitted Mr. Slidel has imposed upon the Secretary of the Treasury & myself in his recommendation of an appraiser for the Port of N. Orleans—the man had been suspended as an inspector for intemperance twice & then permitted to resign. This is charged to be in the knowledge of Mr. Slidel—it is stated further by Mr. Gordon that Slidel, Nicholson & Grimes are all Calhoun men and nullifiers—therefore it is that they are in favor of Genl Overton, and he asserts that they all three are your and my bitter opposers at all their elections. Gordon says the friends of the administration will send Mr. Walker to the Senate, that Genl Overton cannot be elected.

Knowing that you had a favorable opinion of Mr. Slidel as well as myself this letter is written to put you on your guard of this man, that you may not break your shins over stools not in your way—and that you may be guarded in any communications you make may happen to make with him.

There are many members of Congress arriving. Benton is here with his family in high spirits.

I have been yesterday & to day very much excuciated with a violent head ache. Major Donelson is again on his legs & joins me in kind regards, Mrs. D. is still at Baltimore & Col. Earle is gone to bring her home. I must close with my best wishes for your health & prosperity

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (23-1259).

1. Butler arrived on Saturday, November 16, and left on Monday, November 18.
2. On May 13, Martin Gordon had asked Treasury secretary McLane to dismiss New Orleans customs inspector Alexander H. Smith for drunkenness and insubordination. Smith shortly resigned. On September 1, Smith wrote John Slidell in Washington asking to recommend him for a vacancy as appraiser at the custom house. On September 14, Slidell recommended Smith to William J. Duane as “faithful & intelligent” and “a man of the strictest integrity.” Taney commissioned Smith after succeeding Duane at the Treasury. On October 17, Gordon wrote AJ from New Orleans, protesting Smith’s appointment and saying that Taney had been “most shamefully imposed upon.” In Washington on November 23, Gordon gave Taney documents showing Smith to be “utterly disqualified to fill the station he now occupies,” and asked that he and the other New Orleans appraiser, Robert F. Canfield, both be removed. AJ approved and, on February 20, 1834, nominated to the Senate the two men Gordon had proposed as replacements (“Complaints against Collectors,” DNA-RG 56).

Meanwhile, Taney had queried Slidell, now back in New Orleans, about his endorsement of Smith. On November 19, Slidell replied that he had heard reports of Smith’s intemperance but believed him reformed, and that, not then knowing Smith well, he had recommended him to Duane “in guarded terms” because he thought Gordon’s unpopularity would make it hard to find any one better. He had been surprised to learn from AJ that Smith was appointed on his recommendation, as “I mentioned to him, that it was rather a cold one.” But, being now better informed, he endorsed Smith’s character and performance as appraiser unreservedly and charged Gordon with opposing him out of personal spite. He asked Taney to show his letter to AJ (“Complaints against Collectors,” DNA-RG 56).

3. AJ had appointed John Nicholson (c1784–1848) as a U.S. marshal in Louisiana in 1831. Grimes was likely New Orleans attorney John Randolph Grymes. Former
congressman Walter Hampden Overton (1788–1845) was a candidate to fill the Senate seat vacated by the death of Josiah S. Johnston in May. Overton withdrew before the balloting, and on December 13 the Louisiana legislature elected Alexander Porter over administration candidate Joseph Marshall Walker (1784–1856). Gordon wrote AJ about the election on December 14 (below).

From William Taylor Barry

20th. Novr. 1833

My dear Sir

I take the liberty of sending the enclosed for your perusal. The person alluded to Mr. John Beckley, once intelligent & of respectable family, is now and has been for many years a drunken sot, not at all esteemed by the discreet part of society, but treated kindly for his former worth & on account of his family. The letter I enclose is in the hand writing of a very true man, The Honbl. Walker Reid, a Circuit Judge in K.y. residing, in the county of Mason, a neighbour to Mr. Beckley. The latter Mr. B is a perfect creature of Mr. Clay[.] very respectfully your friend & St.

W. T. Barry

[Endorsed by AJ:] Placed in the hands of Mr. F. P. Blair for safe keeping A. J.

ALS, NjP (23-1262). John Bickley lived with his father William Bickley, a Revolutionary veteran, in Maysville, the seat of Mason County, Kentucky. Walker Reid (1783–1852) was a state circuit judge and former legislator.

[Enclosure: Walker Reid to Barry]

Mason County Ky Nov 15th. 1833

Dear Sir,

In the last Eagle of Maysville and Commonwealth of Frankfort you see the letter of Mr. Secretary Duane to a gentleman of this County (Mason) who do you think that gentleman can be? why John Bickly And how do you think he introduced himself to the Secty? Why just by talking to him about old Jeremiah Neave a good old Democrat and in this way they have got the Secty Duane to say what you see that in his opinion the President had no right to dictate a course in relation to the deposits of the public money. What a misfortune for the Federalists that Mr. Duane should have said what he has in that letter against the Bank of the U.S. “that he is now & hopes ever will be opposed to this Aristocratic institution.” They are all very sorry that much was said against the Bank But still as the letter said something concerning the President that they thought would render him unpopular here, they persuade poor John Bickly to break through all the rules which govern private Correspondence & publish Mr. Duane’s letter—signifying at the bottom that there is something more of great
importance. And what do you think that was? I see the original letter. Just this “If old Jeremiah Neave was living he would say well done William I have not been disappointed in thee.”

I thought I would tell you the truth concerning this affair which has importance enough attached to it to find its way into every federal press.

And you who know my hand writing know it is the truth. Or I would not tell it.

Another Gentleman of mason County.

AL, NjP (23-1264). The Maysville Eagle on November 7 and Frankfort Commonwealth on November 12 had published an October 17, 1833, letter from William J. Duane to “a gentleman of Mason County,” answering his letter approving Duane’s course as Treasury secretary. Duane wrote: “I have always been and am, opposed to the U. S. Bank, and to all such aristocratic monopolies; but, I considered the removal of the depositories, unnecessary, unwise, vindictive, arbitrary and unjust. I believed that the law gave to the Secretary of the Treasury, and not to the President, discretion on the question; and I would not act to oblige the President nor any body else when I thought it improper to do so. I never asked for office—I accepted it reluctantly, and was removed for an honest discharge of my duty.”

On November 19 the Globe reprinted Duane’s letter, branding it “a wanton and unprovoked attack upon the integrity, discretion and honor of the President and his Cabinet.” The Globe excoriates Duane for treating AJ “with rudeness and disrespect,” for acting falsely by accepting the Treasury post fully knowing that AJ would likely decide on deposit removal, and later for not resigning despite having pledged to do so. “Mr. Duane was dismissed for FAITHLESSNESS TO HIS SOLEMN WRITTEN PLEDGES, and for the exhibition of bad feelings, WHICH MADE HIM TOTALLY UNFIT FOR THE STATION TO WHICH HE HAD BEEN ELEVATED. He was NOT dismissed merely for refusing to remove the depositories.” Duane replied on November 20 by posting a card saying that he had so far avoided public disputation but that now, attacked by the Globe, he would “at an early day, appear at the bar of the public, at least to repel imputations upon his integrity and conduct as an officer and a man” (Pennsylvania Inquirer, November 21). He published a full defense on December 3.

1. English-born Quaker Jeremiah Neave (1766–1824) had resided in Kentucky and Ohio.
2. Duane’s November 20 card stated that his October 17 letter had not been “intended for the public eye.” The Globe and other Jackson papers mocked the claim. On November 28 the Maysville Eagle apologized for publishing the letter, explaining that it had at first refused and then relented only on the recipient’s insistence and on his assurance that there was no impropriety in it. The Eagle printing had included a string of asterisks just before Duane’s signature, showing that some text had been omitted.

From Benjamin Franklin Butler

Philadelphia, Wednesday mornig, Nov. 20th 1833

My dear Sir

(For thus after the kind & paternal manner in which I was received into your official family, do I feel myself authorised to address you)—It has occurred to me that you might hear of the accident which befell the stage coach in which I started from Washington, and feel some anxiety on my account, and I therefore avail myself of the earliest opportunity to remove any such apprehension.
The upset might have been seriously injurious to some of the passengers, as the horses were going with considerable rapidity, so much so that the jar occasioned by striking one of the braces of the bridge, had the effect instantaneously to break the pole, slip the king-bolt, & overturn the coach, the driver being carried by the horses to the farther end of the bridge before he was able to stop them, but the carriage itself being by some means immediately extricated from them. There were five passengers in the coach, including myself, and two of them were asleep at the time, but providentially all escaped without injury except an elderly French gentleman whose side was a little bruised by one of our number's falling on him. As for myself I suffered no other inconvenience from this mishap than that of being detained for three quarters of an hour until the mail stage came up & took us on to Baltimore.

If I were inclined to be superstitious or to distrust Providence, I might think this accident (which is the first of the kind that ever happened to me) ominous of evil to the important journey I have recently undertaken. And if I relied exclusively on my own capacity or endeavours, or even on the aid of the kind friends by whom I shall be surrounded, I should certainly expect ere long to be overturned. But in connexion with all that diligence & fidelity on my own part, and kindness on the part of others, can promise, I look above all to the blessing of Him who has led me on from indigence & obscurity, to the favorable notice of so many of my countrymen. God grant that I may be enabled not only to meet the just claims of yourself & of the nation, but first & most of all to approve myself to Him!

Soon after arriving here last evening, I was called on by Messrs. Toland & Leiper, (both of whom till now were personally unknown to me) and invited, in a very cordial manner, in behalf of the Committee to remain in the city until Thursday when the dinner is to be given to Mr. Buchanan. Not altogether approving of public dinners, I was not particularly sorry that my engagements rendered a compliance with their invitation impossible; but I confess it was gratifying to me to perceive, that my appointment was apparently not unsatisfactory to your friends here. From these gentlemen, & from Mr Buchanan with whom I spent part of the evening, I was happy to learn that the people of this state are daily becoming more & more decided in their approbation of the removal of the deposits. They assured me that the democracy of the interior were sound to the core, & would stand by you in this last important measure of your administration. The feeling on this subject will be greatly strengthened by the development in the Globe of yesterday. I deeply regret that the folly & malignity of Mr. Duane should have made it necessary to unmask him before the nation, because the dishonorable conduct of a public man reflects some discredit on the country; but since he has himself compelled the disclosure, no one is to be blamed but himself. This Unless I greatly mistake it will open the eyes of the few republicans who may have hesitated on the sub-
ject, and will satisfy all honest men that the removal of Mr. D. was an act not merely of sound policy, but of indispensable necessity.²

Knowing how many & how pressing are the calls on your time, I can hardly excuse myself for occupying so much of it, & will barely add that I am, with high respect, faithfully yours

B. F. Butler.

ALS, DLC (43).

1. James Buchanan was given a public dinner on Thursday, November 21, at Saint’s Hotel in Philadelphia. Henry Toland was on the arrangements committee, and William J. Leiper and his brother George Gray Leiper (1786–1868) both attended and offered toasts.  

2. The November 19 Globe contained its attack on Duane in response to his October 17 letter in the Maysville Eagle, about which William T. Barry wrote AJ this same day (above).

To William Jones Leiper

Washington Novbr. 21rst. 1833—

My dear Sir,

Your letter of the 19th. instant is just received. I have to thank you for your prompt attention about the medal for Master Dingee. I do not recollect his christian name—on the medal, after word Ingenuity, may be added “Master Dingee”—& ‘Newyork,’ if room.¹

I thank you for the inclosure Genl Irwins letter, and have only to remark, that his mode of feeding and treatment of the colt is such as I pursue myself. The food (oats & hay) with grass ought to be regulated to keep the colt in good thrifty & growing condition—at its age it ought not to be fed too high with grain least it might injure its legs, but kept in good growing order. I have only to request the presentation of my kind respects to the Genl & say to him I fully approve of his management of the colt.² In haste yrs respectfully

Andrew Jackson

ALS, University Archives, January 28, 2016, sale, lot 89 (mAJs). Cover addressed and franked by AJ, RR Auction, February 10, 2016, sale, item 23 (mAJs).

1. Henry Augustus Dingee had addressed AJ on October 28 (above). On March 4, 1834, Dingee wrote AJ thanking him for “the Silver Medal with which you have been pleased to honour me” (DLC-44).

2. General Irwin was probably Callender Irvine (1775–1841) of Philadelphia, the Army commissary general of purchases and a noted horseman.
From Moses Dawson

Novr. 22d 1833

Dear Sir

I hope the pressure of time will plead my excuse for this intrusion on your precious time.

Circumstances arising out of my endorsing for a deceased friend have obliged me to endeavour to raise some money on my property—and thinking that some of those who hold stock in that now payable, might have a desire to invest a few thousand dollars in a loan for some time at a more advantageous rate of interest than that paid by Government—I wished to ascertain at the treasury the names some of the holders resident in the neighbouring cities—the application Major Lewis was kind enough to make yesterday, but I find to day that it is not customary to give names. Still I would presume that if Mr. Taney was aware of my object he might suffer the names of a few stock holders to be given me—in order that I might know to whom I might apply for a loan.

May I therefore ask the favour of you to speak to Mr. Taney on the subject—so that I may have the information required and you will confer another favour on your Obed. Servt

Moses Dawson

To Roger Brooke Taney

Novbr 22nd. 1833

My Dr. Sir.

My old and faithfull friend, Mr. Moses Dawson of Cincinnati will hand you this, and I beg leave to introduce him to your acquaintance—he has always sustained the character of an honest man, free from speculations of any kind. The within note from Mr. Dawson to me will make known his wishes, and as far as propriety and your official duties will permit, you may with safety impart to him the information he desires. Mr. Dawson would not ask any information that is improper to give, and if he did, you, I am sure will not grant it—but any that may be proper, I am sure you will not withhold from him[.] your very respectfully

Andrew Jackson
To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington Novbr. 23rd. 1833

Dr Andrew,

I have just received the inclosed from Mr Toland. I hasten to forward it as it will advise you & Sarah of the safe arrival of the goods & furniture shipped by the Chandler Price has arrived safe at Neworleans, & your box of tools has been shipped per ship Archer which I hope will also reach you in safety. I inclosed to Col White on yesterday the bill of laden for the box of tools with a request that he would receive & forward them to you.¹

I am anxious to hear from you the state of the cotton crop—when you will have it all housed, & the amount of the crop. I have informed Col White that the cotton will be shipped to his care & sale & that you will forward him a bill of supplies for the Hermitage that I hope he will furnish as early as he can & deduct amount out the proceeds of our cotton.

I am labouring under the remnant of a bad cold, but my health is improving, tho, I am much employed in preparing for congress which meets on next monday week. Present my parental & affectionate regards to my dear Sarah & my sweet little Pet, who I often see in Mr Earls room, with a kiss and believe me affectionately your father.

Andrew Jackson

P.S. Emily has returned—all well & desires with Mr Earle to be kindly presented to you—write me often A. J

ALS, MoSW (23-1298).

¹ Toland had written AJ on November 19, giving the shipping news and enclosing a bill of lading for the tool chest to forward to White (LU).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington Novbr. 25th. 1833—

Dear Andrew,

your affectionate and very interesting letter of the 9th. instant in answer to my several letters with one from Sarah was received this morning and I have written to Sarah which is inclosed which you will please to hand her, with a kiss from me to her & my dear little Rachel.

your letter on your reaching home of the 1rst. ult was duly received and answered.

I am happy to learn that you are progressing so well with getting out the cotton from the field, & it promises so fine a production. I regret to hear that there has been so much trouble with the ginn but hope it makes good cotton. I do not now regret the delay in sending it to markett—it is
true, cotton had declined in price in Europe—but it is certain it has got up to its former rise, and a halfpenny higher than before, and if you can have your crop ready to ship to New orleans by the first of January you will be, I think, in good time for the markett—and we will get fifteen cents at neworleans for it—cotton is now worth 15 to 18 there. I think it will maintain this price if not higher, thro all January next, but may decline after that—it will be important to have it sent to markett early in January. There has been so many steam Boat accidents of late, that I would not ship the cotton on board of any boat who had not an experienced engineer, and a careful & experienced Captain. Ship with none that will have any combustible on their upper deck. I advise you to be careful in selecting a good Boat with careful & experienced engineer & commander, and take no less for it than 15 cents pr lb, at Nashville. I have wrote Col M. White that you will ship it to him as soon as ready for markett—send on your bill for supplies as soon as you can judge of the time that you can ship the Cotton so that, he can have the supplies all ready & of good quality, to send by the return of the Boat.

I am pleased with the description you give of the colts—will write you fully about the Stock the first leisure I have—and give you my opinion to you what is best to be done about the colts, & mares, next spring. I believe Citizen the best brood horse now in america, and if his colts perform pretty well on the turf his blood will sell him for ten thousand dollars. I am happy to hear that Adam is mending, with regard to him, & Dicks Hanna, I have wrote Sarah—let the advice I have given be attended to, & both will get well—little hanah has been too long neglected, let the bandage be put on & her as directed at once—get Saml, & Dr Hogg to prepare & place it, & prescribe the linement, & treatment—but the leg must be bandaged so that the hip cannot move, & her position must be on her back—attend to this.

I am happy to hear that William and Stockly has got relieved from their alarm and incumbrances—would to god my friend Mr. Mc.Lamore was also clear.

If Mr Shute wishes to sell his place, know his lowest terms and payments, before you buy, & inform me of them—he is a shrude man, and his place the way the water is divided, not valuable as a seperate farm—but to you, if you could get from Mr Hill all west of his lane & as far north as the decent of the hill that leads to the spring, it would be a valuable acquisition to our homestead farm—make enquiry first of Mr Shute & then of Mr Hill what each will take for their Land—Shute for his whole tract—Hill for that west of his Lane. I must close—it is late & I am fatigued—present me to all inquiring friends—write me often & believe me your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson
P.S. Mr Earle requests particularly to be remembered to your Sarah & Emily & Andrew to you & Sarah & all friends

ALS, DLC (43).

1. John Shute had purchased the property directly north of the Hermitage, embracing AJ's original Hunter's Hill, from Edward Ward in 1828. Ward had sold the adjoining tract to the east, which he also called Hunter's Hill, to Henry Baldwin Jr. in 1830. In October 1833, Baldwin sold it to Harry R. W. Hill, and on December 31 Hill sold it to AJ Jr. for $10,000 (DLC-45). Both properties fronted on the Cumberland River.

To James Reeside

Washington Novbr. 26th. 1833—

My dear Sir,

Agusta will set out from here on thursday morning next with My Barrough to receive for it in exchange a new one made by Messhrs. Kowles & Thayer which is to be delivered on the 3rd. of December next in Newyork at Mr Halls in Broadway¹

I have directed Agusta to travel on the peoples line from Philadelphia to Newyork.² Agusta has suggested that you would give him a line to your agents to furnish him with forrage & lodging &c, and on his return there, you could send to me the amount which he prefered rather than have much money with him. I have to ask whether this will be convenient to you—if not will you place in his hands as much as will bear his expences and draw upon me for the amount including the amount for Potatoes furnished which we find to be of excellent quality. I have given Agusta, twenty dollars only, and if convenient, will be greatly obliged to you to furnish him with what may be lacking to return him to this place.³ I am with great respect yours

Andrew Jackson

ALS, MB (23-1312). Agusta was Augustus Price, a free black resident of Washington employed by AJ. In 1835 he co-authored an address at the Fifth Annual Convention for the Improvement of the Free People of Colour in the United States that announced the formation of an American Moral Reform Society (C. Peter Ripley, ed., The Black Abolitionist Papers, vol. 3 [Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991], pp. 146–53).

¹ Next Thursday was November 28. Lyman Knowles (c1801–1885) and Asahel Thayer (1790–1877) operated a carriage manufactory in Amherst, Mass. They had written AJ on November 22 that his new barouche, “considered by good judges to be the best finished article of the kind, ever turned out in New England,” was finished and would be ready to exchange for his old carriage in New York on December 3 (T, 23-1293). AJ was to pay them $600. Isaac Morgan Hall (c1806–1879) operated the Merchant's Hotel at 108 Broad Street.

² The daily People's Line connected Philadelphia and New York via steamboats and carriages.
3. Reeside furnished Price $10, which AJ included in settling his account with Price on December 11 (DLC-43).

**To Samuel Swartwout**

Washington Novbr. 26th. 1833—

My dear Sir,

Will you permit me to impose a little trouble upon you. The inclosed letter will inform you that I have made with the writers of the within letter Kowles & Thayer an exchange of Barrouch’s—theirs to be delivered on the 3rd. proximo, in Newyork at Mr Halls, Broad Street—mine in Newyork where I am to receive their new carriage with one pair of Harness my Harness to go with my carriage, for which I am to give them in exchange six hundred dollars—for which purpose I inclose herein a check for six hundred dollars on the office of the Bank of the United States at Newyork—will you have the goodness to receive the new Barrouch, pay the six hundred dollars, hand over my Barrouch with her pair of Harness & deliver the new to Agusta, a free coloured man, who will deliver you my carriage; (he sets out on thursday next) and take Messhrs. Kowles & Thayers receipt in full for the Barrouch, and much oblige yr friend

We are now all well here and all join me in kind salutations to your amiable lady & daughter. We are all busy here preparing for Congress and a stormy session—you know I never despair of the republic, & when excited, my health improves with the labour[.] I am very respectfully yr friend

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I shall write a note by Agusta to you which he will deliver you with the Barrouch—A. J.


1. Swartwout’s wife was Alice Ann Cooper Swartwout (1789–1874). His daughter was Mary Colden Swartwout (1820–1864).

**To Anthony Butler**

Washington novbr. 27th. 1833—

My dear Sir,

Your private and confidential letter of the 28th. of October last, with your private letter of previous date have been received—but the despatches referred to in the latter have not come to hand which we regret as
we cannot take any measure on the subject of running the boundary line until these despatches are received or their duplicates arrive.1

I have read your confidential letter with care, and astonishment & duly noted its contents—astonishment that you would entrust such a letter, without being in cypher, to the mail, and that you should state in your letter the reply you made “that you had money” and give for reason, “recollecting that I had authorised you to apply the amount designated for this object in any way which according to (my) your judgment discretion as was best calculated to effect the purpose of your mission”—from this it might be construed that my private letters authorised you to apply to corruption, when nothing could be farther from my intention than to convey such an idea.

your mission was principally to negotiate a commercial treaty, and to fix a permanent boundary between us and Mexico, that would be for the mutual benefit of both and procure for us, lasting peace friendship and good will; and if a cession was obtained to have it unencumbered by fraudulent grants as that of Florida—for this purpose you received general instructions, and was limited to the maximum of five millions of dollars for a cession to the grand desert &c &c—and that the Mexican Government might buy in all claims for grants of land in Texas that had been given & whose conditions had not been complied with—and transfer to us an unencumbered title, you were left to your discretion in the stipulations of the treaty, if required by Mexico, to stipulate for setting apart such sum as might be thought by the minister of Mexico a just indemnity for them to give to those individuals to satisfy them for such surrender—the consideration named in your instructions not to be exceeded or increased by such stipulation as the United States could not be interested in the application by Mexico of the consideration to be paid by us—all we wanted was the cession unencumbered by fraudulent grants as Mexico2 was. This was what your discretion by my private letters was drawn to—but my dear Sir, be careful lest these “shrewd fellows,” may draw you into imputations of attempting to bribe these officers

The case is a plain & clear one—you are authorised to give five millions of dollars for the cession of Texas as far west as the grand desert, if Mexico accepts the offer, but says we have made sundry grants on certain conditions which have not been complied with—justice says they grantees ought to have something for their relinquishment of their grants, therefore on your stipulation that your government will pay to A. B. & C. a certain sum out of the five millions we will cede to the United States all Texas east of the point named, for the balance of the five millions unencumbered by any grants except Austins whose conditions are fully complied with—surely under the discretion given you have a right to make this stipulation without bringing upon you or the Government any improper imputations—all the United States is interested in is the unencumbered
cession, not how Mexico applies the consideration; Therefore I repeat the best means to secure this object is left to your discretion—but I admonish you to give these shrewd fellows no room to charge you with tampering with their officers to obtain the cession thro corruption. Your duty is, in exercising a sound discretion to obtain an unencumbered cession of Texas to the boundary named for the consideration limited, and the business of the Mexican government is, to buy up the incumbrances upon as the can, and you to agree to pay the consideration to be given for the cession to those stipulated in the treaty—we are not interested in her distribution of the consideration. But we are deeply interested that this treaty of cession should be obtained without any just imputation of corruption on our part.

Bring this to a close, I conjure you, as speedily as possible, and if you cannot make a boundary by treaty with the Mexican Government, write us that we may make the necessary communication through you that we will be compelled to run the line as we believe is right & take possession of the country east of the West fork of the Sabine as defined by the treaty with Spain. Before I conclude I cannot help again drawing your attention to your instructions and my private letters—let us have a boundary without the imputation of corruption, & I will hail you welcome with it here—none else. I am very respectfully yr Humble. servant

Andrew Jackson

ALS, TxU (23-1318). ALS draft, DLC (43). Butler replied on February 6, 1834 (DLC-44).

1. These were dispatches 53 and 54, mentioned by Butler on September 26 (above).

2. AJ meant Florida. In his original private instructions to Butler in October 1829, AJ had suggested that a proviso to indemnify holders of unperfected Texas land titles out of the $5 million purchase price “may be made to favour the negotiation,” as long as it was “an honest transaction” not involving the U.S. in fraud. “I scarcely ever knew a spaniard who was not the slave of averice, and it is not improbable that this weakness may be worth a great deal to us, in this case” (Jackson Papers, 7:487–90).

3. In AJ’s draft, this reads “upon it as they can.”

From Samuel Swartwout

New York 28 Nov 1833

My dear Sir,

Your letter of the 26th Inst. enclosing one from Messrs. Knowles & Thayer, and a draft on the Branch Bank for six hundred dollars has been received. I will attend to your request with the greatest pleasure, the moment your servant arrives, and the gentlemen from the East deliver the new Carriage.

I am most happy to hear from you that your health is good. I have no doubt but what you will have a boisterous time of it this winter; but, hitherto, the more difficulties you have had to encounter the more glory has been the result. I hope it may continue to be so, and have not the least
doubt but that it will. It is fortunate too, for you & your friends, that the excitements of the day, have a tendency to improve your health. I believe you are the only one, however, at the seat of Govt. upon whom the same effect is produced. Mrs. Swartwout and my Daughter tender their affectionate thanks for your kind remembrance of them.

We are doing a world of business at our office, the importations of the year and the value thereof, exceeding what they were 4 years ago, almost as two to one. In the year 1829, the foreign arivals, in this port, were 1300. And the value of the imports 35 millions. In 1832, the last year, the Foreign arivals were 1800, being 500 more than they were 4 years ago and the value of Imports 45 millions. This year, in the three first quarters, the foreign arivals exceeded the whole of last year by 40 or 50 in number, and the value of the Imports is 50. millions, five millions more than the whole of the last year. And, in despite of all the clamour & difficulty about money, all our Bonds are paid & at the Banks, the Merchants continue to pay their notes. The prosperity & riches of the country, cannot be estimated. Our City, in 25 years, will be as large as Paris, and its trade twice as great. But, I shall fatigue you with my speculations & must therefore close, with assurances of continued attachment & respect

Saml. Swartwout

[Endorsed by Aj:] recd. 30th. Novbr. 1833 Mr Swartwout—acknowledges the $600 for carriage—will attend to it. The Revenue exceeds the most sanguine expectation.

ALS, DLC (43). Swartwout wrote AJ on December 3 that the exchange had been made and that Augustus Price would start for Washington with the barouche on December 5, taking the steamboat to avoid damage from the muddy roads (DLC-43).

From Alfred Balch

Nash. 29th Novr 1833.

Dear Sir,

When Judge White was here, in October, he was asked whether he had any objection to a nomination as a candidate for the Presidency, by a resolution of the Legislature. I am told that he denounced this scheme, and declared himself in favour of a convention of delegates from the states of the Union, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency. After his departure however this project was pressed with great zeal by a few.

On Monday last I was invited to a meeting of some of Van Burens friends in the Legislature, when this matter was discussed.¹ These friends, felt themselves ticklishly situated, by reason of their local connexion with Judge White or his friends in the Eastern part of the state.
It was my opinion that efforts should be privately used, to suppress the whole matter, and if resolutions were introduced, without a word of debate, to move that they be laid on the table, which course it was unanimously resolved should be taken. Whether, Wm E. Anderson, the member who was to move this project will be diverted from his purpose remains to be seen, I think that he sees that the prospect is gloomy.

Already, I fear that we are on the eve of another heated contest for the Presidency. If it cannot be averted, Van Burens friends will meet it every where like men. No matter what “Richmond” may take the field: as for mine humble self, I shall hang to him as long as he has breath in him.2

Men will strive to produce mischief in Tennessee, to blow up strife and create doubts—but rest assured that the “Magician” will beat the field in our state.

Mr Grundy before he left here was questioned on the subject of Van Burens claims and came out with a positive delaration that he was & would be a friend to Van Buren—& this declaration was made to more than one individual. It was out of the question for him to leave here without understanding him on this matter. Very respectfully your obt Servt,

Alfred Balch

[Endorsed by AJ:] Novbr. 1833— Mr. Balch movement of politicians—Whites disapprobation to the proposition—declined. In Septbr. 1834 returning from the Hermitage the information of Mr Balch was corroberated by Major Orvill Bradly who was then a member, and who stated, that he had written to judge White on the subject of a nomination for President by the Legislature—the judge in reply repudated the project entirely—was opposed to it, and in consequence therefore, this project was entirely dropped by the Legislature A. J. Major Donelson was present at this conversation. A. J.3

ALS, DLC (43; 23-1325). AJ’s endorsement, DLC (47; 23-1327). Hugh L. White was solicited for the presidency by eleven Tennessee congressmen in December 1834, formally nominated by the Tennessee legislature in October 1835, and in 1836 received the electoral votes of Tennessee and Georgia. Balch and Grundy supported Van Buren.

1. Monday was November 25.
3. Orville Thomas Caldwell Bradley (1794–1845) was an assemblyman from Hawkins County in 1833. On August 23, 1836, he sent White an account of his September 1834 conversation with AJ, essentially matching the one in AJ’s endorsement. He said he had told AJ that he had, at White’s behest and with his full approval, helped put down the 1833 legislative movement to nominate him, to avoid splitting the Jackson ranks. Bradley said he had told AJ of Van Buren’s unpopularity in Tennessee and his own preference for White, whereupon AJ “entered warmly into a vindication of Van Buren” and proposed that White run with him for vice president (Nancy N. Scott, ed., A Memoir of Hugh Lawson White [Philadelphia, 1856], pp. 302–4).
To Francis Preston Blair

—Private—

Saturday night Novbr. 30th. 1833.

Dr Sir

your note was received & answer returned verbally that you could get
the message to night if you would come up—not having read all your note
when recd, being surrounded with a croud, I did not until this moment
read that part, “saying you were sick. The message is ready for you—if
you are well enough to come up in the morning if not, send up your con-
fidential man, who can get the message & also the veto on the Land bill,
but on a pledge that no one gets a copy until delivered to congress. I am
admonished from last year, to adopt this rule—if Gales gets a copy the
Bank will have an answer ready prepared. Therefore it must go into no
hands but purely confidential.

I have seen judge Wayne—he says he will do nothing that will split
the party—but tells me what I never knew before, that Mr Stephens
was elected Speaker of the House on the first ballot, with 142 votes to 39 for
Edward Everett, and 22 blank and scattering.
cautioning citizens to avoid “all acts of unlawful violence towards the Indians” or defiance of legal authority, he enjoined civil officers to protect citizens against “crimes” and to punish such “heinous offences” as false imprisonment, house burning, and forcible entry (National Intelligencer, October 28, 1833).

Prompted by Gayle’s proclamation and probably by Eli S. Davis’s October 13 and 18 reports on military preparations in South Carolina (above), Jackson prepared to address Congress. Three drafts of his intended message, two by Jackson and the third by Andrew J. Donelson, survive and are presented here in apparent order of composition. Jackson may have meant these drafts either for inclusion in his December 3 annual message or for a following special message. In the end no separate message was sent, nor did the annual message broach the subject.]

Drafts by Andrew Jackson

—the attitude of So. Carolina having organised her volunteers, with the avowed & declared intent of opposing the executions of the laws of the United States—keeping the organised & continuing to drill & discipline them, with the declared views as expressed by the nullifying Govr. of the State in his address to them and as well as by all the nullifying public Journals of that State that their services will soon be wanted to aid their fellow citizens of the State of Alabama, be in resistance of the authority of the United States in removing the intruders from the creek nation & for the public Lands & thereby exciting & encouraging rebellion & resistance to the laws of the United States—has induced the Executive to bring this subject before Congress for their consideration and action—it appearing to him that the raising arming & discipline volunteers & keeping them organised & trained to resist the authority & execution of the laws of the Union, is such a crisis as the sages who formed the constitution anticipated & intended to prohibit. It is therefore recommended to Congress that by proper enactments it may define what shall be considered by any State of this United States, “as keeping of troops or ships of war in time of peace, or entering into any agreement or compact with another State or Foreign power”—and not only to define the offence, and but the punishment

Nothing can be more injurious to the peace & harmony of society and more dangerous to the existing of the Union, than the late proceedings of So Carolina in keeping in time of peace, a standing army of well drilled volunteers—for the declared purpose of resisting the laws but aiding the lawless citizens of other states to resist the execution of the laws of the Union and ought to prohibited—in time of peace—

AD, DLC (73; 23-1150).

1. AJ paraphrased Article 1, Section 10, of the constitution, which he quoted more fully below.
The intrusion of the lawless white men upon the Creek Indians, committing violence and outrage against their persons & property, in open violation of the late treaty made with that tribe, by the full consent of the delegation of the State of Alabama & executed in the presence of three of its representatives, who became witnesses to the same, induced the Executive, as he was bound to do in justice to the defenceless Indian, and agreeable to the solemnity duty imposed upon him by his oath of office, he directed that those intruders who were committing these outrages, & had seated themselves upon the public lands in violation of the treaty & act of congress should be removed by the marshal, and if necessary to use the military force of the U. States in executing this order. A lawless violent man by the name of owens, who had not only refused to remove from the Indian possession, but had laid a train to destroy the marshal & the guard by blowing them up but having failed fled to the woods to make his escape a detachment pursuing overtook him, and when in the act of shooting the officer of the detachment a soldier seeing the danger to which his commander was exposed, shot owens down. The marshals orders were to permit all those who had obtruded on lands & had crops growing and were not committing acts of outrage upon the Indians and were not on Indian reserves, to remain until the crops were gathered when all intruders on the Indian boundery and seated upon the land of the government should be removed agreeable to the stipulations of the treaty, without discrimination.

The Governor of Alaba has remonstrated against the right and constitutional power of the Government, to remove the intruders by force and in his proclamation tells these intruders “that the order of the Secretary of War, instructing the Marshal of the southern District of Alabama to remove all white persons from the Territory ceded by the Creek Indians, is a violation of the constitution of the United States—a palpable and indefensible invasion of the acknowledged rights of the State of Alabama, and in its tendency—utterly subversive of our free and happy form of Government”—and goes further in his said proclamation to urge these intruders & other citizens of the State to rise and oppose the due execution of the laws of the United States. The Executive believing the very reverse of what the Govr. of Alabama in his proclamation has alleged—to be true, the constitution of the United States having declared in the its 2nd. section of the 4th. article “That congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting, the territory or other property belonging to the United States;” &c &c and congress having made rules by her law of _____ 1807—and by the Treaty with the Creek Indians, approved by all the delegation from that State, it provides that all intruders shall be removed The Executive has given the necessary orders for their removal. The people of So. C. it appears from their public journals & other communications are drilling their volunteers, having
them well armed & equipped, for the declared purpose of aiding this lawless faction, in Alabama to oppose by military force the execution of this treaty and the laws of congress by removing these intruders. From the ground assumed by the Govr. of Alabama, and the attitude of an armed force in South Carolina with the declared use to which this military drilled force well armed & equipped are to be applied, I beg leave to draw the attention of Congress to the 10th. section of the first article of the constitution and 2nd. paragraph of 10th. section and last part of it—“No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in eminent danger as will not admit of delay—and in section 4 of article 4 it declares “The United States shall guaranty to every state in the Union a republican form of Government &c &c &c—3

The sages who framed the constitution no doubt had passing in their minds a time when a violation of the above articles of the constitution might be violated to produce great injury to the peace & harmony of the U. States, & when by law it might become necessary for certain pains & penalties to be prescribed for such violations. This subject is therefore brought before you, that all acts in violation of these rules prescribed by the constitution short of the crime of Treason, by acts of Congress may be defined and a proper penalty annexed to the offence by special enactments by Congress and defining the jurisdiction to try them.

AD, DLC (73; 23-1152).

1. Alabama congressmen Clement C. Clay and Samuel Wright Mardis (1800–1836) and senator William King had officially witnessed the 1832 Creek treaty (Indian Treaties, 2:343).

2. Deputy U.S. marshal Jeremiah Austill, who had commanded the detachment that killed Hardeman Owen (1800–1833), had reported the circumstances to Cass on July 31. Austill said he had ordered Owen out of the Creek country for repeated acts and threats of violence against the Indians. Owen had evacuated his family, set a powder mine in his house, and “very politely asked us to walk in.” An Indian warned Austill of the mine as he was about to enter and Owen ran out the back. Austill pulled back, and the house exploded without harm. Austill’s soldiers later pursued and surrounded Owen; and as he took aim at a sergeant, one of the men shot him (SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 4, p. 493, Serial 247).

3. AJ quoted from the constitution, in order: Article 4, Section 3; Article 10, Section 2; and Article 4, Section 4.

Draft by Andrew J. Donelson

But it is obvious that there is danger of a different temper in one quarter of the Union a spirit at work which is more anxious to subvert this fundamental principle in the creed of rather than to give stability to this principle.

It is deemed worthy of the attention of Congress

But obvious as this duty is it seems
Obvious and sacred, however, as this principle has been heretofore considered, it appears that in one quarter of the union there are evidences of a spirit to pervert it to the purposes of faction & violence. Thus appears to me to be the character of the proceedings which are still countenanced by the authorities of So. Carolina in reference to the execution of the laws of the United States, and which still hold out the idea of maintaining an a forcible opposition to the Federal authority when in the discharge of its solemn & customary duties. Portions of the militia of that state appear to be still embodied and disciplined with the declared object, as expressed by the Govr. of the State in his addresses to them, and by the papers public journals that are known to be the confidence of the leading party in the state, that they are soon to be employed in aiding their Fellow citizens of Alabama in preventing the removal of intruders from the public lands, thus exciting and encouraging rebellion and resistance to the laws of the United States. Not doubting that congress will see the evils which will result from such attempts to bring into discredit the just authority of the constitution & the laws, and will take such measures as will be calculated to prevent them for the future, I have deemed it my duty to bring the sub- ject to their consideration.

In the attainment of this object it would seem to be necessary to define declare by proper enactments what shall be considered by any state of the United States as “keeping of troops or ships of war in time of peace or entering into any agreement or compact with another state or Foreign power” and to define not only the offence but the punishment which shall be affixed to it. Nothing can be more injurious to the peace and harmony of society and more dangerous to the existence of the Union than the proceedings to which I have adverted. To keep in time of peace a standing army of well drilled volunteers not only for the declared purpose of resisting the authority of the laws not only within the limits of their own state of So. Carolina, but of aiding lawless combinations among citizens of other states to resist prevent the due enforcement of the laws is the highest of all public crimes.

AD, DLC (76; 23-1157).
December

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Decbr. 2nd. 1833—

I have just finished my message for Congress which will be delivered to morrow, and inclose herewith a copy to Andrew, & cannot my dear Sarah, altho’, fatigued, inclose it without asking how you and my dear little Rachel is. I think I can hear her prattle and say grand papa—write me often, & kiss for me my dear little Pet—and accept the prayers of your affectionate father for your, & Andrews, and her health, & all the family—all here are now well, & join me in those kind wishes

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (43).

To George Bryan Porter

Washington Decbr. 2d. 1833

Sir,

The original of which the enclosed is a copy was laid before me by a gentleman of considerable standing. The letter accompanying it states that the Delegate from Michigan is in possession of positive proof of the facts. Under such circumstances I feel that justice both to you and to the Government requires that I should transmit it to you for the purpose of obtaining your explanation of the matters alluded to and of the accounts charged in the schedule stated to be annexed to the Treaty.

I have only to add that my confidence in your character is such as to forbid the idea that there can be any well grounded authority for the charges contained in this communication, but situated as I am you will readily perceive the propriety of my submitting them to you, and of my having an answer before any steps are taken to carry into execution the Treaty. The source thro’ which they have been communicated is well calculated to give credit to them; hence the necessity of my being enabled to repel them. I am very truly yr. obt. sevt.

Andrew Jackson
LS in AJ Donelson’s hand, MiU-H (23-1516). AJ had appointed Porter (1791–1834) governor of Michigan Territory in 1831. On September 26 and 27, Porter and two other commissioners had concluded a removal treaty at Chicago with Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi Indians, by which they exchanged 5 million acres in Illinois and Wisconsin for a domain of the same size in present Iowa. Besides removal and other expenses, the U.S. engaged to pay $110,000 to individuals in lieu of land reservations and $175,000 to satisfy claims against the Indians. Schedules appended to the treaty listed the sums and recipients (Indian Treaties, 2:402–14).

The charges enclosed by AJ, now lost, apparently mirrored those appearing in a published broadside of an unsigned December 12 letter sent from Detroit to the Senate Indian Affairs Committee. It accused Porter of inserting bribes and improper payments to a handful of undeserving families and crony traders into the schedules in order to enrich himself, facts which it said Michigan congressional delegate Lucius Lyon (1800–1851) would readily confirm (“The Chicago Treaty of 1833,” The Wisconsin Magazine of History 1 [1918]: 288–91).

Porter wrote AJ on December 15, repelling the charges as “wantonly malicious, and grossly untrue,” a “tissue of fabrications” and “monstrous falsehoods.” He upheld the treaty as necessary and important, and defended the challenged payments as fair and proper and urged by the Indians themselves (DNA-RG 75, M234-421; The Wisconsin Magazine of History 1 [1918]: 291–303).

AJ submitted the treaty to the Senate on January 9, 1834, recommending its ratification but also that the payment schedules be investigated and, if fraud was found, corrected. On May 22 the Senate voted, 33 to 1, to approve the treaty with amendments altering the cession boundaries, reducing some schedule payments, and requiring investigation of others. After further negotiation with the Indians over the boundary, the Senate approved the amended treaty on February 11, 1835, by 38 to 3 (Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:339–40, 407–8; 469–70; Indian Treaties, 2:414–15).

Fifth Annual Message to Congress

[The new Twenty-third Congress convened on December 2, and on December 3 Jackson sent in his fifth annual message. Signed manuscript copies, accompanied by annual reports of the executive departments and their subsidiary bureaus, were delivered to both houses and printed by their order (DSs, DNA-RG 46 and DNA-RG 233 [24-0001]; HRDoc 1, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 3–16, Serial 254). The message was widely published and appears in Richardson, 3:19–35. The Library of Congress holds scattered partial drafts by Jackson, Andrew J. Donelson, Louis McLane, and Martin Van Buren. All are printed here.]

Opening drafts by Andrew J. Donelson

[These texts were not used. Instead the message opened with Louis McLane’s text below.]

Fellow citizens of the Senate & House of Representatives

The revolution of another year presents me with In tendering you my congratulations on your organization as the 23d. Representation Congress of the United States, it gives me pleasure to assure you that on no similar occasion have I we had greater reason to be thankful to testify to the general
prosperity and happiness of the country whose interests it will be our joint duty to watch over & promote. Within the past year altho we have had reason to deplore the loss of many of our citizens who have fallen victims to that pestilence which had traversed the old world yet as a people its ravages have fallen upon us in a mitigated degree, and we have not felt the sources of our prosperity, wealth and independence sensibly weakened by its effects baneful influence. There never was a condition comparing our condition with that of other nations and with that of former periods of our existence we shall find that the blessings of Providence gifts of Providence, we have never had greater reason to be grateful for the bounties of Providence or for the mutual congratulation that we are making steady and gratifying advancements in all the improvements of social as well as political life.

Whether we look at the state of our Agriculture, Manufactures & internal improvement, or to that of our navigation and trade

Fellow citizens of the Senate & House of Representatives

In tendering you my congratulations on your organization as the 23d. Congress of the United States, it gives me pleasure to testify to the general prosperity & happiness of the country whose interests it will be our common duty to watch over & promote by all the constitutional means confided to us.

Within the past year altho’ we have had reason to deplore the loss of many of our citizens who have fallen victims to that Pestilence which has visited nearly all parts the world, we have yet reason to be thankful to an AD, DLC (77).

Draft by Louis McLane on foreign relations

[The opening section of the delivered message (Richardson, 3:19–23) closely followed this draft except for one excised paragraph.]

On your assembling to perform the high trusts which the People of the U.S. have confided to you, of legislating for their common welfare, it gives me pleasure to congratulate you upon the happy condition of our beloved Country. By the favor of Providence, health is again restored to us; peace reigns within our borders; abundance crowns the labors of our fields; commerce and domestic industry flourish & increase, and individual happiness rewards the private virtue of our citizens.

Our condition abroad is no less honorable than it is prosperous at home. Seeking nothing but what is right, and determined to submit to nothing that is wrong, but desiring honest friendships and liberal intercourse with all nations, the U.S. have gained throughout the world the confidence & respect which are due to a policy so just and so congenial to the character of the American People and the spirit of their institutions.
In bringing to your notice the particular state of our foreign affairs, it affords me high gratification to inform you that they are in a condition which promises the continuance of friendship with all nations.

With Great Britain the interesting question of our North Eastern boundary remains still undecided. A negotiation, however, upon that subject has been renewed since the close of the last Congress; and a proposition has been submitted to the British government with the view of establishing, in conformity with the resolution of the Senate, the line designated by the Treaty of 1783. Though no definitive answer has been received, it may be daily looked for, and I have strong reason to entertain the hope that the overture may ultimately lead to a satisfactory adjustment of this important matter.1

I have the satisfaction to inform you that a negotiation which, by desire of the House of Representatives, was opened some years ago, with the British government for the erection of Light houses on the Bahamas has been successful. Those works, when completed, together with those which the U.S. have constructed on the Western side of the Gulf of Florida, will contribute essentially to the safety of navigation in that sea. This joint participation in establishments interesting to humanity and beneficial to commerce, is worthy of two enlightened nations; and indicates feelings which cannot fail to have a happy influence upon their political relations. It is gratifying to the friends of both to perceive that the intercourse between the two people is becoming daily more extensive, and that sentiments of mutual good will have grown up, befitting their common origin, and justifying the hope, that, by wise councils on either side not only unsettled questions may be amicably satisfactorily terminated, but, that new causes of misunderstanding may be prevented.

Notwithstanding that I continue to receive the most amicable assurances from the govt. of France and that in all other respects the most friendly relations exist between the U.S. and that govt. it is to be regretted that the stipulations of the convention concluded on the 4. July 1831 remain in some important parts unfulfilled.

By the second article of that convention it was stipulated that the instalments sum payable to the U.S. should be paid at Paris, in six annual instalments, into the hands of such person or persons as should be authorized by the government of the U.S. to receive it; and under the same article the first instalment was payable on the second day of February 1833. By the act of Congress of the 13th. July 1832 it was made the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to receive and transfer to the U.S. cause the several instalments with the interest thereon to be received from the French government & transferred to the U.S. in such manner as he may deem best; and, by the same act of Congress, the stipulations on the part of the U.S. in the convention were, in all respects, fulfilled.2 Not doubting that a treaty thus made and ratified by the two governments, and
faithfully executed by the U.S., would be promptly complied with by the other party, and desiring to avoid the risk & expense of intermediate agencies, the Secretary of the Treasury deemed it advisable to receive and transfer the first instalment by means of a draft upon the French Minister of Finance. A draft for this purpose was accordingly drawn in favor of the Cashier of the Bank of the U.S. for the amount accruing to the U.S. out of the first instalment and the interest payable with it. This bill was not drawn at Washington until two days after the instalment was payable at Paris, and was accompanied by a special authority from the President authorizing the Cashier or his assigns to receive the amount. The mode thus adopted of receiving the instalment was officially made known, pursuant to instructions from the Department of State, to the French government by the American chargé de’ affaires at Paris. The bill however, though not presented for payment until forty nine days after the instalment was due the twenty third day of March, was not paid, and for the reason assigned by the French Minister of Finance, that no appropriation had been made by the French Chambers. It is understood that up to that period no application had been made to the chambers for an appropriation; and, although a communication was subsequently made to the Chambers, by direction of the King, recommending that the necessary provision should be made for carrying the convention into effect, it was at an advanced period of the Session and the subject was finally postponed until the next meeting of the Chambers.

Notwithstanding it has been supposed by his Majesty the King of the French Ministry that the financial stipulations of the Treaty cannot be carried into effect without an appropriation by the Chambers, it appears to me to be not only consistent with the Charter of France, but due to the character of both governments, as well as to the rights of the U.S. our citizens, to treat the convention executed made and ratified in proper form as pledging the good faith of the French government for its faithful performance, and as imposing upon each of Department an obligation to fulfil it; and I have received assurances through our chargé d’affaires at Paris and the French Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington, that the delay has not proceeded from any indisposition on the part of the King & his Ministers to fulfil the treaty and that measures will be presented at the next meeting of the Chambers, and with a reasonable hope of success, for that purpose to obtain the necessary appropriation.

It is proper necessary to state, however, that the documents, except a report certain lists of the vessels captured, condemned or burnt at sea, proper to facilitate the examination and liquidation of the reclamations comprised in the stipulations of the convention and which by the 6th. article of the conv France engaged to communicate to the U.S. by the intermediary of the legation, though repeatedly applied for by the American Chargé d’affaires, under instructions from his government, have
not yet been communicated; and this delay it is apprehended will necessarily prevent the completion of the duties assigned to the commissioners within the time at present prescribed by law.

The reasons for delaying the communication of these documents have not been explicitly stated, and this is the more to be regretted as it is not understood that the interposition of the Chambers is in any manner for that which might at any time have been executed by the order of the King necessary required for the delivery of those papers.

Under these circumstances, in a case so important to the interests of our citizens and to the character of our Country and under disappointments so unexpected and difficult to be comprehended, I could not consider I deemed it my duty, however I might respect the general assurances to which I have adverted, as entirely satisfactory to myself or as likely to be so to the American People, and it was therefore deemed advisable no longer to delay the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary to Paris, but to dispatch him in season to communicate the result of his negotiation application to the French government at an early period of your session. I accordingly appointed a distinguished citizen for this purpose, who proceeded on his mission early in August last and reached his destination and was presented to the King before the end of September, since which time no despatches have been received from him. He is particularly instructed as to all matters connected with the present posture of affairs, and I indulge the hope that with the representations he is instructed to make and from the disposition manifested by the King and his Ministers the subject will be early considered and satisfactorily disposed of at the next meeting of the Chambers.

As this is a subject involving important interests and which has attracted a considerable share of the public attention I have deemed it proper to make this explicit statement of its actual condition; and should I be disappointed in the hope now entertained, the subject will be again brought to the notice of Congress in such manner as the occasion may require.

by way of explanation It is also proper to observe that owing to the failure of the French government to pay the instalment, the bill drawn for the amount was protested, & has since been returned by the Bank of the U.S. with a demand for damages. The payment, however, of the sum agreed to be given by the Bank proved to be merely nominal, and consisted only in entering the amount to the credit of the Treasurer. The money actually remained in the possession of the Bank, and on the return of the bill the nominal sum was promptly retransferred from the credit of the Treasurer. That institution The Bank was also informed that any actual and necessary expences which it might have incurred in the purchase
and negotiation of the bill would be refunded, but the demand for damages to the amount of 158,000, being considered under all circumstances unfounded, was in conformity with the opinion of the Law officer of the government not admitted.

The friendly relations which have always been maintained between the U.S. and Russia have been further extended and strengthened by the Treaty of navigation and commerce concluded on the 6th. of December last and sanctioned by the Senate before the close of its last Session. The ratifications having been since exchanged, the liberal provisions of this treaty are now in full force; and, under the encouragement which they have secured, a flourishing and increasing commerce, yielding its benefits to the enterprize of both nations, affords to each the just recompence of wise measures and adds new motives for that mutual friendship which the two countries have hitherto cherished towards each other.

It affords me peculiar satisfaction to state that the government of Spain has, at length, yielded to the justice of the claims which have been so long urged on behalf of our citizens, and has expressed a willingness to provide an indemnification as soon as the proper amount can be agreed upon. Upon this latter point, it is probable an understanding had taken place between the Minister of the U.S. and the Spanish Government before the decease of the late King of Spain, and unless that event may have delayed its completion, there is reason to hope that it may be in my power to announce to you, early in your present session, the conclusion of a convention upon terms not less favorable than those entered into for similar objects with other Nations. That act of justice would well accord with the character of Spain, and is due to the U.S. from their ancient friend. It could not fail to strengthen those sentiments of amity and good will between the two nations, which it is so much the wish of the U.S. to cherish & so truly the interest of both to maintain.

By the 1st. Section

AD, DLC (77). The extant draft ends here. The delivered message went on to review relations with other foreign powers (Richardson, 3:23–27). The next section addressed the national finances and public debt, revenue and expenditures, and the Treasury building fire (Richardson, 3:27–30).

1. In April, Secretary of State Livingston had proposed to British minister Charles Vaughan that a commission be established to locate the Northeast boundary according to the line described in the 1783 Treaty of Paris. Vaughan protested that forty years of failed attempts to interpret the treaty’s defective language had proved the effort “hopeless,” and that only a negotiated compromise line held any prospect of success after the Americans had rejected the King of the Netherlands’ arbitration award; but he agreed on June 6 to present the proposal to his government. On February 10, 1834, he communicated its objections (SDoc 414, 24th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 5–24, Serial 284).

2. Statutes, 4:574–76.

3. This word is “charter” in the delivered message, but “character” in some printings.

4. This paragraph is X-ed out. Its substance was incorporated in Donelson’s draft on the Bank of the United States below, but appears nowhere in the delivered message.

5. King Ferdinand VII of Spain (1784–1833) had died on September 29.
The propriety of rechartering the Bank of the United States was submitted, in the most imposing form, to the decision of our common constituents in the election which preceded the last session of Congress. The result of that election, after the trouble and expense incurred by that corporation, seconded by the utmost exertions of its numerous advocates, could not be considered otherwise than as a decision in the negative.

The act incorporating “the subscribers to the Bank of the United States” provides that “the deposites of the money of the United States in places in which the said Bank and branches thereof may be established, shall be made in said Bank or branches thereof, unless the Secretary of the Treasury shall at any time, otherwise order and direct.” By the terms of the contract, therefore, Congress could not “order and direct” the deposites to be made elsewhere than in the Bank of the United States and its branches. That power was left with the Secretary of the Treasury, in whom it has been vested from the first organization of the Government. To enable Congress to judge of the motive which might induce him to exercise the power, it was further provided, that “the Secretary of the Treasury shall immediately lay before Congress, if in session, if not immediately after the commencement of the next session, the reasons of such order or direction.”

The responsibility which before existed in relation to a proper disposition of the deposits, was thus rendered more rigid, and Congress was enabled to ascertain at once the grounds of the act without a formal call for explanations.

But from the attitude in which this subject is placed by the charter of the Bank it is necessary that the Secretary of the Treasury shall remove the deposites before Congress can exercise any control over them.

That the deposites should not have remained in the Bank of the United States until the last day of its existence, is manifest. The abrupt transfer of so large a sum of money as the United States generally have in deposite, from one Bank to others, would, under the present system of banking, be attended with serious inconveniences. As Banks make loans upon their deposites, as they do upon their capital, the Bank of the United States must have called in beforehand the loans made upon the public deposites to be in readiness to meet so heavy a demand; and as no other institution would have been enabled to make a corresponding extension, it would have produced a scarcity of money and commercial embarrassment. This must have been followed, upon the transfer being effected, by a sudden increase of Bank accommodations and an abundance of money. A great depression in the prices of stocks and property, would have been followed
by a corresponding rise, and in this fluctuation, stockjobbing and speculation would have profitted at the expense of the better interests of the community. These consequences could be prevented only by a gradual transfer of the deposits, so that the extension of accommodations by the Banks receiving them, might keep pace with the curtailment of that from which they might be withdrawn.

An additional reason for the early transfer of the deposits may be found in the consideration, that at the termination of its charter the Bank must necessarily be calling in all its outstanding loans and preparing to meet its other responsibilities and return the capital stock to its owners. By an earlier removal of the deposits, the collections necessary to meet them must be made at an earlier period, the business of winding up the concerns of the Bank will be divided, and the attendant inconveniences will fall with less weight upon the community.

A new system of collection and disbursement cannot be suddenly created and put in operation, either by Executive authority or by Congress. Great confidence is entertained that no Bank of the United States is necessary in the management of the fiscal concerns of their Government, and that in a very few years, this fact can be practically illustrated to the satisfaction of the American people. To organise a new system, and put it in complete operation, will take some time, and to test its utility will take further time. In a little more than two years the charter of the Bank will expire. This period is not too long to put in operation the new system and test it by experience, always the safest teacher. If, as some think, it shall be found impracticable, the Government may revert to the Bank of the United States under approved management, or provide a substitute.

If the public deposits had remained in the Bank until the end of its chartered existence, all the parts of a new system must have been adjusted at once. There would not have been safety in such an operation; the capability of the state Banks would have been tested under circumstances the most disadvantageous; and if the effort to use them had failed, no other institution would have been in existence to which the Government could have resorted. No doubt is entertained by me of the capability of the state Banks; yet, as well to make the change gradual, as in deference to the opinions of those who think the affairs of the Government cannot be well managed without a Bank of the United States, it seemed prudent to bring the matter to the test while such an institution is in existence.

To these views of public policy were added the further considerations that the Bank had been faithless as an agent of the Treasury in secretly negotiating with the public creditors to withhold their claims that it might retain the use of the funds set apart by the Government for their payment, thus delaying the extinction of the public debt; and had sought to obtain heavy damages from the Treasury upon a public bill of Exchange, in the protest of which, little or none had been sustained, when it had in use without interest a large sum of public money. The payment by the Bank
of the bill on the French Government being nominal merely, in as much as the money actually remained in the possession of the Bank and on the return of the bill the sum was promptly retransferred from the credit of the Treasurer, it is obvious it could set up no other just claim for damages than the expenses incurred in the purchase & negotiation of the bill which it was informed would be refunded; yet it presented a demand for the enormous sum of 158 which in conformity with the opinion of the law officer of the Govt. was not admitted. Moreover, it was believed that it had departed from the line of its appropriate functions and transcended its rightful power, by embarking in political conflicts and applying its funds to control elections.

While the subject was under consideration undoubted proofs of the interference of the Bank in the elections of last year and the expenditure of a large sum of money to influence their result, were reported by the Government directors. Into these practices, the Bank had entered voluntarily and deliberately, by a formal resolution authorising their President to expend the money of the Government and other stockholders in payment for writing, printing and distributing articles in explanation of the character and operation of the Bank without requiring receipts or vouchers. By the proofs reported, it appeared that no record nor paper can be found in the Bank showing to what objects a large portion of the expenditure purporting to have been made, under this resolution, was applied, and that another portion

AD, DLC (43; 24-0167).

1. This long sentence, closely mirroring the excised paragraph from the McLane draft above, is on a separate sheet marked for insertion in the main text.

Draft fragment by Martin Van Buren on the Bank of the United States give any direction in regard to the places of Deposit of the public monies, until without the previous action of the Treasury Department; and however sincerely anxious I might otherwise would have been to have awaited the legislation of Congress in respect to the disposition of the public funds, after the deposit of them had been, by order of the only competent authority, directed to be discontinued in the Bank of the U. States, I could not, under the circumstances, have advised to such a course without putting the public interest in eminent peril. It will be for those in whose behalf we all act, to decide, whether the Executive Department of the Government would have been found in the line of its duty, if, with the evidence before it that the Bank was giving a direction to its affairs, which, unless speedily arrested, must inevitably lead to an unprecedented and ruinous pressure upon the pecuniary affairs of the Country, it had delayed to take, in season, the only step, by which so great an evil could be averted. The public distress thus occasioned might have been well adopted to favor the application of the Bank for an extension of its charter,
but I cannot bring myself to believe, that either Congress or their constituents will regret the check which it has received, so long as that has been effected by the exercise of lawful means prosecuted, alone, for public & justifiable ends.

AD, DLC (59).

1. The text down to this point is marked for excision. The text from here forward is incorporated within Jackson’s draft below.

Draft by Andrew Jackson on the Bank of the United States

[Except for two excisions, the conclusion of the Bank section in the delivered message (Richardson, 3:31–32) closely followed this text.]

I called the attention of Congress to the subject in my last annual message and informed them that such measures as were within the reach of the Secretary of the Treasury had been taken to enable him to judge whether the public deposits in the Bank of the U. States were entirely safe. But that as his united powers might be inadequate to that object, I recommended the subject to Congress as worthy of their serious investigation; declaring it as my opinion that any enquiry into the transactions of that institution, embracing the branches as well as the principle Bank, was called for by the credit which was given throughout the country to many serious charges impeaching their characters, and which if true might justly excite the apprehension that they were no longer a safe depository for the public money. The extent to which the examination thus recommended was gone into is spread upon your journals, and is too well known to require to be stated. Such as was made resulted in a report from a majority of the Committee of ways & means touching certain specified points only, concluding with a resolution that the Government deposits might safely be continued in the Bank of the United States. This resolution was adopted at the close of the Session by the vote of a majority of the House of Representatives. Although I may not always be able to concur in the views of the public interest, or the duties of its agents which may be taken by the other departments of the Government, or any of their branches, I am notwithstanding wholly incapable of receiving otherwise than with the most sincere respect, all suggestions or opinions proceeding from such a source & in respect to none am I more inclined to do so, than to the House of Representatives. But it will be seen from the brief views, at this time taken of the subject by myself, as well as the more ample ones presented by the Secretary of the Treasury that the change in the deposits which has been ordered has been deemed to be called for by considerations which are not affected by the proceedings referred to, and which if correctly viewed by that department, rendered its act a matter of imperious duty; if even it were admitted, that the decision of the House of representatives was a correct deduction from the premises which were considered by that body.
Coming as you do, for the most part, immediately from the people, &
the states, by election, and having all possessed the fullest opportunity to
know their sentiments, the present Congress will be sincerely solicitous
to carry into full & fair effect the will of their constituents in regard to
this institution. It will be for those in whose behalf we all act, to decide,
whether the Executive Department of the government have been found in
the line of its duty, if, with the evidence before it that the Bank was giving
a direction to its affairs, which, unless speedily arrested, must inevitably
lead to an unprecedented and ruinous pressure upon the pecuniary affairs
of the country, it had delayed to take, in season, the only step by which so
great an evil could be averted. The public distress thus occasioned might
have been well adapted to pave the way for the application of the Bank
for an extension of its charter, but I cannot bring my self to believe, that
either Congress or our constituents will regret the check which it has
received, so long as that has been affected by the exercise of lawful means,
alone for public & justifiable ends.

AD, DLC (43).

1. The words after “imperious duty” are marked for excision.
2. The text from here forward is marked for excision.

Draft by Martin Van Buren on steamboat accidents

[The delivered message next reviewed the executive departments, the
military, and Indian relations (Richardson, 3:32–34). A passage on steam-
boat accidents followed, based closely on this text by Van Buren. The
message concluded by recommending a constitutional amendment for
direct election of the president and vice president (Richardson, 3:34–35).]

The many distressing accidents which have of late so frequently occurred
in that portion of our navigation which is carried on by use of Steam
power, deserve the immediate, and unremitting attention of the consti-
tuted authorities of the Country. The fact that the number of those fatal
disaster is constantly increasing, notwithstanding the great improvements
which are every day made in the machinery employed and the our rapid
advances everywhere made in that branch of science, shew very clearly
that they are, in a great degree, the result of inatt
criminal negligence, on
the part of those by whom the vessels are navigated, and to whose care &
attention the lives, & property of our citizens is so extensively entrusted.
That these evils may be greatly lessened if not substantially removed the
by means of precautionary, & pena highly penal legislation, I have no
doubt. So far therefore, as the subject can be regarded, to be as being
within the constitutional competency of the General Government I most
earnestly recommend their adoption by it to the prompt & serious
of Congress.

AD, DLC (77).
From William Carroll

Nashville December 3, 1833.

My dear Sir;

The General Assembly adjourned on yesterday after a Session of eleven weeks.

The Senatorial election has been so long over that it seems scarcely proper to refer to it now. It may not be amiss however to state some of the circumstances which accompanied its progress, and which prove what little reliance can be placed in some people who profess to be governed by principles of honor and truth. At the Session of eighteen hundred and twenty one, a few individuals, actuated not by the most laudable motives brought out Foster to defeat Mr. Grundy, but it was soon discovered that the Legislature were not disposed to fill the appointment so long before it became vacant. At the commencement of the called session of eighteen hundred and thirty two, a rigorous effort was made by the friends of Grundy & Foster, and it was soon discovered, even by the partizans of the latter that the former would be elected. Under a full persuasion of this truth they applied to, and urged Major Eaton to suffer his name to be run with a full assurance that after balloting a few times for Foster they would unite upon Eaton which would unquestionably elect him. Upon this assurance he suffered his name to be used and the result at that session shewed how little faith was due to their promises. At the recent session the same inducements were held out to him without the slightest intention of ever complying with their intimations or promises. Indeed I am informed by a gentleman in whose word I can confide that Judge Anderson promised on the morning of Mr. Grundys election that if obliged to vote between Grundy and Eaton he would support the former. Indeed in the whole course of my acquaintance I know of no one in the stability of whose political friendship or sound principles on public measures I have less confidence than in Judge A. He is actuated by a restless ambition, is subject to the control of weak men, and as poor Darby was in the habit of saying of those he disliked, he is wholly deficient in moral stamina.1

Judge Anderson and a few others were indiscreet enough early in the session to prepare resolutions to nominate Judge Hugh L White for the next President. The under current was in motion for a few days, but subsided, and I had believed that the friends of the measure had discreetly abandoned it. In that however I was mistaken. Ten days ago the measure was brought forward with increased energy, and persuasion and intreaty employed to insure its success. A few of us however took grounds against it, and its friends had the mortification to find that they were placed in a small minority, and reluctantly gave up their object. In the course which I took on the subject I was actuated by no unkind feeling towards Judge White, but I considered it too early to bring the matter forward, and it

• December 1833 •
seemed to me that delicacy should prevent Tennessee from taking the lead in the manifestation of her wishes. We have now the President, and by the ordinary course of events, we have no right to expect a selection of another of our citizens in the next fifty years. Such a movement too in my humble judgement would in some degree have added to the embarrassments of the Administration, and produced distrust among its friends. In due time doubtless some course will be taken by the friends of the different aspirants to unite parties, and when that is the case, it will be more becoming in Tennessee to follow than to lead.

We passed a resolution approving of your course in relation to the removal of the deposits from the United States bank, which I shall forward to you in a few days.2

I have nothing to say about Judge making, but you will permit me to observe, that the impression which prevails that Lacy will be appointed is very unacceptable to our Bar. I heard a conversation among several Lawyers a short time since, and among the objections to Lacy was that of his relationship to Nathl. A McNairy, who it was thought he would retain as clerk notwithstanding (as they alleged) his incapacity. This they did believe would not be done by any other person whose name is before you.3

If nothing prevents it, I intend early in the spring to pay you a visit.

I shall be happy to hear from you when you have leisure to write a line.

Wishing you health and success, I am, dear Sir, Sincerely your friend

Wm. Carroll

[Endorsed by AJ:] Governor Carroll Decbr. 3rd. 1833—

ALS, DLC (43).

1. Patrick Henry Darby (1783–1829) had been a Nashville lawyer and editor.
2. A resolution opposing BUS recharter had passed the Tennessee senate unanimously on September 21 and the house of representatives by 32 to 4 on November 30 (Journal of the Senate of the State of Tennessee, 1833 session, pp. 34–35; Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Tennessee, 1833 session, pp. 414–15).

From John T. Sullivan

Philada. Decemr. 3d 1833

Dear Sir

This day at four Oclock Mr Biddle & his committee, made a long & labored report, on the removal of the Deposites and on the Expose read to
your Cabinet on that subject; & also in explanation of the Report of the Govt Directors in relation to the expence acct. &c. It will occupy forty or 50 pages Octavo, and is characterised by sophisty evasion & violence; Indeed, if the American People do not visit the Bank, and its manages, with a more decided expression of their condemnation than has yet been made manifest; I have very much mistaken their character—and I have reason to believe, that Congress on reading this tirade, will feel themselves called upon by every sense of duty to the Country to present a bold and unbroken front on the side of the Administration. Indeed the Bank has taken such a stand, as will admit of no neutrals. This last struggle, this expiring effort is intended rather as an attack on the Administration, than a defence of measures, which are in themselves indefensible. The Govt Directors come in for a share of the abuse, but we are so strongly armed with facts, which will speedily appear, as cannot fail to have a powerful influence on the public mind, and must completely overthrow all the flimsy sophistry of Mr Biddle.

In all Mr. Biddle’s labours, he has not found time to explain the $23,000 appropriated and paid by him, nobody knows to whom, or for what purpose. Indeed there is not the slightest allusion made to those expenditures; they cannot be explained.

Mr Duane has made his appeal, it will injure only himself. The Bank men are dissatisfied; it falls short of their expectations in point of ability & efficiency; and will effectually seal the political fate of its author. I have the honor to remain Your Obt St

John T Sullivan

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. Sullivan—recd. 5th. Decbr. 33—Biddle & Duanes expose—

ALS, DLC (43).

1. On December 3, a committee of the BUS board of directors presented a report and resolution which the board then approved by a vote of 12 to 3, government directors Gilpin, Sullivan, and Wager dissenting. The report repelled the charges in AJ’s September 18 Cabinet paper and the government directors’ August 19 report on BUS expenses. It accused AJ of waging “a war of unexampled violence” against the Bank and of violating its charter by removing the deposits, and it defended the Bank’s nonpolitical posture, its handling of the three per cents and the protested bill on France, and the makeup and workings of its committees. It upheld Bank expenditures to disseminate printed materials for “the diffusion of intelligence among the people” as an exercise of a “clear right to defend itself” against “injurious calumnies” and “falsehoods,” and it charged the government directors with political interference and spying. The concluding resolution branded AJ’s removal of the deposits “a violation of the contract between the Government and the Bank” and instructed Biddle to memorialize Congress for “redress” for “the wrong which has been done to the Institution.” The board ordered 5,000 copies printed (Report of a Committee of Directors of the Bank of the United States, pp. 2, 38–40). Biddle memorialized Congress on December 9.

2. The government directors’ August 19 report to AJ charged that the Bank had spent the better part of $80,000 in 1831 and 1832 to disseminate publications under the head of “stationery and printing.” Of this, $23,911 was undocumented, being spent on Biddle’s
order without vouchers under the board’s March 11, 1831, authorizing resolution. The Bank report rejoined that its publication expenditures in that span—money it had been “obliged” to spend “to defend itself against injurious misrepresentations”—came to “exactly $48,287.90.” It did not directly address the charge of $23,911 in untraceable spending (SDoc 2, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 30–31, Serial 238; Report of a Committee of Directors of the Bank of the United States, pp. 33–40).

3. On December 3 the Philadelphia Commercial Intelligencer published William J. Duane’s December 2 address “To the People of the United States.” Duane claimed that he had accepted the Treasury not knowing that AJ was bent on removing the deposits. He charged that the Globe’s announcement of deposit removal on September 20, made without his assent, had “virtually dismissed me as an officer, and insulted me as a man,” and that by it he “was absolved from all respect” for his July 22 pledge to resign if he could not concur. Duane appended the six letters he had exchanged with AJ from September 21 through his dismissal on September 23.

Distribution Bill Veto Message

[“An act to appropriate, for a limited time, the proceeds of the sales of the public lands of the United States, and for granting land to certain States” passed the Senate by 24 to 21 on January 25, 1833, and the House of Representatives by 96 to 40 on March 1. Known as the distribution bill or as “Mr. Clay’s land bill” because Henry Clay had originally introduced it from the Senate Committee on Manufactures in April 1832, the bill distributed the net proceeds from the government’s sales of western public land among the various states in proportion to their total congressional representation. Western states where the lands were located were to receive an additional percentage and also direct grants of land to fund internal improvement projects. Jackson pocket-vetoed the bill. On December 4 he delivered a veto message to the Senate of the new Twenty-third Congress (DS, DNA-RG 46 [24-0333]). The veto was printed by the Senate as SDoc 3, 23d Cong., 1st sess. (Serial 238), and appears in Richardson, 3:56–69.

Printed here, in likely order of composition, are the extant drafts of the veto from the Library of Congress, two by Jackson and one by an unidentified scribe and Andrew J. Donelson. Jackson’s first draft, at least, was likely drawn up well before December and perhaps before the bill’s final passage on March 1. The delivered message, considerably expanded, followed the drafts in argument but not in exact phrasing.]

Drafts by Andrew Jackson

The land bill

The following are reasons why I return it without my approval

1rst. This bill violates the compact made between the several states making the cession, and the United States accepting the same. gordon page 779—1
Objections having been made to the articles of confederation because a portion of the Territory within several of the States owning, waste, and wilderness land, was not appropriated for a common fund “for the expences of the war.” To remove this barrier to a federal Union; Congress in 1780, recommended to the States to cede a portion of their territory “for the common benefit of the Union” and t. The states of Newyork, Connecticut, Massachusets, So Carolina, Virginia No. Carolina & Georgia complied with this request. The words employed in the cessions is,—for the benefit of the States—or “for the use & benefit of the U. States” and “agreable to their general charge & expenditure,” the granting states included must. This must be understood to mean the same thing,—to pay the expences of the war. This was the inducement to the states in making the cession for doing so, & defining their reserved bounderies, & ceded their land for as a pledge for the payment of the debts of the war; most of they cessions being were made before the adoption of the present constitution, on the recommendation of congress, for the purpose of securing & preserving harmony amongst the states, and to extinguish the public debt. ?What debt. The war debt certainly—this was the debt refered to in the recommendation & the only debt then due & owing, and to this object was it pledged. This bill applies it to an entirely different objects, therefore violates the compact upon which the cessions were made, there still remaining due of the debts of that war, the whole revolutionary Pensions.

2nd. This law is inexpedient impolitic & unjust. It raises a an annual fund out of this land, for the purpose of distributing the same amongst the several states agreeable to their federal numbers and thereby throws upon the people an additional tax of this three millions of dollars to meet this revolutionary war debt, and the other expences of the Govt. with all the additional sums due, to the various Indian tribes for relinquishing their titles to their lands, and keeps up the necessity of high tariffs, and high prices of land to the oppression of the new States, & the emigrating poor which is both unjust to the people, & particularly to the new States whos wants population. The wealth of all nations is its labours their strenght their population, and the hardy yeomanry amongst it best citizens.

3rd. This bill is unconstitutional. There is no power vested in Congress to establis colonies beyond the seas, or to lay a tax or employ the funds of the nation to such objects, or raise revenue for such objects or to raise revenue for the purpose of dividing it amongst the States.2 So far as this bill embraces these objects it is unconstitutional, and therefore I cannot approve it. It is true that a Tariff cannot be laid to meet the just oeconomical wants of the Gov’t. but a Surpluss must casually arise—it was to meet such casualties that induced me in my message of (☞ here insert the message) to recommend to Congress to establish by law, the constitution permitting, some mode by which this Surpluss might be restored to the people, and if congress did not possess the constitutional
power to make by law a just distribution of it amongst the states, that the constitution be amended to grant that power, so that no surpluss should remain in the Treasury as a corrupting source for Legislation. It follows as a just sequiter, that if Congress has not the power by law under the constitution, without this amendment, to distribute the surpluss casually arising under a tariff imposed with an eye solely to the economical wants of the government, that the constitution prohibits the levying a tax for the sole purpose of raising creating a fund to be distributed amongst the states.

I therefore believing this law a violation of the compact with the States making the cession and the U. States. That it is inexpedient, impolitic and unjust to the new States, as well as the whole people of the U. States, that they should be thus taxed, or causes the land diverted from its proper pledge, to create the necessity of continuing a high tariff oppressive to the people. That it is unconstitutional because it converts the part of the funds pledged for the war debt of the revolution to other objects & in part colonising rearing up & fostering foreign colonies, & in whole a fund for distribution amongst the states, and throwing burdens on the people unnessarery & unjust.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Public Lands & Land bill.

AD, DLC (73).

1. AJ quoted and cited A Digest of the Laws of the United States (Philadelphia, 1827) by Thomas Francis Gordon (1787–1860). The United States had acquired its original public domain by cessions from the seven states whose colonial boundaries gave them claims to western lands. During the Revolution, small states without such claims, especially Maryland, had balked at joining in a political union under the Articles of Confederation with neighbors who dwarfed them in size. In 1780 New York offered to relinquish its western claims, “it having been conceived that a portion of the waste and uncultivated territory within the limits or claims of certain States ought to be appropriated as a common fund for the expenses of the war.” Congress then urged all the claimant states to cede their lands, to be “disposed of for the common benefit of the United States, and be settled and formed into distinct republican States” to be admitted to the Union with “the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, as the other States.” Virginia’s cession in 1784 of what became the Northwest Territory (later the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin) became a model for those that followed. It stipulated that the ceded lands “shall be considered as a common fund for the use and benefit” of the united or confederated states, “Virginia inclusive, according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure, and shall be faithfully and bona fide disposed of for that purpose, and for no other use or purpose whatsoever” (Thomas Donaldson, The Public Domain, House Miscellaneous Document 45, part 4, 47th Cong., 2d Cong., pp. 61–69, Serial 2158).

2. Clay’s bill as it passed the Senate in January had specified education, internal improvements, and colonization of free people of color as the objects of distribution. The House had stricken the provision before passing the bill on March 1, and the Senate had concurred.

3. The note in parentheses is in the margin. AJ had recommended distributing surplus tariff revenues, and if necessary amending the constitution to authorize it, in his first annual message in 1829 and in his Maysville Road veto and second annual message in 1830 (Richardson, 2:451–52, 484, 514–15).

Note—

Virginia ceded her territory in 1784—
No Carolina in 1789—
Georgia not until 1802—

Newyork Connecticut, Massachusets & So Carolina also ceded previous to 1789 theirs,

The language employed in the cession is “for the benefit of the States” or “for the use & benefit of the U. States,” the granting States included.

See Gordons digest for Virginia, page 404, bottom,
for No Carolina Do— 411— top
Georgia— Do 414

Gordon in page 779 remarks

“objections were made to the articles of confederation because a portion of the, land territory within several of the States was not appropriated as a common fund “for the expences of the war.” To remove this barrier to a federal union, Newyork in 1780 authorised a cession &c &c. On the 6th. of September 1780 congress had recommended the states to cede a portion of their lands territory “for the common benefit of the Union”; & in january following Virginia made her cession.¹ The States which owned no lands urged & insisted on these cessions for the purpose of meeting “the expences of the war.” The words employed in the acts of cession were for the benefit of the Union—for the benefit of the States &c &c must be understood to mean the same thing; to pay the expences of the war. This was the inducement to Virginia No. C. & Georgia to define their bounderies, & to cede their waste land for a pledge for the debts of the war. Most of these cessions were made before 1789 before our present government was formed. The cession of No. Carolina was in the same year 1789. At this time the debts of the war, were unadjusted. It was not untill 1790 that any legislative provisions were made respecting them.²

For the purpose of securing harmony amongst the States, the Congress for the confederation solicited a surrender of lands owned by the large states, that harmony might be preserved, and that the debts of the Government might be paid. The States responded to the sentiment, and made their grants to conform to it. The entire object was that some agreeable provision might be made for the payment of the then contracted debts of the country; and in a spirit of kind feeling the lands were sur-
rendered for this purpose. If any doubt could arise upon this subject the language of North Carolina solves the difficulty. That State says—those lands are ceded—“For the use & benefit of the United States No. Carolina inclusive according to their general charge & expenditure. What charge & what expenditure did North Carolina refer to? To the war charge & expenditure certainly, for to nothing else could the terms relate. Again the state of No Carolina, in the preamble of the cession says, Whereas the congress of the United States have repeatedly & earnestly recommended to the United States owning vacant lands to make a cession of them for the purpose of preserving harmony & to extinguish the public debt &c &c—see Gordons Digest page 408.3

From these facts & circumstances may it not be well inferred that congress solicited, and that the States agreed to & made the cessions as far as they were made, avowedly for the purpose of paying off the war debts of the Revolution. As the States suggested the propriety of having the cessions made thereby to create a “common fund for the expences of the war” and as the proposal was acceded to for the common “benefit of the States” it is a just inference that the “benefit” that was intended, was the payment of the debts of the war.

But No. C. & Georgia say, that the land so ceded shall be for the benefit of the States respectively, “& for no other use or purpose whatever.” Can these words create any reversionary interest in these states, I cannot think they do, as to any right of soil. None such was intended to be secured. It is nothing more than a direction how the funds should be applied. The fee & the soil are absolutely conveyed without reserve, and the states are foreclosed from claiming any former rights of theirs to be revived. The expressions are “for the common benefit” to pay the debts of the war. These being paid; If then the lands can be applied to no other purpose, it follows that they must remain waste & uncultivated & untenanted. Who shall claim them? The granting states cannot, for they have retained to themselves no such right, they cannot be sold or given away for that would change the terms of the grant which restricts their application to a single purpose (the debts of the war) which performance now, may be said, is fully compleated & ended. See the condition, on which the cession is made, and the provisions for new states being admitted into the Union and the broad terms used &c &c &c. And it appears to me under a full view of the whole subject and a common sense construction of the terms & conditions of the cession, and the provisions and conditions made therein for the admission of New states to be formed out of the Territory ceded, that the States in which the land lies, the war debts being paid can well claim the sovereign right to dispose of them; where the lands have not been pledged, by Agreements with the Indians, &c &c, for other & national purposes. These are the grounds, that have been taken, and when the preamble of the constitution of Tennessee are is adverted to making this positive claim, and admitted into the Union with that declaration of
right of soil, well may be dreaded the excitement that will be produced among the States on this subject. 4

AD, DLC (73).

1. The words “common benefit” had actually appeared not in the September 6, 1780, congressional resolution, but in a followup resolution on October 10. Virginia had initially proposed terms for its cession in January 1781.

2. The 1790 “Act making provision for the Debt of the United States” directed the proceeds of western land sales “towards sinking or discharging the debts, for the payment whereof the United States now are, or by virtue of this act may be held, and shall be applied solely to that use until the said debts shall be fully satisfied” (Statutes, 1:144).

3. The clause in the preamble to North Carolina’s cession reads: “Whereas the United States, in Congress assembled, have repeatedly and earnestly recommended to the respective States in the Union, claiming or owning vacant western territory, to make cessions of part of the same, as a further means, as well of hastening the extinguishment of the debts, as of establishing the harmony of the United States . . . .”

4. The delivered message dropped this reference. The brief preamble to Tennessee’s 1796 constitution did not claim ownership of the state’s public domain.

Draft fragment

painful sense of duty, to reject that bill, because the work that was to be aided by the appropriation could be viewed in no other light than as a measure of a purely local character. 1 It is obvious, however, that the money appropriated by this bill may be indirectly applied to that same work, or to others of a character equally local. And I am thus called upon by this bill to sanction indirectly the application of the public money to an object from which when directly presented I was constrained to withhold it.

That Congress has no power under the Constitution to appropriate any part of the public money, from the common Treasury, for objects within the states, of a local character merely, such as state roads, bridges or canals, does not in my mind admit of any doubt: and, therefore, so far as this bill proposes to apply money derived from the sales of the public lands, to be distributed among the states for such objects, it is in my view clearly unconstitutional and, m. Moreover, as all the expenses justly chargeable upon the public lands are not, by this bill, to be paid out of the proceeds of those lands, the appropriation of those proceeds is, in so far, an appropriation of money raised by the imposition of duties for the only purposes authorized by the constitution, to objects of a local nature, in no wise contemplated by that instrument, and is not the less to be discouraged because it may be in some degree indirect or concealed.

One of the best safeguards of the constitutional authority of the General Government is the limitation upon the power of appropriation. The constitution itself has expressly provided “that no money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law,” and as Congress can exercise no legislation except over those objects which are
confided to it by the constitution, it is clear that money in the Treasury, from whatever source derived, can only be drawn out for the purposes authorized by the constitution. That Congress cannot directly draw from the Treasury any portion of the public money, whether resulting from duties or public lands, to be applied to the objects which would be authorized by the bill, will scarcely be questioned; and to appropriate them to the states, for the same purposes, to be applied at the discretion of the state Legislatures, is not only liable to the constitutional objection, but would be inexpedient even if it were constitutional, as transferring to others that discretion and control over the expenditures of the money of the United States which should be exercised by the general Government, in all cases where money is both expressly collected & appropriated for certain purposes.

It was in consequence of objections to the articles of confederation, because a portion of the waste and uncultivated territory owned by several states was not appropriated as a common fund for the expenses of the war, that in the year 1780 Congress recommended to those states to cede a portion of such territory “for the common benefit of the union.” The terms of the several cessions all shew that their chief object was that the proceeds of the lands might be applied to the obligations contracted by the Government in the prosecution of the war. The lands subsequently acquired by purchase have been paid for by the common treasure of the nation; and it may well be doubted whether even the right in the soil can be surrendered for any object whatever until the expenses contemplated by the original cessions and the charges incurred for subsequent acquisitions be fully indemnified. Altho’ the debt contracted during the war has been paid from other sources of revenue, a just contribution for indemnity is a proper charge upon the lands ceded for that purpose, and the large amount of revolutionary pensions and annuities still remaining an annual charge upon the Treasury must be deemed as much a part of the debt of the revolution as any other item of expense.

It will be perceived moreover, by the accompanying statement from the Register, that assuming the nett sum received at the Treasury as the proceeds of the public lands to the 30th. September 1832, to be thirty eight millions 386,624 dollars 13 cents, and charging the payments on account of the purchases, under the compact with Georgia and the several Indian tribes together with other items amounting in the whole to the sum of forty nine millions 701.280 dollars & 17 cents, would still leave the sum of eleven million 314,656 dollars, & four cents to be reimbursed from those lands.

Even if there were no constitutional

D, DLC (43).
1. This was the Maysville Road bill, which AJ had vetoed in 1830.
2. Article 1, Section 9.
3. The text from here forward is in AJ Donelson’s hand.
4. AJ appended to the veto a March 1 statement by register of the Treasury Thomas L. Smith, showing total expenditures through September 1832 of $49,701,280.17 for acquisition and administration of the public domain, and net land sale proceeds of $38,386,624.13 (SDoc 3, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 12–13, Serial 238).

**From James Gordon Bennett**

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 4, 1833.

Sir:

It was in the month of September that I brought before your notice the conduct of Amos Kendall, and certain confederates, in relation to the character of your administration—the reputation of your cabinet—and the freedom of the press. You replied. I then stated that in a few days I would be able to place in your possession the evidence of the accusations I had made. Other engagements prevented me, at that time, from following out my original intention. I sent, however, to Washington, for your examination, the evidence of the charges, consisting principally of letters addressed to me by Amos Kendall and Reuben M. Whitney; but, by some mistake, or through delicacy of feeling, they were returned without having reached your eye. I should not now, perhaps, have troubled you with any further communication, for I had no personal ill will against Kendall, Whitney, or Blair; but, from the subsequent conduct of these men—the charges made against me, and reiterated by the government journal, without the shadow of truth—the intrigues, the correspondence, the threats of the government officers in this city, instigating two deluded individuals to trample upon the rights of private property—to violate a solemn written contract—have all formed one of the greatest outrages against the liberty of the press that ever yet took place in a free country, where the laws are sovereign, and men merely their agents.

I am called upon, therefore, by every principle of honour—every throbbing of independence—every motive which can stimulate to public or private virtue—to afford your Excellency a great and glorious opportunity of tearing off the mask from treachery and intrigue, and of purifying a subordinate portion of your administration, which, in the multiplicity of the great leading measures you have successfully carried into effect, have hitherto escaped your attention, or eluded your sagacity.

The erection of a censorship of the press is a novel scheme to attempt in a free land. In Berlin, in Vienna, and in St. Petersburgh, such a department of government is a regular branch of despotism. The bayonet supports it, and the people submit in silence. But here, the soil of human thought, having been watered by the blood of two revolutions, is slightly different, and the plan of censorship must vary accordingly. To the original and profound genius of Amos Kendall, Reuben M. Whitney, and their confederates, is a free nation, for the first time, indebted for the establishment in
Washington of a secret censorship of the press, as potent as extensive—as efficient as ever was erected in the despotic capitals of Europe. Nay, more so. Beyond the water, the mind of the editor is measured by the rule of the censor: he cannot commit a blunder, because he is constantly held in rein. But here, with the show of liberty before him, the least independent manly act brings down upon his devoted head a party edict, issuing from the midnight conclave, by which he is at once deprived of his character, his property, his independence, and his very means of livelihood, at a single blow. It comes upon him like a thief in the night—the dagger is the more fatal because it is concealed. Do I exaggerate?—Only let the evidence speak false, if it can.

For nearly three months, a stream of calumny and falsehood has flowed from the fountain of the conspirators at Washington, into this city and state, against my character, my motives, my purposes, and my intentions. On one occasion, three of your public officers—the Postmaster, the Marshal, the Navy Agent, and I may add a fourth, W. J. Leiper, by courtesy the U. S. Government errand runner—came to my office under the pretext of advice, and denounced my course as an editor, at the very moment I was vigorously sustaining your measures against the U.S. Bank. Is this the freedom of the press in a free country? On another occasion, Col. Stambaugh, as I have been informed, one of your Indian agents in the West, then in Washington, wrote to the U. S. Marshal of this district, stating that the administration had no confidence in my principles—and that means must be taken to eject me from the possession and use of the property in my own paper.¹ Is this the proper business of public officers of a great and free nation? Have they nothing else to attend to but the management of the press? If I had even abandoned the support which I always—up to this moment—have given to your administration, what public officer dare call in question the right of an editor taking such a course as his judgment points out?

But the audacious interference of these individuals with the liberty of the press, was even less excusable. I was at that time—before and since—up to the very moment when my property was rudely and illegally torn out of my hands by the instigation of these very men—I was, I say, the firm, unvarying, vigorous, fearless advocate of every measure you had originated and carried successfully into execution. I venerated your name, I revered your principles, I honoured your instructions. I had the like confidence in your constitutional advisers. But I gloried in differing, and not only in differing, but in despising the course and conduct of Blair, Kendall, Whitney and their branches, in this or any other city of the Union. My purpose was to support your principles and measures on high, liberal, and constitutional grounds—to avoid vulgar, rude, personal assaults upon the characters and motives of respectable individuals who differed in opinion with the administration I supported. The corruption which you believe your untiring vigilance has discovered in the United States Bank,
is itself small, powerless and short lived, compared with that which has secretly enthroned itself under the very mantle of the Government. The one expires with the expiration of a limited charter—the other is “the worm that never dies,” till the government itself crumbles into dust, and the Constitution becomes the study of the antiquary.2

I have the honour to be your most ob’t serv’t.

JAS. GORDON BENNETT.

Printed, Philadelphia Pennsylvania Inquirer and Morning Journal, December 6, 1833 (mAJs; 24-0330). On November 30, Benjamin Mifflin and Rowland Perry, Bennett’s co-proprietors in the Philadelphia Pennsylvaniaian, had announced in the paper that their partnership was dissolved and that Joseph C. Neal was replacing Bennett as editor. Bennett rejoined with a public notice charging that their action was “merely a coloring given to a forcible and illegal seizure of my property, interest, and control in the Pennsylvanian newspaper” instigated by Henry Horn, Philadelphia navy agent Henry Toland, U.S. marshal Benjamin Say Bonsall (1794–1837), William J. Leiper, and postmaster James Page at the direction of Kendall and “the irresponsible cabal stationed at Washington” (Nat. Intelligencer, December 4). Bennett and his late partners laid rival claims to the debts due the paper. On December 6, the Pennsylvania Inquirer published an address by Bennett threatening legal redress for the illegal seizure of his property and attacking Kendall and the Globe. He appended his correspondence with AJ from September 10 through this letter, excepting his letter of September 21.

1. Samuel C. Stambaugh (1799–1864) of Pennsylvania had been an Indian agent at Green Bay and was now secretary to the western Indian commissioners. In his later “Kitchen Cabinet Laid Open” series, Bennett related that in September, Horn, Toland, Bonsall, Leiper, and Page, announcing themselves as “the Democratic Party,” had called and accused him of being “dictatorial” and not supporting the administration. Bennett had told them he was “properly competent to conduct my paper in my own way” and that they should attend to their own business “instead of meddling with the management of the press” (Pennsylvania Inquirer, January 11, 1834).


From Samuel Smith

Baltimore 4 decemr. 1833

Dr Sir

I have been highly delighted with the reading of your most excellent message. It is clear most Easily to be Comprehended by the meanest Capacity, and all that the warmest friends of your glorious administration could wish or want. No former one has stood so high or on such friendly terms with all foreign nations. Our difficulties with all nearly Compromized. Our Treasury full—the people happy—and Content with the exception of a few very few ambitious men, who would sacrifice the nation to subserve their own Elevation. I perfectly agree with you that no alteration ought to be made in our Revenue System during the present Session altho’ some modifications will become necessary when the remnant of debt shall be paid off. Mr. Ingham made a mistake. he ought to have paid that debt whilst in the hands of the Bank. It Could then have been done at Paris, however we ought to be satisfied for all is well. With
sentiments of the sincerest friendship I have the honour to be your most
Obedient Servant

S. Smith

[Endorsed by AJ:] Genl Saml Smith approving the message—to be
answered—that the approbation of my message from such a source, &
from such experience with approbation of my administration is a source
of real consolation & pleasure to me—A. J.

ALS, NjP (24-0381).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington Decbr. 8th. 1833—

Dear Andrew,

I have received but two letters from you since you reached home. I have
wrote you often and would not write now as I am labouring under severe
pain of side & breast, was it not that I have just received a letter from Mr
Holtzclaw which gives me reason to believe that there is some difficulty
between you & him about an engagement for another year. I have written
him that I had authorised you, after you took a full view of every thing
to employ him again—but that he could not expect to get more than last
year—that no farm in Davidson will justify it—that better to abandon
farming than to keep it up for the benefit of an overseer bringing me in
debt, as it have for two years past. That he might rest assured he would
not get more.

I have only to add on this head, that if his management has been good,
& honest, continue him on the same terms as last year, but no more.
This is more than the farm will justify, but as he is there, & the hands
accustomed to him better to continue him than risque a new one—who
might injure us more than his wages—with these remarks I leave you to
make the arrangement with him on the same terms as last year, nothing
more—it is ample & if he hesitates then employ another and let him know
at once, that if the amount of Pork is not anough he must furnish the bal-
lance out of his own means—we have to buy & pay cash for the Pork—
five hundred dollars with the supply of last year is extravagant wages and
no more is to be given. The price of cotton must fall & when it does it will
come down very low

Tell Sarah that I hope she will be able to write me often, & tell inform
me how her & the little Pet is—it is a pleasure to hear from you all, and
it is strange to me that you Andrew, cannot find time once a week to
drop me a line as to Sarah, she has the dear little Rachel to attend to, &
the concerns of her houshold that I know for some weeks will keep her
engaged in restoring it to order, will prevent her from writing often, but
you certainly could spare as much time weekly as would tell me how all, and all things are.

Kiss Sarah & little Rachel for me, and believe me affectionately yours

Andrew Jackson

P.S. Take care of your Bolivar colts. Major Donelson now here bids fair to make a first rate animal—she beat his brown half a mile the 3rd. gallop she made—the brown bids fair to be good runner  A. J

ALS, DLC (43). Holtzclaw was not re-engaged for 1834.

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**From James Alexander Hamilton**

*Confidential.*

Philadelphia

Decr. 9th 1833

My dear Sir.

I have this moment completed a very hasty perusal of Mr Biddles Bank report and beg leave to refer to two circumstances of which I am reminded by it. It commences by stating that shortly after your accession it was distinctly revealed that other duties than those to the Country were required of the Bank &c and that “It is understood that soon after that event a meeting was held in Washington of the principal Chiefs to consider the means of perpetuating, their new authority and the possession of the Bank was the most prominent object of the Parties assembled” and that the Bank distinctly announced its determination not to belong to any party or to participate in Political contentions in other words the object of the Principal chiefs was ere defeated in their most prominent object. In the first place I venture to assert that no such meeting was held & no such purpose entertained if it had I altho not a Chief was so circumstanced then as that I must have known it And that no such object was entertained is evident from the fact that after the pretended defeat of the chiefs when that part of your first message which refers to the Bank was under discussion *every member of your cabinet* was of opinion that the subject should be omitted altogether as were many of your friends out of the Cabinet. This I well recollect, my opinion coincided with yours and I heard those of every member. It is not probable that if these chiefs had been defeated in their most prominent object and knowing from the course of the Bank in the case to which it refers that, that institution was adverse to them that they would have wished you to withhold the expression of your views, views you entertained as long I have had the pleasure to know you and which you expressed when I first saw you at your Home in Nashville.

As to Mr Gallatins Book on Banking I have been informed by a Gentleman in whom I have perfect confidence that this Book was written by Mr G. under an understanding that he was to be rewarded for it by
the Presidency of the N.Y. Branch and that when Mr Biddle found that arrangement could not be made He offered to pay Mr G. one thousand dollars for his labour I communicate this last circumstance in confidence because my informant will not permit me to quote him and in order should there be an investigation that enquires may be so directed as to Elicit this truth. The Report ought to be, I have no doubt will be and is susceptible of being shewn to be most uncandid and unsatisfactory[.] with the truest attachment your friend & Servant

James A Hamilton

[Endorsed by AJ:] Refered to Mr. Kendall for his perusal and notice of the falshood as stated of the meeting alledged within—return this letter as soon as perused & noted—A. J.

ALS, DLC (43).

1. The December 3 Bank report charged that soon after AJ’s “accession to power,” it was “distinctly revealed” that the Bank would be required to drop its “career of inoffensive usefulness” and “consult the political views” of the new administration. The purported meeting of “principal chiefs” soon followed. The “first open manifestation” of administration designs afterwards was its attempted interference in the management of the Portsmouth, N.H., BUS branch in June 1829. The Bank repelled it, and the administration, “finding it impossible to bend it to their purposes, have resolved to break it” (Report of a Committee of Directors of the Bank of the United States, pp. 3–5).

2. Hamilton had helped draft the attack on the Bank in AJ’s first annual message in 1829, which Treasury secretary Ingham and attorney general Berrien had advised against in writing (Jackson Papers, 7:576–80, 591–92, 628; Richardson, 2:462). Hamilton had visited the Hermitage in December 1827. He recalled in his 1869 memoir that AJ had then “expressed strong opinions against the Bank of the United States” (Hamilton Reminiscences, p. 69).

From Margaret Dysart Nichol Armstrong

Nashville 10th December—

My much respected friend

I hope will pardon me for not answering your truly welcome letter sooner, but believing that your politeness would prompt your to answer my unimportant letter, immediately I was fearful of trespassing upon your time two much; a few days ago Robert had the pleasure of receiving a letter from Mr. Earl, and receiving that letter brought to my recollection a very valuable promise made by him that was if he ever had the good fortune to get the likeness of my ever respected and truly lamented friend, Mrs Jackson from Pensacola, that he would send me a correct likeness of herself I have understood that he had succeeded in getting the likeness—now will you have the goodness to prevail on Mr Earl to send it to me with one of yourself, I wish to have your likeness to leave with my children when I leave this world as the likenesses of two of the dearest friends that I had on earth, my children have allways been taught to venerate the very name of Jackson—and they will truly value the portraits
of person’s that we owe all of our earthly happiness too—if Mr Earl had
have remained in Tennessee my wishes on this subject would have been
gratified long ago.¹ you mentioned in your letter that Robert and myself
had your unceasing prayers for our happiness and prosperity, I do assure
your that we feel very much flattered by your kindness you were a friend
to us when we needed one and we will allways remember your goodness
with every mark of gratitude that our hearts can feel,—and in return for
your hospitality we pray that you may be spared to us for many years, and
after spending a life of usefulness you may be prepared to enter into that
rest that remains for the people of God, and there we will be welcomed by
all of our dear friends that have gone before us. What a comfortable hope
this is—you mentioned in your letter that you expected to visit us next
year, I hope the Lord will spare us to see you once more, at the Hermitage
our hearts will rejoice in the goodness of God, but life is uncertain when
you last visitted us you were welcomed by my dear dear father, he is now
numbered with the dead, he has paid the debt we will all have to pay
soon—my dear Mother is in tolerable health, she sends her respects to
you my children all desire to be kindly and respectfully remembered to
you²—little Rachel Jackson is running all about, and is a perfect Poppet
and we are just as proud of her, as some are of their Money—Robert joins
me in respects to yourself—our family are all well I hope you will excuse
me for taken the liberty of tresspassing on your time with my [ . . . ] letters
I will now conclude by wishing you every happiness that this world can
give you, and at last may you be numbered with the saints on high is the
prayer of your sincere friend,

Margaret D Armstrong

ALS, DLC (58; 24-0431).
¹. Ralph E. W. Earl had painted a portrait of Rachel Jackson around 1827 for Richard
K. Call of Florida. In 1830 Earl arranged to have it sent to Philadelphia for copying in a
miniature and engraving (Jackson Papers, 8:175–77). It now resides at the Hermitage.
². Armstrong’s mother was Eleanor Ryburn Nichol (1781–1864).

Memorandum on Public Land Intruders

The Intruders—Whether it will, or will not be expedient & proper—(if
the intruders must be removed) that a proclamation should precede it,
similar to that of Mr Madison on a former occasion—

AN, DLC (43). AJ wrote this note on the back of his December 11 account with Augustus
Price. In December 1815, President Madison had issued a proclamation warning unlawful
settlers on federal lands to remove or face forcible eviction and prosecution (Richardson,
1:572–73).

· 818 ·
To the United States Senate

[On December 11 the Senate adopted, by 23 to 18, a resolution by Henry Clay “That the President of the United States be requested to communicate to the Senate a copy of the paper which has been published, and which purports to have been read by him to the heads of the Executive Departments, dated the 18th day of September last, relating to the removal of the deposits of the public money from the Bank of the United States and its offices” (Senate Journal, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 40–41, Serial 237). Jackson returned a message of refusal on December 12. Printed here is the sole extant draft.]

I have recd. a resolution of the Senate passed yesterday requesting the President to communicate & &. Considering the request contained in this resolution as unnecessary and without an adequate motive: and perceiving nothing in the state of the public service requiring my compliance, I am constrained by a proper sense of my own self respect, and of the rights secured to by the constitution to the Executive Branch of the Government to decline it.

Draft in AJ Donelson’s hand, DLC (77). The delivered message quoted the Senate resolution and then said:

“The Executive is a co-ordinate and independent branch of the Government equally with the Senate, and I have yet to learn under what constitutional authority that branch of the Legislature has a right to require of me an account of any communication, either verbally or in writing, made to the heads of Departments, acting as a cabinet council. As well might I be required to detail to the Senate the free and private conversations I have held with those officers on any subjects relating to their duties and my own.

Feeling my responsibility to the American people, I am willing, upon all occasions, to explain to them the grounds of my conduct; and I am willing, upon all proper occasions, to give to either branch of the Legislature any information in my possession that can be useful in the execution of the appropriate duties confided to them.

Knowing the constitutional rights of the Senate, I shall be the last man, under any circumstances, to interfere with them. Knowing those of the Executive, I shall at all times endeavor to maintain them agreeably to the provisions of the constitution, and the solemn oath I have taken to support and defend it.

I am constrained, therefore, by a proper sense of my own self-respect, and of the rights secured by the constitution to the Executive branch of the Government, to decline a compliance with your request” (Senate Journal, 23d Cong., 1st sess., p. 42, Serial 237; Richardson, 3:36).

From James Alexander Hamilton

New York
Decr. 13th 1833

Dear Sir

The impression I entertained as communicated in a former letter that my health would not permit me much longer to perform the arduous
duties of my office is confirmed by the best medical advice I can obtain I
must therefore beg you to consider me as desiring a renomination.1

As the unfinished business of the office will be best concluded under my
directions I propose unless you should prefer a different course to yeald
the place to my successor immediately after the next April term of the
Circuit Court. With the truest attachment Your friend & Servant

James A Hamilton

[Endorsed by AJ:] Col. Hamilton—attend to this. A. J.


1. The version in Hamilton's Reminiscences says “not to consider me as desiring a
renomination.”

**From Martin Gordon**

New Orleans 14th. December 1833,

My Dear Sir,

The contest for a Senator from this state, to fill the vacancy Occasioned
by the Death of the late Josiah S Johnston is over, and I regret to inform
you that we are defeated. The Election came on yesterday. 62 members
present; on the first Ballot.

Alexander Porter obtained 31 Votes.
Genl Joseph Walker 30 "
Colo Nicholson 1.

On the 2nd Ballot, Porter obtained 32 votes, and Genl. Walker 30. Consequently the former was elected.

This Election has terminated in the selection of one of your most
deadly and Vindictive Enimies, as a Senator from this State, a Foreigner
Foreigner, by Birth, and principal, opposed to every measure of your
administration1

I have no hesitation in saying that our defeat in this Election was pro-
duced from the circumstance of selecting the Union, and Commercial
Banks in this City, as the Depositories of the public monies; This Opinion
was freely expressed by me whilst in Washington, to our mutual friends,
Wm B Lewis and F. P. Blair Esquires—and immediately after my return to
this City confirmed to the utmost extent of my fears:2

It is a misfortune, truly to be regretted, that we have been defeated by the *strategem* and *cunning* of our political Opponents Operating on our
friends at a distance—here we could meet them with equal Weapons, but
at distant points we were unprepared and unacquainted with the means
exercised for our distruction;

- 820 -
When the information reached our City, that those two Banks had been selected as the depositories of the public funds, it was received with the utmost joy by our Opponents, and produced a despondency amongst our friends in a corresponding degree, from which we have never been enabled to recover; The very idea of selecting the Union Bank, which is acknowledged to be under the control of Henry Clay, and his immediate partizans, was humiliating indeed; but to add to our mortification still more was the selection of the Commercial Bank, The President of which is the Brother in Law of the unprincipled and worthless wretch George Poindexter, this was indeed, my Dear Sir, too much for the Republican party in this City to stand; Our Opponents exulted, and our friends were humbled by the very means which we had fondly believed would have been our support. The evil has been effected, we have been defeated, but rest assured my Dear Sir, we are not conquered.

Our mutual friend Henry Carleton Esquire will write you by this mail, and communicate some particulars respecting the situation of the Senator elect, in regard to his condition; in my humble Opinion he is not a Citizen of the United States—when the facts, on which I rest this assertion are laid before you, I apprehended you will concur with me in the Opinion; I have furnished Mr Carleton with some documents in relation to this matter which he will transmit by this mail. We so most fervently pray, that you will cause the truth of the facts to be enquired into, and if we have Patriotism and love of Country in the Senate; the individual elected as a Senator from this State, will not be permitted to take his seat, he is an Alien in every sense of the word, hostile in the extreme to every principal of Republicanism, and the willing tool of the Hero of War Pestilence and famine.

I may probably hereafter give you some particulars respecting the conduct of some of our friends in this Election, on the present Occasion I will merely mention the name of Mr John Slidell, he done all he could against us—notwithstanding his professed attachment for Mr VanBuren. Nicholson with his usual hypocrisy and dissimulations was also against us, altho, both him and Slidell professed to be with us. What a curse it is to have such Wretches amongst us. With sentiments of great regard and Esteem believe me to be truly and sincerely your friend

Martin Gordon

[Endorsed by AJ:] Martin Gordon—on the election of Senator—and the selection of the Banks at N. orleans. Deposits in those B. alledged the cause of the defeat of Genl W. Slidel & Nicholson proved treacherously to the party—to be shewn to Mr Taney. A. J.
2. On November 4, Taney had designated the Union Bank of Louisiana and the Commercial Bank as federal depositories at New Orleans. On December 16, two days after this letter, Gordon wrote to both Blair (DLC-43) and Lewis (DLC-43) denouncing the selections and complaining bitterly of the administration's failure to support its friends and heed his recommendations. He enclosed a warning against the Union Bank that he had sent to Louis McLane on December 21, 1832 (DLC-41), and asked both men to show his letters to AJ.


4. In an 1828 campaign speech against AJ, Henry Clay had famously declared that he would rather see the country visited “with war, with pestilence, with famine, with any scourge other than military rule” (Clay Papers, 7:273).

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**To Andrew Jackson Jr.**

Washington Decbr. 15th. 1833

Dear Andrew,

I am without letters from you or my dear Sarah, since the tenth ultimo; from which, I am fearful that sickness is the cause of your & her silence. Thomas & Emma with their fine boy left us yesterday morning—we wanted them to tarry with us longer, but the appearance of fine weather & their anxiety to get home hurried them on—it began to snow & blow shortly after they left us, & I fear that the poor little one & Emma must have suffered in the journey yesterday. The weather is more moderate to day, & for their sake, I hope it may continue until they get home, or reach the ohio before it freeses.

Thomas informs me, that he has made pecuniary engagements about the building of his House that he finds he is unable to comply with, being disappointed in receiving that aid from his motherinlaw which he expected, when he commenced it. I have told him, on his application to borrow two thousand dollars from me, that here I could spare no funds—that I had no certain information as to the amount of my crop or the price my cotton would command in market—that all I could do here, was to give him one hundred & fifty dollars to aid him home—that I would write you on the subject, know my means, & as far as we could, we would aid him, out of the proceeds of the cotton when sold, but he must hereafter live within his means. I sincerely feel for him, and have to request that as soon as he reaches you, that you & him will make out a bill of his debts already contracted about his house, and forward it to me, with the amount of the cotton crop of this year with the accounts against my family & farm that is to be paid out of the crop, and after I am thus furnished, I will make an estimate and relieve him as far as I can. I wish you to send me on the settlement with Mr Nichol for the last cotton sold, of last years crop, that I may examine it, & know how it has been applied. I have the old gentlemen’s account current (if you have not taken it) and the
last receipts from the sale of the cotton, was upwards of $700. I have told Thomas very candidly that I will not run myself in debt, but I will aid him as far as I can spare the means. I wish you to sell the bay gueldings sent from here, if they can be spared from the farm, and any other horses, that can be well spared, keeping all the farm mares to breed mules from, and yield Thomas as much aid in that way as you can—keeping useless horses on a farm is an eating moth, therefore I have made the suggestion to aid Thomas in meeting his debts in this way. Let me know on the receipt of this the amount of the crop of cotton—the full amount of the expense of the farm, including Pork, the overseer’s wages, bailing, & other articles for the use of the farm, and the amount of debt due by Thomas, I can then determine what aid, if any, I can afford him.

I have so often asked you to write me, often frequently without being gratified, that I shall cease to urge you—my health is not good, my labour incessant. Kiss Sarah & my dear little Rachel for me—your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (43).

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

My dear Sarah,

Your kind & affectionate letter of the 29th. ultimo, with one from Andrew of the 25th, reached me this morning. These removed my apprehensions of your being prevented from writing by sickness. I am rejoiced at the improvement of our dear little Rachel & that your health is restored and I add my prayers for the continuance of that blessing to you all. I have only time to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter and thank you for it. I wrote Andrew last night informing that Thomas & Emma & their fine boy had left us Saturday morning & soon after fell a violent snow storm which continued all day—I feel for the dear infant. All here are now well but myself & I am I believe improving & all join in kind salutations to you & the family & all connections—how I shall count the days until I can set out to visit you at the Hermitage—let me hear from you often even if it is only to say how you all are—kiss my dear little Rachel for me & believe me yr affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (43).
From Henry Dilworth Gilpin

Privat

Philad: 16 Decr. 1833

Dear Sir

In sending you a complete copy of our Memorial to Congress, I cannot deprive myself of the pleasure of adding a line. Subjected as I am to the fiercest denunciations of the partizans of the Bank, who leave untried no means to suppress the communication of truth to the people and to put down those who will not flatter and bow to them—I was indeed gratified at the result of the question of referring our memorial to the Committee of Ways & Means, by which it may be discovered whether or not all we have said is true & all we have done honourable & for the public welfare. I trust you will find leisure to read the pamphlet, and that you will think I have not only answered the gross misrepresentations of the Bank report, but taken a correct view of the nature & duties of the office I hold.

The financial distress here is excessive, occasioned by the unheard of curtailments of the Bank, which it shows no disposition to relax. Does not this prove conclusively the force of your remark in your first message that it had failed to preserve a sound and uniform state of the currency?1 If the moment the public funds are withdrawn, the power of the Bank to do this ceases, as it appears to do—it is not the Bank but the public credit which effects what the former pretends to do. Could not this view of the case be officially brought to the notice of the people in this emergency? With great respect Very truly & faithfully Your obt Svt.

H. D. Gilpin

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr Gilpin to be shewn to Col Polk—A. J. —Private—

ALS, DLC-Polk Papers (24-0522). AJ forwarded this to James K. Polk on December 18 (below). On December 9, the four government directors had memorialized Congress in response to the December 3 Bank report and resolution. Repelling charges of political interference and defending their August 19 report to AJ on expenses, they affirmed the Bank’s special character “as an organ of the Government” and their role in guarding the public interest “as officers appointed on behalf of the American people.” They charged Biddle and the board with systematically excluding them from knowledge of or participation in the Bank’s business, and with operating in violation of the public trust and the Bank’s own rules (HRDoc 12, 23d Cong., 1st sess., Serial 254). On December 13 the House of Representatives referred the memorial to the Committee of Ways and Means, chaired by James K. Polk. The Senate received and tabled it on December 16. The pamphlet version that Gilpin sent to AJ appended the government directors’ formal protest at a December 13 board meeting against their exclusion from Bank business and against the board’s rejection, that same day, of their motion to have a committee examine and report on the stationery and printing expenditures.

1. AJ’s first annual message in December 1829 said that “it must be admitted by all that it [the Bank] has failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency” (Richardson, 2:462).
To James Knox Polk

—Private—

Decbr 18th. 1833—
past 5. P. M.

My dear Sir,

I have this moment been informed that Mr Chilton, & not Mr. McDuffie, took the floor on the amendment offered yesterday to your resolution, to instruct the committee on finance or ways & means &c &c. If this be true, it offers a fair opportunity for you, to by a short reply by and giving your reasons, to call for the previous question. Mr Chilton taking the floor must have been by the permission of the mover of the amendment, as it seems to me, common comity would have yielded place to the mover. It is at once evidence of the intention to smother investigation of the conduct of the Bank, and ought to be met promply by the previous question. The time for full discussion is when the committee collect the facts, and report them to the House.1

I inclose a private letter from Mr. Gilpin, which contains something that may not be unprofitable for you to know. Yours

Andrew Jackson

1. Taney had reported his reasons for removing federal deposits from the Bank of the United States to Congress on December 3. On December 10, the House of Representatives on McDuffie’s motion committed his report to the Committee of the Whole. Polk the next day moved a reconsideration, which Kentucky congressman Thomas Chilton (1798–1854) opposed in debate (Congressional Globe, 23d Cong., 1st sess., p. 24). Polk’s motion to reconsider passed on December 17, and he then moved to commit the report instead to his Committee of Ways and Means. McDuffie moved an amendment instructing the committee to report a resolution “that the public revenue hereafter collected be deposited in the Bank of the United States, in conformity with the public faith pledged in the charter of the said bank.” The next day, December 18, the Bank’s December 9 memorial for “redress” for the deposit removal was also introduced in the House. Polk moved to commit it too to the Ways and Means Committee, and on this motion Chilton moved an amendment which, like McDuffie’s, instructed the committee to report an order restoring the deposits. Chilton gave a speech on his own amendment, extolling the Bank and excoriating AJ. To avoid procedural complications, at McDuffie’s suggestion he then withdrew his amendment, and the Bank memorial was referred on Polk’s motion to the Ways and Means Committee. After long debate, the House on February 18, 1834, shut off McDuffie’s amendment to Polk’s December 17 motion by voting the previous question and then approved the motion, sending Taney’s report also to the Ways and Means Committee without instructions. On March 4, 1834, majority and minority reports issued from the committee addressing Taney’s report, the memorials from the Bank and from the government directors, and other papers referred to it on the subject (House Journal, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 31, 53, 87–88, 90–92, 341–47, 372, Serial 253; Register of Debates, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 2207–20).
To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Decbr 22nd. 1833—

Dear Andrew,

A few days ago I forwarded to you Mr Hebbs letter agreeable to his request—at the time, I was so pressed with business, & afflicted with pain, that I did no more than inclose it to you as he had requested. From the tenor of his to me, he complained that you had left a part of the consideration agreed to be given for the sister of grace & her child unpaid, which you had promised to remit, but had failed; without mentioning the amount. I saw this with much regret, because in the first place I had understood from you, that you had, with a ballance of the price of Polly Baker, of at least, eight hundred dollars, with what I had furnished you for expences, was sufficient to pay for the wench & child, & to cover all expences home. Secondly, that if this was not the case, you would have advised me of the disposition of your money, & drew upon me for the amount that you left unpaid to Mr Hebb. This, altho heavy drafts of late have been made upon me, I should have paid it with pleasure, rather than you should have injured your credit, or that Mr Hebb should have had cause to complain of your want of punctuality—remit the amount to him forthwith, or let me know the ballance due him, and I will remit it to him—but surely you must have had a sufficient sum of the price of your mare to have paid Mr. Hebb—if you had not, you ought to have let me know it—you have now to encounter the risk of the mail, and his imputations of a failure to comply with your promise.

Why will you not my dr Andrew, attend to my admonition about your money matters—never incur debts when you have the money to discharge your contracts, and in this instance there was no necessity to have left any unpaid—you had my advice to buy the girl, and if you had not the means in cash, which I thought you had, you ought to have drew on me, notifying me thereof. Write me on the receipt of this—let me know the amount you owe Mr. Hebb; and whether you have remitted it to him, or not, and I will cause it to be paid—hereafter my son, recollect my admonitions—buy nothing that on credit when you have the cash to pay for it—buy nothing on credit that is not absolutely necessary for your comfort, or that of your family.

I have not been well of late, have been much afflicted with pain in my right shoulder & side, as well as the old complaint in my left, but am somewhat better to day. Let me hear how you & Mr Holtzclaw has settled the business of his continuing as overseer or not—Whether you have got the cotton out—the quantity, and when you will have it at Market—present my affectionate regards to Sarah & my sweet little Rachel, with a kiss, all well here & join in kind salutations to you all, to
which Genl Ward unites with his to Emma & Thomas—affectionately yrs &c\textsuperscript{1}

Andrew Jackson

P.S. Present me kindly to Mr & Mrs. Weatherall & children  A. J.

ALS, DLC (43).

1. Ward was probably New York congressman Aaron Ward (1790–1867).

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Washington 22nd. of Decbr. 1833

Some days has elapsed my dear Sarah since I had the pleasure to write you; since which, I have been much afflicted with cough & a pain in the right shoulder & side, as well as in the left—by the usual remedy, I am better, and hope the prospect we now have of better weather will relieve me.

I wish you & Andrew & my dear little pet, Rachel the joys of the season. This I shall ever be deprived of, for on this night five years gone by, I was bereaved of my dear wife, and with that bereavement, forever after the joys of Christmas, in a temporal sense.

My household all enjoy good health & unite with me in kind salutations to you & Andrew & the little pet—and to Thomas Emma & the son, to which Genl Ward wishes to be added.

Accept of my prayers for your health & happiness & that of Andrew & little Rachel, & kiss them for me, and believe me yr affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, Mary Louise Lawrence Graham (24-0572).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Sunday night Decbr. 22nd. 1833—

Dear Andrew,

This evening late I was handed by Major Barry, a Statement by his Son A M Barry, of the treatment of him by Doctors Phisic & Harris for the hip joint disease—believing as I do, that Dicks daughter Hanna has the same complaint & that the same treatment will restore her, I hasten to inclose it to you that you may submit it to Samuel & that he may examine the girl, & if he wishes a consultation he may call in Doctor Hogg.\textsuperscript{1} Mr Armstead M Barry is now quite well & I have no doubt but he will entirely outgrow the disease.

\textsuperscript{1}
I wrote you to day & expect you will receive this by the same mail that will take that of to day—with my prayers for yours Sarahs, and my sweet little Rachels health & prosperity believe me your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History (mAJs).

1. Thomas Harris (1784–1861) was a renowned Navy surgeon in Philadelphia. Samuel was AJ Jr.’s birth brother Samuel Donelson, recently graduated from medical school.

From Nicholas Philip Trist

Sunday, Decr. 22. ’33

dear Sir,

We are going to tea in a few minutes, and, by the time we rise, shall be at Memphis. If we find cotton there ready for shipment, our detention will be of a day or two: otherwise it will not be of more than half an hour. I will therefore write what I have to say, to be ready in the latter event. Among our passengers, is Young Mr. Pope of Louisville, with whom I am much pleased, and who has mentioned two things to me, which it may be important to you to know. He is one of your supporters, and, although for some years President of the Branch in Louisville, was, at that time, & still is decidedly opposed to the Bank of the U.S. 1 He stated to me, as a fact of which he had positive knowledge, (and he mentioned it as a thing which must be put a stop to, & of which the administration ought to be apprised) that the receiving officers of the govt. are in the practise of receiving notes of good banks, located within such a distance of the place of receipt as prevents their paper being under par, and exchanging those notes for notes of more distant banks which are under par at that place. Besides the habit of dishonesty which this practice is calculated to establish, it must, of course, be attended with more or less risk to the govt. It might be provided against by restricting them to the receipt of notes of specie paying banks, at the place of payment, or something of the sort. The other thing to which I had reference is this: The Cashiers of the Branches correspond with the Cashier of the Mother Bank; and the Presidents, with the President. A correspondence had taken place between Mr. P. & the Presidt. in relation to the transactions in the western country. In the investigations hitherto made, the correspondence between the Presidents has not been reached. It would be well to call for it; and sift this part of their mysteries to the bottom. Another little matter: the transaction with Webb & Noah has been vindicated as a fair business transaction; and, having Burrows’ endorsement, was so in the outset. But when the note came to maturity, it was not paid, & yet the matter was revived
without B’s endorsement: thus shewing the real spirit of the game. Mr. Pope mentioned these circumstances to me, without the remotest idea, I am satisfied, that they would be conveyed to you. It was in a common conversation with a common steam boat acquaintance; and therefore, not confidential in the strict sense of the word. But every conversation between gentlemen partakes somewhat of this character; and therefore I wish you to make what use you please of the facts; but without mentioning Mr. P’s name. Another thing:—Penn (the editor) got an accommodation from the mother Bank, for a pretty large sum, with an endorsement which could not procure for him from the Louisville Branch a twentieth part of the sum. We are now at Memphis. We did not get out of the Ohio till Saturday morning. The water too low to permit us to run at night, or to take us over the bars. We grounded on, I believe, every one of any note; and finally had to send down to Peluca for a small steam boat, in addition to the one we had in company, to lighten us.

My affectionate remembrance to Mrs. Donelson, the Majr. & Colo. Earle. With strong & sincere attachment

N. P. Trist

[Endorsed by Aj:] Mr. Trist—To be shewn to Mr Taney—for his action if necessary to controle the injurious actions of the Bank

A. J.

ALS, DLC (43).

1. Trist was on his way via New Orleans to assume his post as U.S. consul at Havana. William H. Pope (1803–1867) had been a director of the Louisville BUS branch for several years and its president in 1832.

2. As explained by James Watson Webb, Mordecai Noah, and Nicholas Biddle to a House investigating committee in 1832, Noah had borrowed from Silas Burrows in March 1831 to purchase a share in the Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer, and Burrows had then discounted Noah’s notes at the BUS to obtain cash for himself. He redeemed them in March 1832. In an entirely separate transaction, Webb had obtained a $20,000 loan for the paper from the BUS in August 1831. This note came due and was renewed, on partial payment, in February 1832 (HRRep 460, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 8–10, 75–79, 85–87, 95, Serial 227). It was later protested on February 17, 1833 (SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 2d sess., p. 314, Serial 267).


To Lewis Cass

Decbr. 23rd. 1833

The President with his respects to the secretary at war will thank him to return Genl Blair, of So. C, letter with its inclosure placed in his hands on friday last for perusal as to the barbarity of the whites on creek Indians—

AN, MiU-C (24-0573). James Blair was a South Carolina congressman.
From James Knox Polk

Private

Washington Decr. 23. 1833.

Dear Sir

Am I authorized in answer to Mr. Mc.Duffe to state; what I learned from you in private conversation, that in the original draft of your inaugural address written at the Hermitage, your opinions in regard to the U.S. Bank were fully expressed, but on reaching this City, it was deemed advisable—to reserve the expression of them, until you should make your first annual communication to Congress? In one aspect of the question—as presented by Mr Mc.D. it may be important to make this fact known, but I do not feel at liberty to do so without your permission. Yrs Very Respectfully

James K Polk

I would call up & see you but am so much engaged this evening—that I cannot conveniently.

ALS, DLC-Polk Papers (24-0574). Polk Correspondence, 2:196. AJ’s reply below, written on the back, was probably sent the same day. In a December 19 speech charging AJ with political motivations for deposit removal, McDuffie had quoted William J. Duane to show that he “‘has no fixed principles; that he does not arrive at conclusions by the exercise of reason,’ but that ‘impulses and passions have ruled’” (Register of Debates, 23d Cong., 1st sess., p. 2230).

To James Knox Polk

This for yourself as it is wrote in haste.

The President with his respects replies to Col Polk, that he understood him correctly—that the original draft of his inaugural address, was made at the Hermitage—that his views of the United States Bank there incorporated in it, and also his views of the surpluss funds that might casually arise in the Treasury. These two paragraphs, were by the advice of his friends here, both left out of the inaugural address, and were both introduced in his next annual message. It was thought that both these topics were better suited to an annual message, than an inaugural address, and thus you if necessary, may use it. Every one that knows me, does know, that I have been always opposed to the U. States Bank—nay all Banks. yours

Andrew Jackson
ALS, DLC-Polk Papers (24-0575). Polk Correspondence, 2:196–97. Polk defended AJ’s “perfect consistency” on the Bank in a December 30 speech. Rebutting the accusation that AJ had turned on the Bank only after it spurned his efforts at political control, Polk said AJ had made no secret of his opposition as early as *McCulloch v. Maryland* in 1819. He related the inaugural story as told here by AJ (*Register of Debates*, 23d Cong., 1st sess., p. 2263). Neither of the two extant drafts of AJ’s first inaugural, one of them his apparent original, mentions the Bank of the United States. They do both recommend distributing federal surplus revenue among the states, a recommendation omitted from the final text but later included in AJ’s first annual message to Congress (*Jackson Papers*, 7:74–79; Richardson, 2:451–52).

*To James Alexander Hamilton*

[This letter is extant only in a later printed version.]

WASHINGTON, December 24, 1833.

My Dear Sir:

Your letters of the 13th instant have been duly received. I sincerely regret your indisposition and the determination the counsel of your physician has induced you to adopt. Whilst I sympathize with you and your friends in the cause which induces your retiring from office, I shall sincerely feel your absence from that station which you have filled with so much honor and talent and benefit to the public interest. Go where you may for the restoration of your health, you carry with you my best wishes for its restoration, your happiness and prosperity, and that of your amiable family.

I will barely remark your commission expires on the 18th March. If you wish April to wind up your business, am I to understand that you wish a nomination to the Senate for that purpose? If so, be pleased to intimate it, and your wish will be gratified.

Please present me kindly to your amiable lady and family and your dear mother, and believe me, respectfully, Your friend,

Andrew Jackson.


*Memorandum on Deposit Removal*

[On December 26, Henry Clay introduced two resolutions in the Senate. The first said that in replacing Duane with Taney to implement deposit removal, Jackson had “assumed the exercise of a power over the Treasury of the United States, not granted to him by the constitution and laws, and dangerous to the liberties of the people.” The second declared}
Taney’s December 3 report on the reasons for deposit removal “unsatisfactory and insufficient.” This memorandum may have been drafted in response. On March 28, 1834, the Senate adopted Clay’s resolutions in modified form, in effect pronouncing a censure on Jackson. Jackson returned a formal protest on April 15, which the Senate refused to accept as a breach of privilege on May 7 (Senate Journal, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 67, 196–97, 226, 251–53, Serial 237). On January 16, 1837, after a prolonged campaign, the Senate voted to expunge the censure resolution from its official journal.

Decbr. 26th. 1833—

1rst. The Bank unconstitutional.
2nd. By the charter the Executive Branch of the Govt. the Sec. of the Treasury invested with the power to remove the deposits, & the sole judge of the propriety of doing so, and his reasons for the act to make known to Congress.
3rd. This power has been exercised by the Secretary of the Treasury Mr Crawford, without making his reasons known & when called on by Congress, justified by them. The power of the Sec. never having been doubted.
4th. Sec. Ingham with the approbation of the Executive in his correspondence with Mr Biddle asserted the same power, & assured him that it would be exercised if the conduct of the Bank made it necessary—the power was not then disputed.
5th. The sages who formed the constitution considered the State Banks the proper & safe deposits or they would have provided another—but instead of providing any other they withheld from Congress power of creating corporations of any kind leaving the State Banks as the only depositories for the funds of the Government.
6th. The conduct of the directors a violation of the charter 7 In purchase of the 3 prcents—in applying the money of the Stockholders & the U.S. States to subsiding the public presses, interfering with the purity of elections & corrupting the moralities of the people & cloathing the P. of the Bank with powers to use without limit the funds for these purposes without accountability & without vouchers.

The reasons given for the removal are sound & substantial—the funds are safe in the State Banks & all connection with this mamoth of corruption, unconstitutionally created ought to be dissolved & the deposits being removed & safe I cannot approve any bill directing their restoration

A. J.

ADS, DLC (43).
1. In 1829, then-Treasury secretary Ingham had disputed with Nicholas Biddle over management of the Portsmouth, N.H., BUS branch. Repelling Biddle’s assertion of independence from executive oversight, Ingham said that “the administration is empowered to act upon the bank in various ways,” including “in the withdrawing of the public deposits,” and added that “if it should ever appear to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Treasury that the bank used its pecuniary power for purposes of injustice and oppression, he would be faithless to his trust if he hesitated to lessen its capacity for such injury, by withdrawing from its vaults the public deposits. That such a power exists, is not more certain, than that it may be exerted for such a purpose; and the only qualification of it, [is] that the reasons for its exercise shall be reported to Congress” (HRRep 460, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 460, Serial 227).

To Moses Dawson

—Private—

Decbr. 27th. 1833—

The President with his respects to Mr Moses Dawson—agreeable to his promise he wrote to Genl Vaness & had an interview with the General him on the subject submitted to him in by your letters of the 24th. instant. The General will do everything for you, that the means will afford, and safety of the institution and propriety will permit. I have said I would give you a letter of introduction to him which you will find inclosed—he will be happy to converse with you on the subject at any time, but he fears, nothing can be finally done before six or eight days—you had better see him soon.

AN, OCX (24-0601). Washington mayor John P. Van Ness was president of the city’s Bank of the Metropolis, from which Dawson sought to borrow.

From Levi Colbert et al.

Fort Towson Decr 27th 1833

Father

We the undersigned delegation from our Nation crossed the Mississippi on the 31st October last for the purpose of looking for a country for the settlement of our Nation in conformity with our late Treaty, and under the guidance of our Agent, we came to this place, and on our arrival here we received your talk of the 24th October 1833 it was read to us by our agent, and we were glad that our father remembered us in this foreign land. Father your talk sunk deep into our hearts and it was our wish to follow your advise; Father, this is the third time that some of us has crossed the Mississippi in search of a home for our people, And we are well satisfied that there is no country here suited to our wants and condition, except in the choctaw Country or beyond the limits of the United States.1 Father, we listened to your talk, and we know that we are but a small nation and if we go beyond your protecting care under which we
have so long lived, we may fall a sacrifice to enemies, and cannot call to our aid your friendly arm to protect us; Father for this reason we listened to your talk, and hearing that our younger brothers the choctaws was to have a great meeting at this place on the 21st December we determined to await and meet them in council and try to buy a home from them for our people. Father we were told that our younger Brothers the choctaws had a large and rich country sufficient for both nations, and that they would let us have a part of it. Father, we met our choctaw brothers in council and told them that we had sold our country and that we had come to hunt a new home for our people, that we heard that they had a large country and a good one, and that if it was so we would buy some of it for our people and after three or four days Counciling the choctaws told us that they were Just settling there new country, that they did not know how large it was, but that they loved their older brothers the chickasaws And that they would not turn them out if they would come and settle with them, and be under the same laws, but that they could not sell us land. Father, we made a treaty because we wished to go to a country where we could enjoy our own laws and customs and we cannot consent to live under the laws of the choctaws.

Father, we have determined to return to our old homes and take our reservations and wait until we can see a chance to buy a home for our people. Father your red children know there situation they know that they are to suffer under the white mans laws and as soon as we can find a place to go to they will move for we know that we can not be happy And prosperous where we are.

Father, we still throw ourselves under your protecting care to whom we have never looked in vain, believing that you will still extend your protection and friendly advise to your red children.

Father, we take you by the hand and remain your dutiful children

Levi Colbert
Wm McGillry
Isaac Albersen
James Colbert
Simon Birney

And others of the chickasaw Delegation

D, DNA-RG 75 (24-0597). Levi Colbert (c1759–1834) was principal chief of the Chickasaws. On March 25, Elbert Herring had instructed Chickasaw agent Benjamin Reynolds, pursuant to the recently ratified Treaty of Pontotoc Creek, to dispatch a Chickasaw delegation west to locate a new home as soon as possible (SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, p. 624, Serial 246). A Chickasaw party escorted by Reynolds departed on October 16 and reached Fort Towson in present Choctaw County, Okla., on December 4. Reynolds sent this letter with one of his own to Herring, reporting that the Chickasaws under present leadership
and the Choctaws were unlikely to ever agree, as the Chickasaws wanted only to buy land and the Choctaws, while welcoming the Chickasaws to settle among them, would not sell. He proposed cultivating those Chickasaw family and clan leaders who were disposed to remove, in hopes that the rest would go along and the Choctaws would offer acceptable terms (DNA-RG 75).

1. Colbert had previously scouted for a western Chickasaw homeland in 1828 and 1830.
2. William McGillivray (c1754–1844), Isaac Albertson, and James Colbert (c1768–1842) were Chickasaw chiefs. Simon Burney (d. 1842) was a Colbert relation by marriage.

**From Henry Lee**

Paris—December 27th. 1833.

dear General,

When you reflect on my sincere respect and admiration for you, you may conceive the pain it causes me to say that I think you have treated me with neglect and injustice.

The printed notice, which you will find at the foot of this page has recently come into my possession. It is from the U.S. Telegraph of the 13th March 1830, and bears an official authorised stamp. It says to the world that in nominating me for the inconsiderable appointment of Algerine Consul, you acted on the assurance of others, and not from any opinion or goodwill of your own—and it protests in your name against your being held accountable for those “considerations” which had moved the Senate to reject the nomination. It makes you admit that you were very probably wrong in giving me the appointment, and the Senate in all probability right in taking it away—and it expresses on your part at least perfect indifference in regard to me and my fate. Its meaning in short is—“you may send Major Lee to the devil, so that you let me alone.” If this interpretation of the paragraph be erroneous, pray have the goodness to correct it.¹

In your letter to me by Comr. Porter in the June following, you observed, “I need not say to you the mortification I experienced on your rejection by the Senate. When you return to your country you will be advised by whom, aided by all the opposition this has been brought about. Your fellow citizens in the County of Westmoreland have addressed me upon this subject, which from their number and respectability is honourable to you and consoling to me. This is preserved.”²

It is impossible for me to reconcile this language with that of the authorized announcement in the official paper. But separated by a wide ocean from the theatre on which you were acting, I will not trust to my own imperfect judgment, and I beg the favour of you therefore to teach me how they can be made to agree.
I had a conversation with Mr Van Buren in London on my rejection. It was introduced by himself, and though he did not acquaint me with character of the official notice, he informed me in substance that there had been some idea of publishing the testimonials in my favour (which, had it been done and had the address of my generous fellow countrymen been included, could not have failed to revive my gasping reputation) but that it was discovered it would paint Mr Livingston cheek with shame, and it was out of tenderness for him forborne.

Again, this authorized paragraph, evidently gave the lead which Phil Barbour followed, and which so incensed and mortified me, that I mentioned my disgust at it in a letter to you, and made it the occasion of renouncing all claims to the patronage of “an administration which had given me a mark of its confidence.” But I was wrong in believing blaming Mr Barbour; he saw the President withdrawing in a formal notification, from all concern or accountability about my nomination, and as a courtier if not as a politician he was right to disclaim having had any concern in it himself. Further, this official notice, proved that I was totally mistaken in supposing I owed the appointment (contemptible as it really was when compared with the weight of my recommendations) to the favour or confidence of the administration; for it expressly and earnestly assures the world I owed it solely to “the conspicuous public men” who advised it. My renunciation was therefore was made on a grievous misapprehension of facts, and if it was taken literally, and could be fairly considered binding, may now that I am better informed be fairly revoked. Accordingly I do hereby expressly revoke it, and I request that you will consider me as standing in the position in which I was placed by your letter of which an extract is above cited.

Encouraged by the kind and emphatical language of that letter, and by it alone, I requested in reply to it, to be made the bearer of the treaty which was to receive the ratification of the Porte. My request which could hardly be thought presumptuous, was however worse than vain. It was treated with the contempt of silence. Months succeeded months, seasons followed seasons, years have rolled away—but that silence continues unvaried. The trifling employment was given to another, upon whom a higher honour was accumulated, and who had been thrust into the place made vacant by my official murder before my mangled body was buried.

Who is this Mr Livingston out of tenderness for whose blushes, you suffered a proceeding to be withheld, and truth to be suppressed, which could not have failed to prove “honourable to me and consoling to my friends”? He is known to have committed an act which in reference to a case of less magnitude and less atrocity you have yourself in a solemn sentence declared unfit the perpetrator “to associate with the sons of chivalry and honour.” He is also known to have poached in the ample field of the Code Napoleon, and there to have collected a clever system of Laws which he
sold to the State of Louisiana. He did not run away when he had you to back him in the plains of N. Orleans. He is further known to have procured by certain wearisome and vapid speeches in Congress, that sort of reputation, which diluted dulness is sure to acquire at Washington. You are aware that he first advised you to nominate me, and ate his letter of advice as a dog eats his vomit, and then voted for the rejection of the nomination which he had persuaded you to make. For this double injury and barefaced dishonour he could have had no reason, as he told Mr Leveti Harris here, that I had “fallen a victim to an intrigue of Tazewell’s.” This is the man whom you have selected as a specimen of American integrity and sent to salute the chivalry of Gaul. This is the man whom you have surfeited with office; whom you have allowed while he held the most important station in your gift at home, with an indecent voracity, to keep another open for himself abroad—to bestow a subordinate but not a dependent one in the dower of his daughter; and with an odious nepotism to engrat upon his brother in law two incompatible employments. It is a pity you did not complete the work of favouritism by making Livingston Secretary of the Treasury. It would have been a capital consummation for an old defaulter. And it would have shewn to advantage the intrepidity of your confidence, in setting the fox to take care of the goose. At present this modest Livingston concern in Europe, represented by the trinity of the father, the son in law, and the brother in law, holds four distinct appointments, with more than 15,000 dollars of salary, and about as much of outfit—two of them when they ought to be in the United States, figuring in France to prove, in spite of all high sounding declarations, that we will either ask what is not right or take what is wrong—and the third amusing himself in Italy, when he is paid for being in Holland. One would suppose that our constitution required as many offices as possible to be centered in the same family—especially when it could be proved that the head of it had run off with a large sum of public money, and could also be proved that those persons, who like myself, had supposed time and circumstances had been able to improve his character were mistaken. But this is no business of mine more than of any other citizen of the United States. I will confess however when I recollected how much you were mortified at my rejection; that the mission to Naples was a case in which the Senate if inclined could not have interfered; that I had asked for just such employment, and was at Paris; that Davezac was already in full pay and duty in Holland, and to get to Naples had to come first to Paris. I thought it strange that you did not take that occasion of shewing some slight feeling of favour to me, and of your disposition to rescue me from the effect of the Senate proceeding which you described in your letter of June 1830, as “worse than the Spanish inquisition”.

While I was musing on this unpleasant subject I was greeted in the course of last summer with the unexpected intelligence that Robinson the
person who next to Livingston and in proportion to his means had been most infamously concerned in the rejection of my nomination was taken into pay and favour. Having been by this time somewhat inured to slight and mortification by your indifference to my application from Mahon, and its aggravation by my postponement to Davezac, I was able with the assistance of that contempt which the character of Robinson inspires, to hear of this act of disregard for my feelings without much of other sentiment than disdain. I began to reflect on the treatment I had experienced from the day of your first inauguration, and this natural process the notice in the Telegraph, which I have lately received, disposed me to continue. Seeing how my friends had acted towards me, I asked myself how my enemies would have behaved. This was the course of my reflections. “In case Mr Adams had been elected instead of Genl Jackson, and I had submitted to him the strong body of recommendations which I handed to Genl Jackson, there cannot be a doubt, that with the desire he and Mr Clay would have felt to detach from General Jackson a supporter, or to banish a foe of themselves; to gratify the powerful persons who recommended me, and to make a show of magnanimity in forgetting an enemy in a disposition to respect the memory of a revolutionary officer, he would have sent my name, for so inconsiderable an appointment, to the Senate. Had it been rejected, even without his connivance, there can be as little doubt that with indecent haste, and as if he had my successor ready provided, he would have supplied the vacancy by a fresh nomination. Further, supposing his disregard for my feelings to be uncommonly savage, he would have promptly announced in his official journal that it was “gratifying to know that the president” had not been personally concerned in my nomination, had acted on the assurance of others altogether, and was therefore not answerable for the considerations which had induced the Senate to reject me. Had I been assured by Mr Adams that he was greatly mortified at my miscarriage, and by such appearances of interest and sympathy had been decoyed to ask merely to be sent as the bearer of a treaty, for the temporary object of obtaining its ratification; in case Mr Adams’s enmity had been remarkably cold and malignant, he would have received my request with silent derision. On the supposition that there was art as well as fury in his hatred, that he remembered my exertions in favour of his rival and was maliciously determined on vengeance, he would have completed the work of injury with insult, and by distinguishing with patronage the persons chiefly instrumental in my downfall, would have forced me to see, in their exaltation and favour, the depth of my own calamity and disgrace.” Such is the way I reflected my bitterest enemy would have acted; and I will leave it to you to say if he could have done worse.

In the mean time I have received from yourself directly, as well as through Major Lewis, assurances of the continuance of your private friendship. But I have reflected what the public would think, and have
been apprehensive they would infer that I held a place neither in your recollection nor favour. They would it seems to me naturally observe that through the wilderness of conjecture you had opened a trace, from which no traveller could wander—that you had blazed it on one side with honours to Livingston, and notched it on the other with favour to Robinson, and in the centre had marked it with a long furrow of neglect to me. They would say, “who can doubt it leads to scornful indifference; who can hesitate to believe that the President has ratified and riveted the Senate’s veto.” The letters of several of my friends shew that this reflection was not unnatural.14

While I was thus ruminating on the sad aspect of my feelings and fortune, I received in July last a letter from Major Lewis in which he said—“The General requests me to say he thinks you had better come home, and that he hopes it will be in his power still to do something for you notwithstanding the Senate’s veto.”15 This I felt as the unkindest cut of all. To compare small things with great, it was like George the 4th—when he heard Napoleon was dying at St Helena in consequence of his cruelty, sending him word that his gracious Majesty regretted much to learn that General Bonaparte was indisposed!16 Of course before the royal sorrow could reach its pretended object, the betrayed and insulted victim was dead. It seemed to say—“now that I have refused to do anything for you in Europe,17 when I might have done it without neglecting any body else, and without being obstructed by the opposition of the Senate, I advise you to leave your work in Paris and take a voyage across the Atlantic, in hope that should an opportunity offer I may do something for you in America.” The precise date of it had nothing to soothe me. It told me you had gratified my highest and lowest enemies, and then thought by the involuntary suggestion of contrast, about me; and for fear I should “stink in the nostrils” of Livingston the peculator, required me to cross the sea and endure the effluvia of the beast Robinson.

Under all previous mortifications I had remained silent because without self-abasement I could not allude to a subject which you had neglected to notice; but this strange message removed all restraint of the kind, and I wrote to18 Major Lewis in reply expressing surprise, and with some warmth of feeling, the sense I entertained of the treatment I had been subjected to. He thought my letter might give you pain, and considering it was not written for the purpose, declined shewing it to you. This I am glad of, as for you are the last man living to whom I would wish to give pain, as you are the last man living from whom I expected to receive it. I substitute therefore this letter for that, and to confirm the responsibility, if there be any in speaking the truth, to myself alone, address it directly to yourself.

To escape from the conviction that I have been subjected by you to ill treatment, I have sometimes thought you might have doubted my capacity for such appointments as you would have been willing to offer me. But
I have been hedged in by the certainty that you could not consider me inferior to Mr Vail or Mr Niles, or Mr Daniel, whose only claim to be a successor to Pinkney consists in the stern fact and the modest dignity of his refusal—or to that other darling whom you fished up from the desk of a dead Miser, and the bottom of the Philadelphia bar, to place in the seat which once was filled by Alexander Hamilton! But scarcely has this admirable son of a honourable venerable sire been enclasped in your official embraces, before the Globe of the 19th. November announced to the world, what the world knew very well before, “that he was totally unfit for the station to which he had been elevated.” I had “authority” as well as example therefore for supposing, without refering to your first Cabinet, that no fastidiousness on the score of talents had averted your eyes from me.¹⁹

Major Lewis thinks I have been remarkably well treated; assures me that you told Robinson in his presence that “Dr. Rose for the part he took in defeating my nomination deserved to have a millstone tied around his neck and thrown into the middle of the Potowmac, and that those who were concerned with him deserved no better treatment.” Now as the word those must have included Robinson himself, your conduct and language to this person, seem almost as irreconcilable as your language and conduct to me. “You have behaved Sir so infamously to Major Lee that you richly deserve to be drowned like a sheep killing dog, and therefore I shall consent to your being employed as a clerk in the War office, although I know you are neither fit nor wanting for the place, and although by so doing, I shall aggravate the injury you did to Major Lee of whom I call myself the friend.”

Major Lewis, who seems to be of opinion that it was very natural as you pronounced Robinson fit for the gallows, that you ought to honour him with place and pay, further assures me, that if I have appeared to be neglected it was only by inadvertance, and in appearance, not in reality;²⁰ and that you speak of me “in the most affectionate terms.” He forgets that neglect and the likeness of neglect are one and the same thing—neglect being not positive injury but the likeness of it; and that continued inadvertence is advertence. If a man who is accounted your friend, treads on your toes on one occasion, you may well suppose it to be an inadvertence; but if on all occasions he treads on your toes, and is at the same time particularly attentive to your particular enemies, I defy you to imagine that he does it unintentionally.

As to the “affectionate terms,” they both gratify and flatter me. But still, as actions are more significant than words, if you will make me Minister at Paris or London or even an inferior place, you may withhold the affectionate terms, and may even say in the presence of major Lewis or the immortal Robinson, that I deserve to have a millstone tied around my neck and thrown into the middle of the Potowmac; more especially if you
will make my nephew Secretary of Legation, and pay my brother handsomely for staying at one place and going to another at the same time.

Take away from Livingston his offices, lopp off the odious nepotism which shoots in foul suckers around him, write him an encouraging and emphatical letter, and then keep him for three or four years on cool neglect, and a strict regimen of “affectionate terms”; blistering him all the while with attention and favour either lavishly conferred or quietly bestowed on his principal enemies; and then ask him how he relishes your course of treatment. If he will tell you he is greatly pleased, I will swear that I am highly delighted at the manner in which I have been dealt with.

To come to the point—I think you ought to have done something for me if you could—that at any rate as you could have sent me to Naples, you should in justice if not in kindness have done so—and that your neglect, gives me now a stronger right to expect that you will do something for me, even than your letter by Comre. Porter did. I know it may be said, there is a stain on my reputation which may create obstructions that I alone am accountable for, and that you are not bound to encounter. But this was known to you before you gave me the appointment from which I was ejected, and before you wrote me the letter by Comre. Porter reprobating any reference to that as an act of cruelty and injustice, not inferior to the atrocities of the Spanish inquisition. Besides the character of Mr Jefferson, whose persevering attempt of 14 years upon the wife of his friend exceeds my transgression in moral guilt, let who will compare them, is the object of your especial homage; and you have endowed Livingston with half the Republic, whose conduct was such as to exclude him according to your own promulgated rule, from association with the sons of chivalry and honour. I cannot think therefore you are entitled to abandon me, though a secret enemy or a lukewarm friend, might endeavour to prevail on you to do so. Mr Niles it seems has lately been nuzzling about Washington for the Consulate here. He told me Mr Blair said there was a thought of sending me to Egypt as Chargé d’affaires, Major Lewis writes me as executive agent only I suppose it probable that the Egyptian expedition in any shape is very unlikely to happen and that Mr Niles was kind enough to mention it to me, with a view of keeping my eyes off of the Paris Consulate. As you yourself referred to the subject, of doing something for me, I hope there is no indelicacy in my answering that I should be pleased to go to Egypt as Chargé d’affaires but should prefer being Consul here (if Mr Brent does not come out) to being sent to Egypt as executive agent only It may be great presumption in me to compete with Mr Niles who is backed by Mr Rives, though I am not yet perfectly convinced that your friends ought to be postponed to the friends of persons who were once your enemies. My qualifications if good for any thing are equal to those of Niles, and he lost his office by its natural death; I was
ejected from mine most violently. Yet I shall not be disappointed if I am put aside for Mr Niles.\textsuperscript{23}

Mr Rives was among the persons who recommended my appointment to Algiers. He will probably suppose me fit for the mission to Egypt or the Consulate here; and as two Livingstons would be too much for one age, it may be presumed that with the Westmoreland address, which has been so closely preserved he would support my nomination in either case. Seeing that you were not disposed to ratify their former injustice, the Senate would hardly think it worth while again to interfere in a matter of such little consequence. Mr Niles told me he had conversed with an opposition Senator on the subject who said he should not vote against me. He did not mention the name, nor did I enquire it.

Before finishing this letter allow me to say that I think as I long have done of your character, your achievements, your inflexible patriotism and devoted sense of duty; I remember your silver locks and the garlands of martial and civic honour with which they are justly crowned—my enthusiasm as a citizen disposes me to keep buried in silence my discontents as a man but for the thought that it is you by whom I have been unjustly neglected. Could I dislike or despise you I should be comparatively easy.

Should this representation also be neglected should a studied and ostentatious indifference be again observed a sense of injury may at last overpower the sentiments which I have so ardently cherished, and I shall fall like a tree, which after standing long against the whetted axe, trembles to and fro in the uncertain air; feels the last stroke; quivers through all its branches; and is hurled to the ground.

If I thought the truth would in this case offend you, my feelings are so deeply and rightfully concerned that I should not suppress it. But you cannot expect me to be dumb, to be torpid, while a hand which has often been in friendship extended to me is infixing the bolts of private malice and of public scorn, deeper and deeper, into my prostrate character and excruciated feelings. You can scarcely wish while you are kindling around me a circle of fire, and making every word I ever uttered in your vindication or praise fuel to exasperate the heat, and inflame the torment, that I should remain as silent as you were upon receiving my letter from Mahon.

In what I have said about Robinson let me not be understood to deprecate in itself your bounty to him. That he has abused and begged you at the same time I know; but he can never be made an object of more than contempt to me.\textsuperscript{24} A brute by instinct though a man in form, he is naturally to be avoided, by rational beings. But where gentlemen have a taste for caressing such animals I have no taste for interfering with their amusements. He is said to be poor, his family are not like himself in all human probability; and therefore if the ignominy which his adoption reflects on my neglect, be removed, I shall be glad to hear that both he and Dr Rose have employment. If I could entertain other sentiments in such a case, par-
particularly as my wife has the misfortune to be related to these persons, and as the mother of Dr Rose is poor, and being his mother is not fortunate; I should furnish an instance of meanness which has not yet been discovered in the wide compass of human nature; not even in the conduct of the man upon whom you have showered the torrent of your favour, nor in the character of the person upon whom you have shed the dews of your forgiveness. I remain dear General still your attached friend.

H. Lee

8. AJ wrote here: “The records prove this to be false.” Livingston had eventually discharged his debts. His son-in-law Thomas P. Barton was his secretary of legation at Paris, and his brother-in-law Auguste Geneviève Valentin Davezac (1780–1851) was the U.S. chargé d’affaires to the Netherlands. Davezac had been despatched to Naples at the beginning of the year to try to negotiate a commercial treaty.

9. AJ wrote here: “this is also knowingly false.” Livingston’s annual salary as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary was $9,000. Davezac’s as chargé was $4,500, and Barton’s as secretary was $2,000. Ministers and chargés also received one-time payments equal to their annual salaries for outfits.

10. AJ wrote here: “Would the Major have gone without salary, D. got no addition.”

11. Lee’s July 26 letter to William B. Lewis quoted AJ as writing: “When you return to your country I think there will be ample room for your genius and your pen to correct the abuses of the Senate, and convert it from a worse than Spanish Inquisition, to what it aught to be the preserver of moral character” (ViHi).

12. William Robinson had been appointed a War Department clerk in April.

13. AJ wrote here: “I never buy support, and from the above expose altho all my acts of friendship was pure, I did not until now, know that yours were all Mercenary.”

14. AJ wrote next to this paragraph: “Robeson never was appointed by me—he shews just such a front as the confidential letters recd. in Tennessee now unfolds—”

15. Lee had quoted Lewis’s language back to him in his July 26 letter: “To prevent misconception I quote from your letter the whole passage—‘I shew the president your letter and he requested me to say to you that he thought you had better come home, and that he hoped it would be in his power still to do something for you, notwithstanding the senate’s veto’” (ViHi).

16. As reported in Walter Scott’s 1827 The Life of Napoleon Buonaparte, British secretary of state Henry Bathurst had instructed the governor of St. Helena shortly before Napoleon’s death in 1821 to tell him of King George IV’s “great interest . . . in the recent accounts of his indisposition, and the anxiety which his Majesty feels to afford him every relief of which his situation admits” (Edinburgh, 9 vols., 9:291).

17. AJ wrote here: “This is not true there was no time I could do any thing for him in Europe. To have sent him to Naples he must went to Senate.”

18. AJ wrote here: “I never heard of this letter—”

19. AJ wrote here: “Duanes capacity was vouched for by as tousing talents as Major Lees.” Nathaniel Niles had been appointed secretary of legation at Paris in 1830 and for six months in 1832–33 was acting chargé. Peter V. Daniel had recently declined the attorney generalship, held from 1811 to 1814 by William Pinkney (1764–1822). Duane, son of “venerable sire” William Duane, had been the lawyer for late banker Stephen Girard. The Globe on November 19 said that Duane’s faithlessness and “exhibition of bad feelings” had made him “TOTALLY UNFIT FOR THE STATION TO WHICH HE HAD BEEN ELEVATED.”

20. AJ wrote here: “his name I could not return to the senate as his moral character had been made the cause of rejection.”

21. AJ wrote here: “Naples he could not have been sent to without going before the senate.”

22. Jefferson had been accused of, and in part had confessed to, illicitly pursuing Elizabeth Moore Walker, the wife of his friend John Walker, from about 1768 to 1779.


24. William Robinson had solicited various offices from AJ. On December 8, 1830, John A. Parker had reported to AJ that Robinson had abandoned the administration to become a “thorough going oppositionist” and “appeared to take pleasure in abusing the President and his cabinet, said it was decidedly the weakest, most corrupt, and electioneering Administration that we had ever had” (Jackson Papers, 8:682–83).
25. Rose’s mother was Ann Washington Robinson Rose (c1778–1860), William Robinson’s sister.

From James Alexander Hamilton

New York Decr. 28th 1833

My dear Sir.

I had the honor yesterday to receive your very flattering and friendly letter of the 24th Instant.

In reply to that part of it in which you express a readiness to renominate me I am bound frankly to say that I do not think the object (continuing in office for a month or six weeks after my term expires to wind up the business) of sufficient importance to induce such a measure and as I could not advise it to be done in the case of an other, I cannot wish it in my own.

When I intimated a disposition to continue my duties until the end of the April Term of the Circuit Court I was influenced purely by a regard for the Public Interests under an impression that the suits I had conducted and particularly those I had argued with success in the Court below would be better tried by me than by my successor, and that this could be done by my holding over; the same end can however be attained by my giving him my assistance which I will most cheerfully do.

I remain my dear Sir with the truest attachment your friend & Servant,

James A Hamilton


To John Donelson Coffee

Washington Debr. 30th. 1833—

My Dr. Sir,

I received your letter recommending your friend in Florence as a fit person to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of young Mr Savage. Col McKinley had recommended another whose claims the Col insisted could not be well set aside to give way to the Gentleman presented by you & others, of which I presume the Col has explained to you. The recommendations are on file & when a fit opportunity offers your recommendation will not be overlooked.¹

I have just recd. a letter from my dear Mary Hutchings, from whom I learn that your mother & all her amiable family enjoy health—present me to her & the family kindly, with my best wishes for their health and happiness—present me to Mary and Andrew Hutchings kindly and assure
mary that I will reply to her kind and affectionate letter the first moment of leisure I have.²

I have to crave your attention to a small piece of business for me. On the 6th. of February 1832, your dear father wrote me, giving a detailed account of Andrew J. Hutchings affairs, and of mine, and how the money due me from Mr. Griffin which had been collected, had been applied, stating that the ballance of the money recd. from Mr Griffin say $120.40 he had left with Messhrs. P. F. Pearson & Co and taken their note to (you) me for the amount with interest to be paid at any time & way, I may direct. Your father in said letter states, “I also hold the note of P. F Pearson & Co to you (which I cancelled Wm. S. Fultons note for) payable on the first day of august next for the sum of $600.³ Will you please to inform me whether these notes are in your, or in whose possession they are; the amount of principle & interest due thereon; and enquire whether it would be convenient for Mr P. F Pearson & Co to have the amount deposittted to my credit in the Union Bank at Nashville, or the U States Branch at Nashville, on the 1rst. day of May next, as I expect to have a call for funds there against that day. I will thank you to have this arrange-ment made for me, if it can with convenience, and inform me of the same. and on the arrangement being made I authorise you to deliver up the notes to be cancelled.

You will confer an obligation on me by giving me as early as you can, information whether the arrangement proposed will meet with the approbation of Mr Pearson & Co, and with their convenience.

I hope, if life lasts, & providence permitting, to visit your mother & her dear family, & Hutchings and Mary, next Summer and spend with you a few days.

I would be happy my young friend to hear from you & the family often. Whilst your dear father lived I had a stedfast & dear friend & con-stant correspondent—since he has left us your family has become more dear to me, and I feel it a duty, as far as I have the power, to act toward you all, a fathers part. Believe me your affectionate uncle

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THi (24-0686).

1. William Forbes Savage (c1810–1836), appointed land office receiver for the Mississippi Chickasaw cession in March, had resigned. AJ nominated William Edmondson to replace him in January 1834.

2. AJ wrote Mary Hutchings on January 12, 1834.

3. The quotation from Coffee’s letter ends here (Jackson Papers, 10:79–80). AJ had written John Coffee about the Griffin debt on March 16 (above). William Savin Fulton had borrowed from AJ in 1826 to buy land in Alabama.
Memorandum on Deposit Removal

[On December 26, Virginia lawyer and legislator Chapman Johnson (1779–1849) chaired a public meeting at Richmond reportedly attended by 366 citizens. The meeting unanimously adopted resolutions, offered by Benjamin W. Leigh, that condemned removal of the deposits as “a palpable breach of the public faith,” “a violation of the constitution and the laws of the United States,” and an “arbitrary and dangerous measure” (National Intelligencer, January 1, 1834). Jackson probably penned this memorandum within a few days after.]

Chapman Johnstons & B. W Leigs resolutions. The President in ordering a removal of deposits has violated the constitution &c &c &c—

These are the same gentlemen who on the seminole question charged Genl Jackson with usurping power & violating the constitution & pending the canvass for President made such a conspicuous denunciation of him—both of which have been shown, as the present will be a tirade of falsehood & false colourings. Where were these champions of the constitution when Mr Crawford was Secretary of the Treasury and who with the advice of the President removed the deposits whenever necessary for the public welfare that they were silent & and did not, from their watchtower, proclaim these acts of Mr Monroe & Mr Crawford these acts violations of the constitution & acts of usurpation, those flagrant violations of the constitution—with have been on all occasions charged by Algernon Sidney Chapman Johnston & Henry Clay.1 The constitution of the U States & charter of the Bank under the administration of Mr Monroe & Mr Crawford meant one thing—under the administration of Andrew Jackson quite another thing

By the unfounded denunciation of Mr Leigh Henry Clay & Chapman Johnston all acts of Andrew Jackson are unconstitutional. The removal of the deposits by Mr Crawford by the advice of Mr Monroe were all right & proper agreeable to the Bank charter the constitution and the powers given to the Executive Department under it. But now, the same powers being exercised by Andrew Jackson President & his Secretary of the Treasury are acts of usurpation & a violation of the constitution

Will these Gentlemen explain when that instrument was altered—or point to the particular section that has been violated by the P. & S. should they not shew this, the virtuous people will conclude that these charges now, as formerly, are based in falsehood & malice, a little of arising from the old Federal leaven.

AD, DLC (43).

1. Johnson had drafted the address of a January 1828 Virginia anti-Jackson convention which declared AJ “altogether unfit for the Presidency” and condemned his illegal, arbitrary, insubordinate, and wantonly vicious actions in the New Orleans and Seminole campaigns.
(Proceedings of the Anti-Jackson Convention [Richmond, 1828], pp. 17–19). Leigh had published five letters signed “Algernon Sidney” in the Richmond Enquirer from December 1818 to February 1819. They charged AJ with “a succession of offences against all the rules of military discipline, against the constitution . . . , and against the laws of nature and nations,” citing especially his imposition of martial law at New Orleans and his seizure of Spanish bastions and execution of captives in the 1818 Seminole campaign. In 1830 they were published as The Letters of Algernon Sidney, in Defence of Civil Liberty and Against the Encroachments of Military Despotism. Henry Clay had condemned AJ’s conduct of the Seminole campaign in the House of Representatives in January 1819.

To William Berkeley Lewis

Dr. Sir,

I have just recd. the inclosed & send it for your perusal. The writer speaks as a friend, but now adays, such words are used some times to deceive. If you write him, you can refer to this letter, & assure him, that neither myself, or Cabinet, or officers, as far as I have the knowledge or controle, engage in electioneering; that, we leave it to the people, where it rightfully belongs—yours

Andrew Jackson

P.S. Altho the writer speaks as tho well acquainted with me, I do not recollect him

ALS, NN (21-1236). An unknown party has penciled “1833” on the letter and envelope.
Calendar, 1833

Jan 1 From Robert Robertson Hunter. ALS and ALS duplicate, DNA-RG 59 (T239-3). Requests a leave of absence as consul at Cowes. Approved by AJ Feb 21.


Jan 1 From Francis Hudson Wathen. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (M221-113). Asks AJ’s aid in obtaining pay for his 1803 Army service. Referred by AJ to Cass that “the pittance due may be paid to the old soldier.”

Jan 1 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Francis Preston Blair. ALS, NjP (mAJs). Conveys AJ’s request that the Globe run a piece opposing nullification but favoring tariff reduction.

Jan 2 To Mary Ann Eastin Polk.


Jan 2 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1302). Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:294. Withdraws Joshua Tayloe’s nomination as customs collector at Ocracoke, N.C.

Jan 2 From Anthony Butler.

Jan 2 From John Catron.

Jan 2 From Morton A. Waring. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-25). Asks the cause of his removal as marshal in South Carolina.

Jan 2 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports against defaulting naval purser William P. Zantzinger’s appeal of his accounts.
Jan 2 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits copies of the 1833 naval register for the Senate.

Jan 3 To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (21-1315). HRDoc 129, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 1 (Serial 235); Richardson, 2:609. Transmits Livingston’s Dec 26 and 22, 1832, requests for funds to refund discriminating tonnage duties on ships of reciprocating nations and to satisfy a Swedish claim for losses suffered through the warship Erie’s improper seizure of a vessel at St. Bartholomew Island in 1828.


Jan 4 To James Page, Antony Laussat, and Benjamin Mifflin. Draft, DLC (73). New-Hampshire Gazette, Jan 22, 1833 (mAJs). Thankfully declines an invitation to celebrate the 8th of January with the Democratic Hickory Club No. 1 of Philadelphia.

Jan 4 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1321). Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:294–95; Richardson, 2:609–10. Transmits the record of the Chickasaw negotiations of 1830 and 1832 as requested by the Senate on Dec 28, 1832.


Jan 4 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (21-1318). LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). Requests approval of Potawatomi reservation locations in Indiana under an 1828 treaty.

Jan 4 From William A. Houston. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-83). Requests an Army disability pension.


Jan 4 Remission of penalties against John Van Buren and his Dutch ship Jaffrau Jeannette for carrying more passengers than allowed by law. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-1323; T967-1).


Jan 5 From John Coburn.


Jan 5 From Edward Livingston. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0032). Draft,
NjP (mAJs). Submits lists of sitting and former congressmen receiving executive appointments since Mar 3, 1825.

Jan 5 Order of release for prisoner Joseph Goddard and remission of his fines and costs for assault and battery. LC, DNA-RG 59 (T967-1).

Jan 6 From Sidney Fayette Chapman. 13
Jan 6 From Henry Lee. 14
Jan 6 From John S. Lewright. 15
Jan 7 To Lewis Cass. 17
[cJan 7] To [Thomas Ritchie]. 17
Jan 7 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Francis Preston Blair. 18


Jan 7 From William Carroll. 19
Jan 7 From Johnson Cook. ALS, THer (21-1372). Applauds AJ’s presidency and asks his aid in procuring payment of his Revolutionary pension arrears.


Jan 7 From John Reynolds. ALS, DNA-RG 75 (21-1361). Recommends approving the LeClair brothers’ sale of their treaty reservations near Rock Island.

Jan 7 From John Slidell. 20
Jan 7 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 24

Jan 7 Order to pay Thomas M. Blount $70 for prosecuting the murderers of Vincennes sailor Christopher Pearl in an 1831 Pensacola riot. ANS, DNA-RG 217 (M235-720).

Jan 7 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Edward Livingston. 21
Jan 7 Stephen Pleasonton to Louis McLane. ADS, DNA-RG 26 (21-1348). Submits Clifford Belden’s complaint that the winning bid to build the Port Clinton, Ohio, lighthouse was submitted late. Contract upheld by AJ.

Jan 7 Joel Roberts Poinsett to [Louis McLane?]. 22
Jan 8 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 24

Jan 8 From William Ramsay. LS, DNA-RG 45 (M148-81). Asks that senior Navy lieutenants be promoted to commander. Referred by AJ to Woodbury for report.

From Thomas Underwood. NS, DNA-RG 59 (21-1384). Submits testimony supporting his claim of innocence of fraud.


From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Francis S. Haggerty’s midshipman’s warrant for signature.


From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Submits a report on the movement of troops to Fort Moultrie.

From Martin Van Buren. 25

From Levi Woodbury. 26

Pardon and release for Thomas Underwood on his payment of costs, upon new evidence of his innocence of pension fraud. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-1381; T967-1).


To Lewis Cass. AN, MiU-C (21-1395). Asks to see his reply to Mr. Jones.

To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (21-1398). HRDoc 42, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 1 (Serial 233); Richardson, 2:610. Transmits the report on the survey of Ohio’s northern boundary.


From Jesse Roe Burden et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-7). Pennsylvania state senators recommend Benjamin Evens for consul at Leghorn, Italy.

From Edward Livingston. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-1397). Reports on State Department contingent expenses for the fourth quarter of 1832.

From John Weida et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-7). Pennsylvania legislators recommend Benjamin Evens for consul at Leghorn, Italy.


From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Reports on efforts to apprehend the Sac and Fox murderers of William Martin, as requested by John Reynolds.

From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Presents two copies of the 1833 naval register.
Jan 12  From William Chase Barney.  28
Jan 12  From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Encloses treaties with the Kickapoos and other Indians for submission to the Senate.
Jan 12  From James Jackson. ALS, DLC (41). Londoner praises AJ and America’s system of government, condemns nullification, and explains his lineage and possible relation to AJ.
Jan 12  From Maunsel White.  29
Jan 12  Check to Jane Abbot for $26.42¼ for Emily T. Donelson’s account. DS, DLC (41).
[Jan 12]  Check to Darius Clagett & Co. for $96.49 for Emily T. Donelson’s account. DS, DLC (58; 21-1406).
Jan 12  Check to Samuel Swartwout for $52.50 for hats and feathers purchased by Mrs. Livingston in New York for Emily T. Donelson. DS, DLC (41).
Jan 13  To Martin Van Buren.  30
Jan 13  From Robert Minns Burton.  32
Jan 14  To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1430). Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:300; Richardson, 2:610. Transmits treaties with the Kickapoos and other tribes for Senate advice and consent.
Jan 14  From George Colbert et al.  34
Jan 14  From Leonard Shryock Johns.  36
Jan 14  From Henry Lee. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-75). Asks that George F. Brown be excused for mistakenly trying to draw on the contingent fund for his expenses as U.S. consular agent at Algiers.
Jan 14  Edmund Christian to Eugene Aaron Vail. LS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0339). Asks how to compute pardoned prisoner Thomas Underwood’s court costs and warns that he is insolvent and unable to pay. AJ orders procuring a bill of costs on Jan 16.
Jan 15  From William Drayton.  37
Jan 15  From David Mitchell Saunders.  37
Jan 15  From David Lowry Swain. LC, Nc-Ar (21-1441). Transmits resolutions of the North Carolina legislature opposing nullification.
Jan 15  Check for $914 to cover AJ Jr.’s draft in favor of Harry R. W. Hill. DS, DLC (42).
Jan 15  Note of $7.00 paid to Mr. Shelton for carpentry. DS, DLC (42).
[cJan 15]  Table comparing the Oct 20, 1832, Treaty of Pontotoc with the Chicksaws’ Nov 22 proposed substitute. D, DNA-RG 75 (T494-2). Endorsed “Indian Treaty C.” by AJ.
Jan 16  To the United States Congress.  40
Jan 16  To Joel Roberts Poinsett.  
To the United States Senate. Draft, DNA-RG 59 (21-1561). Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:300; Richardson, 2:632. Transmits correspondence relating to negotiation of the claims convention with the Two Sicilies, and asks that those parts critical of its government not be printed.

Jan 16  From John Campbell. LC, DNA-RG 50 (21-1445). Asks to have chief clerk Peter G. Washington appointed acting Treasurer during his illness.


Jan 16  From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Submits licenses for smelting lead ore on public lands in the Galena district.

Jan 16  From Gideon Lee. ALS draft, N (21-1446). Recommends Maurice Power for a consulate in southern Europe.


Jan 16  From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Submits licenses for smelting lead ore on public lands in the Galena district.

Jan 16  From Gideon Lee. ALS draft, N (21-1446). Recommends Maurice Power for a consulate in southern Europe.

Jan 16  From Joel Roberts Poinsett.

Jan 16  From Antonio López de Santa Anna.  

Jan 16  Robert Butler to Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 49 (21-1442). Requests six months' leave of absence as surveyor of Florida public lands, to recover from illness. Approved by AJ Feb 1.


Jan 17  To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (21-1566). HRDoc 147, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 1 (Serial 235); Richardson, 2:632. Transmits the documentary record of negotiations with France over claims for spoliations committed since 1800.

Jan 17  From John Stuart Skinner.

Jan 17  From George W. Smith. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-82). Renews his brother Andrew J. Smith's application for a cadetship at West Point.

Jan 18  To John Breathitt.  

Jan 18  To John Moore McCalla. AN, Early American Auctions, Aug 27, 2005, sale, lots 97 and 98 (mAJs). Encloses his letter to John Breathitt presenting a cane and copy of the nullification proclamation.


Jan 18  From Churchill Caldom Cambreling. ALS and Copy, DNA-RG 59 (M639-22). Recommends Isaac Smith for consul at Bermuda.


Jan 18  From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Charles Cobb's gunner's warrant for signature.

Jan 18  Mary Donelson Coffee (1812–1839) to Mary Ann Eastin Polk. ALS, NcU (mAJs). Reports on AJ’s bad health and the Washington social scene, including Mary McLemore, Silas E. Burrows, Frances Kemble, and Cora Livingston. Franked by AJ.

Jan 19  To Roger Brooke Taney. ANS, MdHi (21-1573). Presents a gift.


**Jan 19** From Joel Roberts Poinsett. 59

Jan 19 Ratification of the Oct 14, 1832, claims convention with the Two Sicilies. DS, DNA-RG 11 (21-1574).

Jan 20 From John Cox et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). Recommend John D. Clark for justice of the peace in the District of Columbia.

Jan 20 From Henry Dilworth Gilpin. 60

[Jan 20] From John B. Gray. DS, DNA-RG 59 (22-1170). Washington constable asks a remission of his fine and costs for inadvertently assaulting a white man while apprehending a wayward slave reported as a flight risk. Approved by AJ Mar 15.

Jan 20 From Eneah Micco et al. DS, DNA-RG 75 (22-0005). Creek chiefs request the appointment of James Wadsworth as additional agent to speed the location of individual reserves under the removal treaty of 1832.

Jan 20 From Joel Roberts Poinsett. 61

Jan 21 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 63


Jan 21 Ratification of the Oct 27, 1832, treaty with the Potawatomis of Indiana and Michigan. DS, DNA-RG 11 (M668-7). Copy, THi (22-0009).

Jan 21 Ratification of the Oct 20, 1832, treaty with the Potawatomis of the Prairie and Kankakee. DS, DNA-RG 11 (M668-7).

Jan 21 Ratification of the Oct 26, 1832, treaty with the Potawatomis of the Wabash. DS, DNA-RG 11 (M668-7).

Jan 22 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0021). *Senate Journal*, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 115 (Serial 229); Richardson, 2:632. Transmits certified copies of the South Carolina laws implementing the nullification ordinance.


Jan 22 From John Crowell, Enoch Parsons, and Benjamin S. Parsons. LS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-223). Submit the $50 claim of Spokoke Hajo for service as AJ’s guide in the Creek and Seminole campaigns.

Jan 22 From Marks Crume et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-6). Indiana legislators recommend John W. Davis for chargé d’affaires to Guatemala.

Jan 22 From James Gadsden. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-2). Recommends John P. Booth for district attorney in Florida Territory.

Jan 22 From James Alexander Hamilton.


Jan 22 From Samuel Smith et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-2). Maryland senators and congressmen recommend George S. Bourne for State Department employment.

Jan 22 Elijah Hayward to Louis McLane. LS, DNA-RG 49 (22-0019). LC, DNA-RG 56 (M733-1). Recommends doubling the penalty on the receiver's bond at the Crawfordsville, Ind., land office. Approved by AJ Jan 23.


Jan 23 To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233; Draft, DNA-RG 59 (22-0037). *HRDoc* 76, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 1 (Serial 234); Richardson, 2:633. Transmits State and Treasury Department lists of executive appointments of congressmen.


Jan 23 From Daniel Kellogg. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0281). Recommends releasing ailing and destitute prisoner James Adams and remitting his penalty for transporting smuggled woolens. Approved by AJ Feb 6.

Jan 23 From Amos Kendall. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-75). Says that Robert B. McAfee will accept appointment as chargé d'affaires to Colombia.

[Jan 23] From Louis McLane.

Jan 23 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports against restoring a dismissed naval warrant officer to any other than his former station.

Jan 24 To Joel Roberts Poinsett. DS, DNA-RG 233; Draft, DNA-RG 59 (22-0059). HRDoc 60, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 1 (Serial 234); Richardson, 2:633. Transmits the ratified Two Sicilies claims convention for implementing legislation.


Jan 24 From Abraham Bellamy. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-2). Recommends John P. Booth for district attorney in Florida Territory.

Jan 24 From John P. Booth. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-2). Asks to be appointed district attorney in Florida Territory.


Jan 24 From John Chandler. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-1). Recommends John Anderson for Maine district attorney.

Jan 24 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0043). LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). Recommends approving Me-che-hee’s sale of her Potawatomi reservation.

Jan 24 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0046). LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). Recommends approving Sah-ne-mo-quay’s sale of her Potawatomi reservation.

Jan 24 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0049). LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). Recommends approving Rebecca Burnett’s sale of her Potawatomi reservation.

Jan 24 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0052). LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). Recommends approving Assapo’s sale of her Potawatomi reservation.

Jan 24 From Nathaniel Mitchell. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-1). Recommends John Anderson for Maine district attorney.

Jan 24 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Lewis Cass. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (M222-31). Requests a list of War Department appointments of congressmen since Mar 3, 1825.

Jan 24 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Levi Woodbury. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-136). Requests a list of Navy Department appointments of congressmen since Mar 3, 1825.


Jan 25 To Martin Van Buren. DS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0244). Asks remission of his penalty as security on criminal defendant Saterlee Parker’s recognizance bond, incurred when Parker failed to appear because imprisoned elsewhere. AJ calls for the record.
Jan 25  From Richard S. Coxe. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-136). Asks AJ to approve his claim for full back pay as a Navy midshipman.


Jan 25  From Louis McLane. 70

Jan 25  From Laura Sperry. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (mAJs). Entreats AJ to reinstate her son Charles Sperry, dismissed as a Navy midshipman in 1831 for disobeying orders and unofficerlike conduct.

Jan 25  From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports no Navy Department appointments of congressmen since Mar 3, 1825.

Jan 26  To Sarah Yorke Jackson. 72


Jan 26  From Roger Brooke Taney. Printed, General Public Acts of Congress, Respecting the Sale and Disposition of the Public Lands (Washington, 1838), 2:179–80 (mAJs). Opines that the U.S. cannot implement an 1828 grant of lands to Ohio for the Miami Canal extension because the state has not pledged to complete the work.

Jan 26  From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports that midshipman George N. Hawkins, having been held back one year pursuant to his court-martial, is now eligible for examination.


Jan 27  From Joel Roberts Poinsett. 73

Jan 27  Richard H. Alexander to Jesse Speight. 78


Jan 28  From Joel Roberts Poinsett.

Jan 28  Thomas Jones to John Boyle. ALS, DLC (42). Reports preparations for battle in Charleston harbor.

Jan 29  To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (22-0109). HRDoc 76, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 4 (Serial 234); Richardson, 2:633–34. Transmits the report on Post Office Department appointments of congressmen.
Jan 29  From Benjamin B. Cooper.
Jan 29  Check to William Hebb for $100 in partial payment for three slaves. DS, DLC (42).
Jan 30  To Robert Minns Burton.
Jan 30  To Ferdinand II, King of the Two Sicilies. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0112). Presents Auguste G. V. Davezac, to exchange ratifications of the Oct 1832 claims convention.
Jan 30  To Ferdinand II, King of the Two Sicilies. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0113). Presents Auguste G. V. Davezac, with powers to negotiate a commercial treaty.
Jan 30  From Timothy James Harrison. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-93). Thanks AJ for his appointment as naval chaplain and recommends his son Masillon Harrison for midshipman.
Jan 30  From Benjamin Morrell. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-136). Requests the loan of nautical instruments for a discovery voyage to the South Pole. Endorsed by AJ doubting his authority to give away government property.
Jan 30  From Samuel Swartwout. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-136). Encloses and endorses Benjamin Morrell’s request for nautical instruments.
Jan 30  From Joel Roberts Poinsett.
Jan 30  Remission of forfeiture and penalties against Focke Hiddes Zeylstra for overloading passengers on his ship Louisa Barbara. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0120; T967-1).
Jan 30  Edmund Christian to Daniel Carroll Brent. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0342). States that prisoner Thomas Underwood’s correct court costs cannot be determined and offers proofs of his insolvency. Submitted by Brent to AJ.
Jan 30  William John Duane to Louis McLane.
Jan 30  Joel Roberts Poinsett to James Hervey Smith. ALS, DLC (42). Asks him to query AJ about encamping U.S. troops on Charleston Neck and accepting local Unionists directly into federal service.

Jan 31 From William Taylor Barry. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-136). Asks AJ to grant naval surgeon Thomas Harris’s appeal against transfer from Philadelphia to sea duty.

Jan 31 From James Laurie et al. DS, DNA-RG 56 (22-0165). Recommend John M. Allison for a clerkship.

Jan 31 From Edward Livingston. DSs, DNA-RG 46 and DNA-RG 233; LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0168). AD draft, NjP (mAJs). HRDoc 94, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 1–7 (Serial 234). Urges increasing the number, salary, and allowed expenses of American diplomats abroad.

Jan 31 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits warrants of reinstated midshipmen for signature.


[cJan] To William Donelson.

[Jan] From Nicholas Callan et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). Recommend John D. Clark for justice of the peace in Washington, D.C.

Jan From Thomas Harman et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Recommend David Moulton for marshal in New York state.

Jan From Charles Frederick Mayer et al. LS, DNA-RG 76 (21-1262). Ask AJ to demand restitution from Spain for the illegal seizure of John Hollins’s property at Havana in 1799.


[cJan] Inventory of munitions at Charleston. D, DLC (43).


Feb 1 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). Asks for instructions on Robert Butler’s request for leave of absence.

Feb 1 From John Robert Rhinelander et al. Printed, Washington Globe, Feb 26, 1833 (22-0232). New York City sixth ward Democratic Republicans praise AJ’s nullification proclamation and present a copy printed on satin.
Feb 1 From John Jones Winston. ALS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0239). Reports the murder of James Kerby by Alabama Chickasaws and subsidence of local nullification sentiment.


Feb 2 From William Hebb. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0247). Transmits the record of Leonard Ashton’s case and supports his petition for remission of penalty. Approved by AJ.

Feb 2 Remission of Leonard Ashton’s penalty for a forfeited recognizance. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0242; T967-1).

Feb 2 From Samuel Hicks. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (22-0250). Recommends John B. Kirkpatrick for a clerkship.

Feb 2 From Lewis Williams.

Feb 3 From Charles Jones Love.

Feb 3 Isaac Cox Barnet to Edward Livingston. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (T1-7). Demands that merchants who have impugned his integrity and urged his removal as U.S. consul at Paris specify charges for him to refute. AJ orders the letter sent to his accusers for reply.

Feb 3 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Edward Livingston. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0256). Directs his attention to AJ’s endorsement on Richard H. Alexander’s Jan 27 letter to Jesse Speight.

Feb 4 From Charles Gerrit De Witt. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M219-2). Thanks AJ for his appointment as chargé d’affaires to Central America, and inquires about passage on a public vessel.

Feb 4 From William Hardia. ALS, DLC (58; 22-0258). Asks to be appointed cadet at West Point.

Feb 4 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0260). Reports on the dispute among heirs of Virginia Revolutionary sailors Luke and Jesse Cannon over their bounty land claim.

Feb 4 Order authorizing Amos Kendall and John Peter Van Ness to examine Navy Board files in investigating Hanson Gassaway’s charges of corruption. Copy, DLC (22-0265). Extract, HRRep 194, 24th Cong., 2d sess., Appendix p. 2 (Serial 307).

Feb 5 From Thomas Hazard Barker. ALS copy, DNA-RG 59 (M639-2). Asks to be appointed consul at St. Petersburg, Russia.


Feb 5 From James Parker. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (22-0268). Introduces John B. Kirkpatrick and recommends him for office.

Feb 5 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0270). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). LC, DNA-RG 45 (mAJs). Asks that public land surveyors be instructed to report locations of live oak stands for reservation from sale. AJ accordingly orders Elijah Hayward Feb 5.
Feb 5  From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Joseph P. Sanford’s midshipman’s warrant for signature.
Feb 5  Check to Michael Anthony Giusta for $1101.23 for supplies. DS, DLC (42).
Feb 5  Check to self for $100. DS, DLC (42).
Feb 6  To Edward Livingston. ANS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-75). Refers a Feb 5 House call for 1803 correspondence between Robert R. Livingston and James Madison on the Louisiana treaty.
Feb 6  From Peter Imlay Clark et al. DS, DNA-RG 56 (22-0284). New Jersey legislators and Mahlon Dickerson recommend John B. Kirkpatrick for a clerkship.

Feb 6  From William M. Price.

Feb 6  From George Bliss Throop et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-8). Recommend Obed Folger for a South American consul.

Feb 6  From Martin Van Buren.

Feb 6  Remission of James Adams’s penalty for transporting smuggled woolens and order for his discharge from prison. DS, N (22-0271). LC, DNA-RG 59 (T967-1).

Feb 7  To Felix Grundy.

Feb 7  To Joel Roberts Poinsett.

Feb 7  To the United States Congress. DS, DNA-RG 46; DS, DNA-RG 233 (22-0318). HRDoc 94, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 1 (Serial 234); Richardson, 2:634. Transmits Edward Livingston’s Jan 31 report proposing changes to the diplomatic establishment.


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Feb 7  From Jonathan Lewis. D, DNA-RG 59 (22-0702). Asks for a pardon after serving two years for possessing materials to counterfeit BUS notes. AJ approves Mar 8.

Feb 7  Authorization for BUS cashier Samuel Jaudon to receive the first payment from France under the claims convention of 1831. DS, DNA-RG 21; LC, DNA-RG 59; Copy, DNA-RG 46 (22-0299). SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 269–70 (Serial 267).

Feb 8  From Francis Barnes. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-136). Accuses Baltimore navy agent Isaac Phillips, just nominated for reappointment, of malfeasance and profiteering. Referred by AJ to Woodbury: “If the charge is well founded It would be well to know it at an early period.”

Feb 8  From Willie Blount.

Feb 8  From Gideon Lee. ALS draft, N (22-0324). Introduces Joseph W. Beadel, on a visit to Washington.

Feb 8  From Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. ALS copy, DLC (22-0326). Transmits the proceedings of a Sault Ste. Marie citizens’ meeting on nullification.

Feb 8  Simeon Sampson Goodwin to Louis McLane. SDoc 17, 23d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 269–70 (Serial 267). Nominates Walter R. Danforth for customs collector at Providence, R.I.

Feb 9  From Manuel Gómez Pedraza.

Feb 9  From Joel Roberts Poinsett.

Feb 9  From Robert Bolling Stark. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-87). Recommends Tully R. Cornick for cadet at West Point.

Feb 10  From Anthony Butler.

Feb 10  From Henry Lee.

Feb 11  From John L. Allen.


Feb 11  From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Submits a Dec 29, 1832, treaty with the western Senecas and Shawnees.

Feb 11  From Andrew Pickens et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-24). Recommend establishing a consulate at Cape Town and appointing Alexander Thomson to it.

Feb 11  Check for $64 to Charles S. Fowler for AJ Jr.’s jewelry purchases in Philadelphia. DS, DLC (42).

Feb 11  Order to pay BUS cashier Richard Smith $1,500. DS, Catherine Barnes (mAJs).


Feb 11  Andrew Stevenson to Edward Livingston. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0344). Urges the release of pardoned Thomas Underwood, still held for court costs though “not worth one cent.” Approved by AJ.
Feb 12 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0348). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:313; Richardson, 2:634. Submits the western Seneca and Shawnee treaty for advice and consent.

Feb 12 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0350). *SDoc* 71, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 1 (Serial 230); Richardson, 2:634. Transmits copies of orders to land and naval forces at Charleston, and states that no orders have been issued to resist state authority.

Feb 12 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0354). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:314. Submits the Callender Irvine for reappointment as commissary general of purchases.


Feb 12 From James Gadsden. 105


Feb 12 From George Louis Mayer. 107


Feb 12 Check to William Hebb for $400 in partial payment for three slaves. DS, DLC (42).

Feb 12 Ratification of an Oct 27, 1832, treaty with Kaskaskia and Peoria Indians. DS, DNA-RG 11 (M668-7).

Feb 12 Ratification of an Oct 29, 1832, treaty with Piankeshaw and Wea Indians. DS, DNA-RG 11 (M668-7).

Feb 12 Ratification of an Oct 26, 1832, treaty with Shawnee and Delaware Indians. DS, DNA-RG 11 (M668-7).

Feb 12 Remission of costs and order for release of pardoned prisoner Thomas Underwood. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0338; T967-1).

Feb 12 Mary Donelson Coffee (1812–1839) to Elizabeth Graves Coffee. ALS, Heritage Auctions sale 6031, Oct 2009 (mAJs). Gives Washington news, including “perfect hubbub” in Congress, constant parties, and the press of visitors on AJ. Franked by AJ.

Feb 13 To Felix Grundy. 109


Feb 13 From Artemas Baker et al. DS, DNA-RG 77 (22-0360). Ohio Cumberland Road contractors complain of nonpayment for their work.

Feb 13 From Thomas Hickman. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (M221-113). Requests a Revolutionary pension and claims to recall reading scripture with Rachel Jackson.

Feb 13 From Samuel Houston. 110

Feb 13 Certificate of AJ’s election as president and Van Buren’s as vice president, signed by Senate president pro tempore Hugh L. White. DS, DLC (75).

Feb 13 Ratification of an Oct 11, 1832, Apalachicola Indian treaty. DS, DNA-RG 11 (M668-7).

Feb 13 Ratification of an Oct 24, 1832, Kickapoo Indian treaty. DS, DNA-RG 11 (M668-7).

Feb 13 Ratification of a Sep 21, 1832, Sac and Fox Indian treaty. DS, DNA-RG 11 (M668-6).

Feb 13 Ratification of a Sep 15, 1832, Winnebago Indian treaty. DS, DNA-RG 11 (M668-6).

Feb 14 To Anthony Butler. 112

Feb 14 From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Submits a supplemental article to the Feb 8, 1831, Menominee treaty.

Feb 14 From William Duryee. ADS, DNA-RG 56 (mAJs). Asks to be appointed appraiser of hardware and cutlery for New York port. Seconded by Gideon Lee et al.

Feb 14 From Daniel Wardwell. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0687). Urges a release for Charles Hollister, whose penalty for smuggling was remitted but who is confined for court costs, which he is unable to pay. Approved by AJ Feb 15.

Feb 15 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0391). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:313; Richardson, 2:635. Transmits the supplemental article to the Feb 8, 1831, Menominee treaty for advice and consent.

Feb 15 From George Brown. ALS, THer (22-0382). Asks to be reappointed customs surveyor at Pawcatuck, R.I.

Feb 15 Ratification of the Jan 23, 1833, treaty of friendship with Belgium. DS, DNA-RG 11 (22-0380).

Feb 15 Elijah Hayward to Louis McLane. LS, DNA-RG 49 (22-0388). LC, DNA-RG 56 (M733-1). Asks the addresses of the register and receiver at the new Monroe, Mich., land office, and proposes $30,000 for the receiver’s bond. Approved by AJ.

Feb 16 From Robert Minns Burton. 114

Feb 16 From John Mary Joseph Chanche. ALS copy, MdBSAr (22-0394). Asks for a donation to a new college founded by the late Charles Carroll.

Feb 16 From James Fenner. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0400). Introduces sea captain Ratcliffe Hicks.
Feb 16 Check to self for $50. DS, DLC (42).

Feb 17 To Joel Roberts Poinsett. 115

Feb 17 From Maximo de Aguirre. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-6). Asks to be appointed consul at Bilbao, Spain.

Feb 18 From Henry Ashton. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-5). Recommends Mathew M. Cole for justice in Washington, D.C.

Feb 18 From Henry Dilworth Gilpin. LC, PHi (mAJs). Urges an appointment for Zalegman Phillips.

Feb 18 From Elisha Reynolds Potter. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0405). Introduces Ratcliffe Hicks, with a claim against Mexico.

Feb 18 From Austin Eli Wing. ALS, THer (22-0407). Transmits a protest against removing the land office at White Pigeon Prairie, Michigan.

Feb 18 James Alexander Hamilton to William Berkeley Lewis. ALS, DLC (42). Encloses Mary Ann Eastin Polk's millinery bill paid by him (DLC-40) and thanks AJ for attentions to his mother. Mar 19 check to repay Hamilton noted by AJ.

Feb 19 To John Pemberton. 117

Feb 19 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0418). SDoc 338, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 5–6 (Serial 241); Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:315; Richardson, 2:635. Again nominates Samuel Gwin, appointed in the recess after Senate non-action on his previous renomination, for register of the Mount Salus, Miss., land office, and encloses recommendations for him.


Feb 19 From Stephen Decatur. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M148-81). Offers to sell to the government two brass three-pound cannon captured in the Tripolitan War by his late uncle Stephen Decatur.


Feb 20 To Hardy Murfree Cryer. 117

Feb 20 To George Louis Mayer. 119


Feb 20 From John Pemberton. 119

Feb 20 From Samuel Smith. 120

[Feb 20] From Samuel Stickney. DS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0462). Asks for release from confinement and remission of penalty for unknow-
ingly overloading his schooner Congress with passengers from Saint John to Philadelphia. Approved by AJ Feb 23.

[Feb 20] From Martin Van Buren. 120

Feb 20 Jeromus Johnson and John Targee to Martin Van Buren. LS, DLC (42). Enclose and support the Bank of America’s Feb 20 proposal to replace the BUS as federal agent and depository in New York (DLC-42). Endorsed by AJ “to be considered” and “placed with other papers on Banks.”


Feb 21 To Thomas Handy Gilliss. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0444). Appoints him acting fourth auditor during Amos Kendall’s absence.

Feb 21 From Richard Keith Call. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-90). Recommends William S. Ward for cadet at West Point.

Feb 21 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). Submits a letter from Jack Shackelford as the only evidence of his accepting appointment as register of the Montevallo, Ala., land office.

Feb 21 John Coffee to John Donelson Coffee. ALS, THi-Coffee Papers (mAJs). Writes of his detention in Washington awaiting Senate action on the Chickasaw Treaty, family travel plans and health, and Webster, Calhoun, and Grundy speeches on the Force Bill. Franked by AJ.

Feb 22 From Felix Grundy, Henry Hubbard, and Jesse Speight. 122

Feb 22 To Felix Grundy, Henry Hubbard, and Jesse Speight. 123


Feb 22 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0449). Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:313–14; Richardson, 2:636. Submits a Dec 18, 1832, commercial treaty with Russia for advice and consent.

Feb 22 To Levi Woodbury. AN, NHi (22-0453). Asks to see him.

Feb 22 From James Colboun et al. 123


Feb 22 From John Pemberton. ALS copy, PHi (22-0446). Encloses Elizabeth W. Jackson’s letter declining to furnish William Jackson’s constitutional convention notes.

Feb 22 From Joel Roberts Poinsett. 125

Feb 22 From Campbell Patrick White. Printed, Washington Globe, Feb 26, 1833 (22-0452). Presents the Feb 1 address of John R. Rhinelander et al. with a copy of AJ’s nullification proclamation printed on satin.

Feb 23 To James Alexander Hamilton. 127
Feb 23 To John Robert Rhinelander et al. Printed, Washington Globe, Feb 26, 1833 (22-0459). Gratefully acknowledges their gift and approval of his proclamation.

Feb 23 To Campbell Patrick White. LS, NHi (22-0467). Globe, Feb 26, 1833. Encloses his thanks to John R. Rhinelander et al.


Feb 23 From George Huyler. ALS and ALS copy, DNA-RG 59 (M639-11). Asks to be appointed consul at Nassau.

Feb 23 From Nathaniel Beverley Tucker.

Feb 23 Remission of Samuel Stickney’s penalty for overloading his ship with passengers and order for his discharge from jail. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0460; T967-1).

Feb 23 Mary Donelson Coffee (1812–1839) to John Donelson Coffee. ALS, THi (22-0454). Gives news of social doings, marriages, and plans to return home. Franked by AJ.

Feb 25 To Harriet Livermore. 129

Feb 25 To George Washington Martin. 130


Feb 25 From George Hume Steuart. ALS, DLC (42). Presses his claim for an office and gives notice of his father James’s pending visit.

Feb 25 From Aaron Vail. ALS copy, DNA-RG 84 (22-0480). Introduces William Crawford, sent by the British government to study American prisons.

Feb 25 Check to William Taylor Barry for $65 to pay Joseph Rakestraw for printing Harriet Livermore’s A Wreath from Jessamine Lawn. DS, DLC (42).

Feb 25 Remission of fine and costs for petty larcenist Henry Thompson and order for his release, having served his sentence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0472; T967-1).


Feb 26 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0522). Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:316; Richardson, 2:636. Transmits the Feb 18 Ottawa treaty for advice and consent.

Feb 26 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0484). Recommends approving John Jones’s sale of his Potawatomi reservation.

Feb 26 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0503). Recommends approving the sale of Francois Lafontaine’s Miami reservation.

Feb 26 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0508). Recommends approving Samuel Cassman’s sale of his Delaware reservation.
Feb 26 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0511). Recommends approving Solomon Tindell’s sale of his Delaware reservation. Approval withheld by AJ pending proof of payment.

Feb 26 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0515). Recommends approving Rebecca Hackley’s sale of her Miami reservation.

Feb 26 From Johnathan McCarty et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-21). Indiana congressional delegation and John and Samuel Milroy recommend William B. Slaughter for a diplomatic post.

Feb 26 From John Benton Sterigere. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-20). Recommends George W. Riter for a consulate in France.

Feb 26 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits midshipmen’s warrants for signature.


Feb 27 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0526). Recommends approving Hyacinthe Lasselle’s sale of his Potawatomi reservation.


Feb 27 From Jane Miranda. DS, DNA-RG 75; Copy, DNA-RG 46 (22-0532). SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 4, p. 124 (Serial 247). Asks permission to sell her reservation under the Jul 29, 1829, treaty of Prairie du Chien.


Feb 28 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). Recommends replacing Jack Shackelford as Montevallo, Ala., land office register for failure to execute his bond.


Feb 28 From James Alexander Hamilton.


Feb 28 *From Joel Roberts Poinsett.*

Feb 28 From John Benton Sterigere. ALS, DNA-RG 77 (mAJs). Recommends John Davis for reinstatement as West Point cadet.

Feb 28 From Andrew Stevenson. Copy, ViU (22-0551). Recommends William Noland for high office.

Feb 28 From Tucker & Thompson. DS, DLC (42). Receipted tailor’s bill for clothing. Runs to May 16.

Mar 1 From James Ellsworth DeKay. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-88). Recommends young Henry Eckford for cadet at West Point.


Mar 1 From Lucius Campbell Duncan. ALS, DNA-RG 206 (22-0583). Asks that the children of the late Abner L. Duncan be released from his liability as security for the late Pierre LeBreton Duplessis’s debts to the U.S.

Mar 1 *From Ann McCannon Cochran Edrington.*

Mar 1 From Isaac Hill. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0667). Withdraws his support for the release of smuggler Lewis Hutchins, based on false evidence.

Mar 1 *From John Ross.*

Mar 1 From Isaac Stone. LS, DLC (42). Forwards a wax likeness of Santa Anna sent by Anthony Butler.

Mar 1 From Samuel Swartwout. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-88). Eulogizes the late Henry Eckford and urges his son Henry for cadet at West Point.

Mar 1 *From Nathaniel Beverley Tucker.*


Mar 1 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports no present vacancy at the rank of master commandant for Lieutenant William K. Latimer.

Mar 1 Ratification of the Chickasaw treaty of Pontotoc Creek and supplementary articles of Oct 20 and 22, 1832, as amended by the Senate. DS, DNA-RG 11 (M668-7).


Mar 2 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0635). Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:329. Nominates John Martin to superintend the road through the Creek Nation.


Mar 2 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0639). SDoc 338, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 8–9 (Serial 241); Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:331; Richardson, 2:636. Refuses to nominate replacements for land officer nominees in Mississippi rejected by the Senate on illegitimate grounds of nonresidency.

Mar 2 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46; Draft, DNA-RG 59 (22-0642). Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:332; Richardson, 2:637. Communicates the current status of the Northeast boundary negotiations with Britain and Maine.


Mar 2 To Elijah Hayward. AN, MB (22-0594). Directs him to hold off writing Jack Shackelford, pending a decision on withdrawing Andrew J. Crawford’s nomination to replace him.

Mar 2 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0651). Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:332. Withdraws the nomination of Andrew J. Crawford to replace Jack Shackelford as register of the Montevallo, Ala., land office.

Mar 2 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0653). Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:333. Nominates officers, including Samuel Gwin, for two new Mississippi land offices.


Mar 2 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0660). Senate
Executive Proceedings, 4:333. Nominates commissioners, a secretary, and clerk under the Two Sicilies claims convention.

Mar 2
From Edward Livingston. DS, DNA-RG 46; DS draft, DLC; LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0595). SDoc 83, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 1–5 (Serial 230). Recommends codifying the duties and powers of consuls, replacing their fees with salaries, and prohibiting their engagement in commerce.

Mar 2
To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0629). SDoc 83, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 1 (Serial 230); Richardson, 2:636. Transmits Livingston’s report on consular reform.

Mar 2

Mar 2
From John Anderson et al. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-23). Maine congressmen recommend Andrew Stevenson for minister to Britain and William P. Preble for commissioner to negotiate the Northeast boundary.

Mar 2
From William Hendricks. ALS, DNA-RG 77 (mAJs). Recommends reinstating James H. Milroy as West Point cadet.

Mar 2
From William Lucius Storrs. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0706). Presents Jonathan Lewis’s Feb 7 request for a pardon. Approved by AJ.

Mar 2
From Henry Toland.

Mar 2
From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Encloses a letter from Samuel Smith.

Mar 2

Mar 2
Daniel Webster to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-24). Encloses recommendations for Andrew Thorndike for consul at Buenos Aires.

Mar 3
To Robert Johnstone Chester.

Mar 3
From Ratliff Boon. ALS, DNA-RG 77 (mAJs). Asks that John Milroy’s son James H. Milroy be reinstated as West Point cadet.

Mar 3
From Henry Augustus Philip Muhlenberg et al. LS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-137). Pennsylvania congressmen ask that reinstated Navy purser William P. Zantzinger be transferred from a schooner to a sloop, to enable him to discharge his debt to the U.S.

Mar 3
From John Tipton. ALS, DNA-RG 77 (mAJs). Asks that James H. Milroy, dismissed as West Point cadet on seemingly frivolous charges, be reinstated.

Mar 4
Second Inaugural Address.

Mar 4

Mar 4
From the Marquis de Lafayette. Copy, DLC-Lafayette Papers (mAJs). Introduces a society of emigrants from the Rhine to Missouri.

Mar 5
• Calendar •

Mar 5  To the Diplomatic Corps. D, DNA-RG 59 (M53-8). *Globe*, Mar 6, 1833. Thanks them for congratulations and offers friendship to their governments.

Mar 5  From James Gordon Bennett. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-88). Eulogizes the late Henry Eckford and recommends his son Henry for cadet at West Point.

Mar 5  From John Carr. ALS, DNA-RG 77 (mAJs). Requests the reinstatement of James H. Milroy as West Point cadet.


Mar 5  From Garret Dorset Wall. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0855). Hails AJ’s reelection and urges releasing former Perth Amboy, N.J., collector Robert Arnold, charged with customs fraud, to calm local political waters and gain his testimony against others.

Mar 5  Check to Michael Anthony Giusta for $914.89 for White House supplies. DS, DLC (42).

Mar 6  To William Donelson. 151


Mar 6  To Joel Roberts Poinsett. 152

Mar 6  From Silas Duncan. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-75). Late captain of the *Lexington* accuses Joshua Bond, consul at Montevideo, of obstructing his measures to protect American citizens and property at the Falkland Islands.

Mar 6  From Burnard Warner Holtzclaw. 155


Mar 7  To Daniel Carroll Brent. DS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0680). Appoints District of Columbia penitentiary inspectors for 1833.

Mar 7  To Andrew Thompson Judson et al. 155

Mar 7  From Miles Franklin Clossey. AN, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). Asks to be appointed clerk to the claims commission under the Two Sicilies convention.

Mar 7  From Joshua Evans Jr. ALS, DNA-RG 77 (mAJs). Urges reinstating dismissed West Point cadet John Davis, who deserves a second chance.

Mar 7  Edward Livingston to Andrew Jackson Donelson. LC, DNA-RG 59 (M40-23). Encloses his commission as secretary to sign land patents.

Mar 7  Andrew Jackson Donelson to Edward Livingston. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0682). Acknowledges receipt of his commission.

Mar 8  From Stephen Lawson. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-13). Asks to be appointed consul at Nassau if John Storr is removed.

Mar 8  From Thomas Swann Jr. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-13). Recommends Stephen Lawson for consul at Nassau.
Mar 8 Remission and release for Charles Hollister, held for court costs after his penalty for smuggling had been remitted. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0685; T967-1).

Mar 8 Release for Jonathan Lewis and remission of his remaining sentence for possessing counterfeiting materials. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0698; T967-1).


Mar 9 From Wolcott Chauncey. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M125-180). Asks to be assigned to explore and survey South Florida waters and harbors.

Mar 9 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0712). Recommends approving Richard Clements’s sale of his Potawatomi reservation.

Mar 9 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0716). Recommends approving Kakautmoh’s sale of his Potawatomi reservation.

Mar 9 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0720). Recommends approving Wauwassemoquay’s (Rebecca Blaine’s) sale of her Potawatomi reservation.

Mar 9 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0724). Recommends approving Joseph Bourrissa’s sale of his Potawatomi reservation.

Mar 9 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0725). Recommends approving Louison Godfroy’s sale of his Miami treaty reservation.

Mar 9 From Robert Mayo. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (M222-31). Protests War Department inaction on his charge of illegal overtime pay for pension clerks. AJ orders the practice stopped, “as the whole time of all salary officers belong to the government, when its service requires their labour.”


Mar 10 From Bohrer & Magruder to Andrew Jackson Jr. DS, DLC (42). Doctor’s bill for $27.50 for treating Sarah Y. Jackson. Receipted Jan 21, 1835, and endorsed by AJ.

Mar 11 To Joseph Inslee Anderson. ANS, DNA-RG 217 (M235-736). Orders a report on why District of Columbia penitentiary warden Isaac Clark was not paid from the date of his commission.

Mar 11 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0732). Recommends approving Joseph Parks’s sale of his Potawatomi reservation.
Mar 11 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0735). Advises on the location of Henry C. Brish’s Seneca treaty reservation.

Mar 11 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0738). Recommends approving Henry H. McPherson’s location of his Seneca treaty reservation.

Mar 11 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0739). Recommends approving the designation of Joseph Parks’s Shawnee reservation.

Mar 11 From John Rodgers. LS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0741). Copy, NjP-Southard Papers (mAJs). Claims $730 additional pay as head of the Board of Navy Commissioners.


Mar 12 From John Rodgers. LS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0741). Copy, NjP-Southard Papers (mAJs). Claims $730 additional pay as head of the Board of Navy Commissioners.

Mar 12 To Edward Livingston. AN, DNA-RG 59 (M179-75). Introduces Eli S. Davis, who wishes to discuss Ratcliffe Hicks’s claim with the Mexican minister.

Mar 12 To Roger Brooke Taney. 156

Mar 12 Check to Andrew Jackson Donelson for $1,000. Extract, American Art Association catalog, 1915 (22-0744).

Mar 12 From Thomas T. Harrison. ALS, DLC (42). Submits a bill for stonework on Rachel’s tomb. AJ refuses payment, having already fully paid David Morison for the work.

Mar 13 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0750). Recommends approving Pomoqua’s sale of her Potawatomi reservation. Approved by AJ.


Mar 14 From John Gerard Coster, William Whitlock, et al. Copies, DNA-RG 56 (21-1254; mAJs). Claimants under the French convention protest that the Treasury plan to loan out the first
installment on collateral of BUS stock at par, as stipulated by Congress, will put the fund at risk.

Mar 15 From the Marquis de Lafayette. 161
Mar 15 Check to Andrew Jackson Jr. for $250. DS, DLC (42).
Mar 16 To John Coffee. 162
Mar 16 To John Coffee. 164
Mar 16 From Augustus Fitch. 164
Mar 16 From James Gadsden. ALS, DNA-RG 49 (22-0787). Urges granting Florida land surveyor Robert Butler a leave of absence to recover his health.

Mar 16 Temporary commission for John D. Clark as justice of the peace in Washington, D.C. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0775).
Mar 17 To John Coffee. 166
Mar 17 To Henry Toland. 167
Mar 17 From Hardy Murfree Cryer. 167
Mar 18 From Alexander Tullius Franklin Bill. DS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0914). Begs release from jail and a remission of his fine and costs for assault and battery, which he is unable to pay. Approved by AJ Mar 30.
Mar 18 From Reuben Miles Whitney. 170
Mar 19 To Cabinet members. 171
Mar 19 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports on naval participation in surveying the Florida coast.
Mar 19 William Banks Slaughter to William Berkeley Lewis. 174
Mar 20 To Robert Minns Burton. 176
Mar 20 To Nicholas Philip Trist. 178
[Mar 20] From Nicholas Philip Trist. 178
Mar 20 Check to Francis & Boardman for $12.50 for five copies of B. L. Rayner’s life of Jefferson. DS, DLC (42).
Mar 20 To Andrew Jackson Donelson. Abstract, TNJ (22-0834).
Mar 20 From John Forsyth. ANS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-137). Asks to have midshipman Dominick Lynch assigned to the Delaware. Referred by AJ to Woodbury to comply if “consistant with rules, and propriety.”
Mar 20 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-0835). Recommends approving Madeleine Bertrand’s sale of her Chicago Treaty reservation. Approved by AJ.

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<td>From Michael Hogan. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M146-2). Resigns as consul at Valparaiso due to persistent ill health.</td>
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<td>Mar 21</td>
<td>From Martin Thomas. ALS and Copy, DNA-RG 94 (M567-85). Protests his dismissal from the Army for withholding his accounts at the St. Louis arsenal. Referred by AJ to Macomb for report.</td>
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<td>Mar 22</td>
<td>Pardon on criminal charges and discharge for former Perth Amboy, N.J., collector Robert Arnold. LC, DNA-RG 59 (T967-1). Copy, DNA-RG 206 (22-0853).</td>
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<td>To Joseph Inslee Anderson</td>
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<td>From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 75 (M21-10). LC, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 56; Copy, DNA-RG 49; Copies, DNA-RG 217; Copy, DNA-RG 46 (22-0866). Copy, DNA-RG 107 (M222-31). Copy, DNA-RG 56 (M749-1). <em>SDoc</em> 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, pp. 622–23 (Serial 246). Submits proposals for surveying and selling the Chickasaw lands and administering their revenues pursuant to the Treaty of Pontotoc Creek.</td>
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<td>Mar 23</td>
<td>From John Henry Eaton</td>
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<td>Mar 23</td>
<td>From Joel Roberts Poinsett. ALS draft, PHi (22-0889). Urges establishing a navy yard at Charleston in order to quell perceptions of federal neglect, furnish employment, foster Unionism, and overawe slaves.</td>
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<td>Mar 24</td>
<td>To John Rodgers. DS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0742). Copy, NjP-Southard Papers (mAJs). Concurs with Taney’s opinion against his claim for extra pay and advises an appeal to Congress.</td>
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<td>From James T. Homans. ALS, DNA-RG 125 (M273-28). Navy</td>
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lieutenant pleads for remission of his suspension from duty for unofficerlike and ungentlemanly conduct, to relieve his family’s want. AJ shortens sentence Apr 2.

Mar 25 From Charles G. Olmsted. ALS, THer (22-0895). Presents a gift of silk gloves made by Mrs. John Davis.

Mar 25 Warrant from Louis McLane to U.S. Treasurer John Campbell to pay $20,000 for AJ’s purchase of White House furniture. DS, DNA-RG 217 (22-0893).


Mar 26 From James Ellsworth DeKay. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-88). Urges appointing Henry Eckford cadet at West Point.


Mar 26 Temporary commission for George Huyler as consul at Nassau. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (22-0896).


Mar 27 From Frances Peyton Dixon Love. ALS, DLC (42). Inquires anxiously after Sarah Y. Jackson’s health. Endorsed by AJ “answered same day by return mail.”


Mar 27 Henry Huntt to Andrew Jackson Jr. ADS, DLC (42). Receipted physician’s bill for $15.

Mar 27 Check to Henry Huntt for $15. DS, DLC (42).

Mar 27 Check to Andrew Jackson Jr. for $250. DS, DLC (42).


Mar 28 From Daniel Wadsworth. D, DNA-RG 49 (22-0906). Requests a replacement for his stolen land patent.


Mar 29 From Benjamin B. Cooper. ALS, DLC (42). Reports on Bolivar’s prospects as a stud horse in New Jersey.

Mar 30  To Francisco de Paula Santander. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0918).
     Announces the return home of American minister to Colombia
     Thomas P. Moore.

Mar 30  From James Reeside. ALS, DLC (42). Offers a gray horse for
     $160. AJ notes his Apr 3 reply offering $320 for a matched pair.

Mar 30  Remission and release for Alexander Tullius Franklin Bill, con-
     victed of assault and battery and confined for inability to pay
     fine and costs. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0913; T967-1).

Mar 31  To Cabinet members. 208
     [cMar] From Richard Keith Call. AL fragment, DLC (75; 22-0567).
     Asks permission to publish AJ's letter to him of Jul 31, 1829, to
     aid his campaign for delegate to Congress. AJ endorsement notes
     his approval.

Mar  From Joseph William Chinn. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-75).
     Encloses Henry Lee's Jan 14 letter in favor of George F. Brown.

     Recommend Francis A. Smith for dispatch bearer to Europe.

[Mar] From Roger Brooke Taney. 209
     Recommends Francis A. Smith for dispatch bearer to Europe.

Mar  Memoranda on the Bank of the United States. 217
[cMar] Memorandum on the Bank of the United States. 218

Apr 1  To Francis Preston Blair. 221
Apr 1  From Joseph Elgar. LC, DNA-RG 42 (M371-5). Defends his
     rejection of a suspect low bid for paving Pennsylvania Avenue.
     Endorsement notes AJ's reversal.

Apr 1  From Henry Horn. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-20). Recommends
     George W. Riter for a Southern consulate.

Apr 1  From Joseph Robinson et al. Printed, Concord New Hampshire
     Patriot and State Gazette, Jun 24, 1833 (mAJs). Laud AJ's
     administration and invite him to visit Concord, N.H.

Apr 1  From James Treat. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-76). Transmits
     official letters from Mexico and offers to advise on its affairs.
     Referred by AJ to Livingston to translate and return letters from
     Santa Anna and Gómez Pedraza.

Apr 1  John Waller Overton to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DLC
     (42). Urges American participation in a canal across Central
     America, to prevent exclusive British control.

Apr 1  Walter Hinman to William Rossell. D, DNA-RG 59 (22-0992).
     Pleads for a pardon for passing counterfeit BUS notes, into which
     crime he was ignorantly entrapped. Approved by AJ Apr 12.

Apr 2  To James Eakin. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0927). Appoints him act-
     ing second auditor during William B. Lewis's absence.

Apr 2  To Andrew Jackson Jr. 221
Apr 2  From Henry Toland. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-20).
     Recommends George W. Riter for consul.

Apr 2  From Levi Woodbury. 223

Apr 2  Temporary commission for Joseph Sebastian Cabot as claims
     commissioner under the Neapolitan convention. DS, MaSaPEM;
     LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0925).
Apr 2 AJ bank book for personal account with the Bank of the United States through Feb 6, 1834. AD, DLC (78).

Apr 2 Check to self for $44.07 to pay Mary McLemore’s account. DS, DLC (42).

Apr 3 To William Berkeley Lewis.

Apr 3 From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Transmits a description of the new Marine Corps uniform.


Apr 3 From William Berkeley Lewis.

Apr 3 From Isaac McKim. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-2). Recommends Charles Bispham for consul at Valparaiso.

Apr 3 From Robert Oliver et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-2). Recommend Charles Bispham for consul at Valparaiso.

Apr 3 From Reuben Miles Whitney. ALS, DLC (42). Reports Captain Henry’s strenuous denial of betting on the removal of government deposits from the BUS.

Apr 3 From Reuben Miles Whitney. ALS, DLC (42 & 60; 22-0934). Presents a record of Gales & Seaton’s borrowings from the BUS to show that it actually owns and controls their paper. Endorsed by AJ “to be carefully preserved.”

Apr 3 Approval of a design for the Potomac bridge. DS, DNA-RG 77 (22-0933).

Apr 4 From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Encloses a letter from Brooklyn naval storekeeper Tunis Q. Craven.


Apr 4 Check to Michael Anthony Giusta for $772.08 for supplies. DS, DLC (42).

Apr 5 To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Apr 5 To Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0950). Announces the recall of U.S. minister James Buchanan.

Apr 5 From Louis McLane. LS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0946). LC, DNA-RG 56 (M733-1). Recommends removing Indiana district attorney Samuel Judah for negligence and possible involvement in land office corruption, and appointing Tilghman A. Howard in his place. Done by AJ Apr 6.

Apr 5 From John Pemberton. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-2). ALS copy, PHi (22-0951). Recommends Charles Bispham for consul at Valparaiso.

Apr 6 From Thomas Ellicott. LS, DLC (42). Bassett, 5:49–52. LS Copy, DLC-Taney Papers (mAJs). Argues that federal deposits may be removed to state banks without risk of BUS retaliation, a disordered currency, or commercial disruption, and offers his aid in the transition. Endorsed by AJ “to be considered.”

Apr 6 From the Marquis de Lafayette. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-76).
Asks AJ to forward to Central America a diplomatic chest sent from its minister in Paris, and hails nullification’s peaceful resolution.

Apr 6 From Prosper M. Wetmore. Copy, CU-BANC (22-0961). Urges AJ to reconsider his decision not to appoint Peter W. Spicer naval storekeeper at Brooklyn.

[Apr 6] From John Majors and David Majors. DS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0955). Beg a remission of their fines and costs for fighting on a Sunday, which they are unable to pay. Approved by AJ Apr 6.

Apr 6 Remission of fines and costs and order for release for John and David Majors. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0953; T967-1).

Apr 6 Warrant from Louis McLane to John Campbell to pay AJ’s $2083.33 monthly salary. DS, DNA-RG 217 (22-0959).

Apr 7 To Hardy Murfree Cryer.

Apr 8 To Lewis Cass.

Apr 8 To Thomas Handy Gilliss. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0966). Appoints him acting fourth auditor during Amos Kendall’s absence.

Apr 8 To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Apr 8 From Louis McLane. LC, DNA-RG 56 (M733-1). States that Crawfordsville, Ind., land office register Samuel Milroy’s salary will no longer be withheld as surety for defaulting receiver Israel T. Canby, but rejects Milroy’s charge of Treasury negligence in detecting Canby’s delinquency.

Apr 8 To Samuel Milroy. ALS, InHi (22-0967). Encloses Louis McLane’s response to his complaints.

Apr 8 From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Transmits reports of Navy operations in the Pacific.

Apr 8 From John Nicholson. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-76). Asks to be informed of charges against him as marshal in Louisiana.

Apr 8 From John T. Sullivan, Peter Wager, and Henry Dilworth Gilpin.

Apr 8 Ratification of the Dec 18, 1832, commercial treaty with Russia. DS, DNA-RG 11 (22-0969).

Apr 8 Check to Allan Ditchfield Campbell for $144.25 for glassware. DS, DLC (42).

Apr 9 To John Coffee.

Apr 9 To Lewis Cass.

Apr 9 To Martin Gordon.

Apr 9 To Edward Livingston.

Apr 9 From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits John McNelly’s boatswain’s warrant for signature.

Apr 9 From [David Glasgow Farragut]. Copy, DLC (22-0976). Requests reimbursement of the Natchez officers’ special expenses while on duty in Charleston harbor.

Apr 9 From Preserved Fish. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-20). Withdraws his recommendation of Charles Bispham for consul at Valparaiso in favor of Thomas S. Russell.

Apr 9 From Louis McLane. LC, DNA-RG 56 (M415-1). Transmits New Orleans customs surveyor Samuel Spotts's defense against Martin Gordon's charge of absence from duty.


[Apr 10] To Jean Baptiste Plauché et al. 238

Apr 10 From George Washington Bassett et al. Printed, Fredericksburg Political Arena, Apr 19, 1833 (mAj). Propose May 7 for the ceremony to lay the cornerstone of a monument to George Washington's mother in Fredericksburg.

Apr 10 From Thomas Ellicott. AL draft, DLC (22-0980). Refers AJ to his Apr 6 letter and reaffirms his view that federal deposits may safely be removed from the BUS.

Apr 10 Temporary commission for Arthur Middleton Jr. as secretary of legation at Madrid. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0981).


Apr 11 From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports that there is no midshipman vacancy for John S. Patterson.


Apr 11 From Singleton & Mezick et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-20). Recommend Thomas S. Russell for consul at Valparaiso.

Apr 11 From Hugh Lawson White. 239

Apr 11 Temporary commission for Mathew M. Cole as justice of the peace in Washington, D.C. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0982).

Apr 12 To Ferdinand VII, King of Spain. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0988). Announces the recall of U.S. minister Cornelius P. Van Ness.

Apr 12 From Varnal Gibbs. DS, DLC (42). Receipted bill for $2.50 for dinner and horse feed.


Apr 12 From Louis McLane. DS, DNA-RG 233 (22-1002). LC, DNA-RG 56 (M415-1). HRDoc 22, 23d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 4–8 (Serial 272). Reports on losses from the Treasury fire and recommends asking Congress for a fireproof building to house all the executive offices.

Apr 12 From Alexander Macomb. DS, DNA-RG 153 (22-0999). Reports no grounds to mitigate Lieutenant William E. Aisquith's sentence of dismissal from the Army for absence without leave, disobeying orders, and neglect of duty.

Apr 12 Pardon and release for convicted counterfeiter Walter Hinman. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-0989; T967-1).

Apr 12 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Daniel Carroll Brent. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-76). Encloses a letter sent to AJ for forwarding to Henry Lee.

Apr 12 Richard Lemmon to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DNA-RG
59 (M639-20). Recommends Thomas S. Russell for consul at Valparaíso.

Apr 13 To Edward Livingston. AD, DNA-RG 59 (M179-76). Questions the authenticity of an irregularly delivered Nov 27, 1832, letter from Pasha Ali Karamanli of Tripoli charging consul Daniel S. McCauley with hostility and demanding his recall.

Apr 13 From Thomas J. Lacy. 242

Apr 13 From Louis McLane. 244

Apr 13 From Peter Worthington Spicer. ALS draft, CU-BANC (22-1014). Accepts McLane's offer of an interim Treasury job in the west.

Apr 13 Temporary commission for Thomas S. Russell as consul at Valparaíso. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (22-1012).

Apr 14 To William Berkeley Lewis. 244

Apr 14 To John T. Sullivan, Peter Wager, and Henry Dilworth Gilpin. 245

Apr 14 From Richard Henry Barry. 246

Apr 14 From David Douglas Wagener. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-22). Recommends Francis A. Smith for dispatch bearer to Europe.

Apr 15 From Hudson Martin Garland. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-9). Asks to be appointed claims commissioner under the Neapolitan convention.

Apr 15 From Henry Horn. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). Recommends Charles Callaghan for consul at Havana.

Apr 15 Approval of Lieutenant William E. Aisquith's dismissal from the Army. ADS, DNA-RG 153 (22-1031).

Apr 15 Check to George Templeman for $14.96 for stationery. DS, DLC (42).

Apr 16 To George Washington Bassett et al. Printed, Fredericksburg Political Arena, Apr 19, 1833 (mAJs). Agrees to attend the cornerstone-laying ceremony for a monument to Washington's mother in Fredericksburg on May 7.

Apr 16 From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Joseph C. Walsh's midshipman's warrant for signature.

Apr 16 From Joseph Peabody et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). Recommend Richard J. Cleveland for consul at Havana.

Apr 16 From Benjamin Rodman. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-6). Recommends Maximo de Aguirre for consul at Bilbao, Spain. Daniel Webster concurs Apr 19. Referred by AJ to Livingston saying he “is aware of no objection to meet Mr. Webster recommendation.”

Apr 16 Drafts of Apr 16 and 18 Globe editorials defending AJ's 1832 Bank veto. Ds in unknown hand, DLC (75).


Apr 17 From William Berkeley Lewis. 248

Apr 17 From William Patterson and Isaac McKim. DS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-137). Solicit a pay raise for long-serving Washington
nec yard mechanic Benjamin King. AJ refers to the Navy secretary for report.

**Apr 17**
From James Wright. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (22-1040). Touts his political services and asks to have his *Sandy Hill Herald* selected to publish the laws in New York state.

**Apr 18**
*To Andrew Jackson Hutchings.*

**Apr 18**
From Louis McLane. LC, DNA-RG 56 (M415-1). Returns a letter from William Marshall and notes the closing of his accounts as former marshal in Indiana.

**Apr 18**
From John Pemberton. ALS draft, PHi (22-1052). Recommends Charles Callaghan for consul at Havana.

**[Apr 18]**
From Henry Simms. DS, DNA-RG 59 (22-1075). Appeals for release from prison and remission of his fine and costs for assault and battery, which he is unable to pay. Approved by AJ Apr 19.

**Apr 18**

**Apr 19**
To John Boyle. AD, DNA-RG 45 (M124-137). Orders a report on construction delays at the Norfolk dry dock, with a view to removing the superintendent.

**Apr 19**
*To William Berkeley Lewis.*

**Apr 19**
From Anthony Butler. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M97-7). Introduces Mexico’s new chargé d’affaires to the U.S., Joaquin Maria de Castillo y Lanzas.

**Apr 19**
*From Miles Blythe McCorkle.*

**Apr 19**
Ralph Isaacs Ingersoll to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-27). Recommends Edward Wyer for consul at Havana.

**Apr 20**
To Ferdinand II, King of the Two Sicilies. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1061). Offers congratulations on his marriage.

**Apr 20**
*To Manuel Gómez Pedraza.*

**Apr 20**
*To Andrew Jackson Jr.*

**Apr 20**
From Michael Woolston Ash. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-20). Recommends George W. Riter for consul at Havana.

**Apr 20**
From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval chaplain George Jones’s commission for signature.

**Apr 20**
From Louis McLane. LC, DNA-RG 56 (M415-1). Copy, DNA-RG 46 (22-1063). *SDoc* 43, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1–4 (Serial 239). Submits regulations for valuing imports and calculating duties under the new tariff law. Approved by AJ.

**Apr 20**
Remission of fine and costs and discharge from prison for Henry Simms, convicted of assault and battery. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1074; T967-1).

**Apr 21**
*From William Berkeley Lewis.*

**Apr 21**
*From Charles Jones Love.*

**Apr 21**
*From Worden Pope.*

**Apr 21**
*From Martin Van Buren.*
Apr 21 From William Adee Whitehead. ALS, DLC (42 & 43; 22-1079). Encloses three of AJ’s 1822 letters to James C. Bronaugh, found among a dead man’s effects. Endorsed by AJ as proof of Bronaugh executor George Walton’s perfidy in turning AJ’s confidential letters over to his enemies instead of returning them. Later endorsed by Kendall: “They show Gen. Jackson’s hostility to Crawford and friendship for Calhoun.”

Apr 22 To Enoch Reynolds. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1146). Appoints him acting second comptroller during James B. Thornton’s absence.

Apr 22 From Eliakim Barney. DS, DNA-RG 59 (22-1280). Asks to be discharged from the revenue judgment against him by paying $300 and costs, as agreed under the Adams administration.

Apr 22 From Downer & Co. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Recommend Henry M. Morfit for consul in France.

Apr 22 From Draper & Baker. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Recommend Henry M. Morfit for consul in France.

Apr 22 From John C. Ernenputsch. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Recommends Henry M. Morfit for consul in France.

Apr 22 From James Gardner. ALS, TNJ (22-1108). Complains of the government withholding bank receipts and judgments due him, to the destruction of his finances and physical and mental health.

Apr 22 From Henry Dilworth Gilpin, John T. Sullivan, and Peter Wager. LC, PHi; Copy, DNA-RG 233 (22-1110). SDoc 2, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 22–27 (Serial 238). Government directors charge the BUS with violating its charter and risking loss by relegating business to board committees from which they are excluded, as exemplified by imprudent and improper loans to Gales and Seaton.

Apr 22 From John Lloyd. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Recommends Henry M. Morfit for consul in France.

Apr 22 From Wilson Lumpkin.

Apr 22 From Louis McLane. LC, DNA-RG 56 (M415-1). LC, DNA-RG 217 (22-1145). Requests authority to transfer funds within the Treasury Department.

Apr 22 From Abraham Okie. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-20). Recommends George W. Riter for consul at Havana.

Apr 23 To Peter Grayson Washington. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1162). Appoints him acting Treasurer during John Campbell’s absence.


Apr 23 From James Benkard. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Recommends Henry M. Morfit for consul in France.

Apr 23 From H. Booraem & Co. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Recommend Henry M. Morfit for consul in France.


Apr 23 From John Hallet. DS, DNA-RG 76 (22-1147). Seeks redress for the seizure of his merchant goods and imprisonment of his son by the alcalde of Goliad, Texas.
Apr 24 From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports no vacancy among naval chaplains for Mr. Lee, but offers him passage in the Delaware.

Apr 24 From Chesterman & Caney. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Recommend Henry M. Morfit for consul in France.

Apr 24 From Gardiner Greene Howland. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Recommends Henry M. Morfit for consul in France.

Apr 24 From Lohse & Kayser. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Recommend Henry M. Morfit for consul in France.

Apr 24 Temporary commission for Nicholas Philip Trist as consul at Havana. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (22-1166).

Apr 24 From Gardiner Greene Howland. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Recommends Henry M. Morfit for consul in France.

Apr 24 From John Boyle. LS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-137). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports that Washington navy yard mechanic Benjamin King’s $1 daily salary fully compensates his services. Endorsed by AJ approving the present salary, King’s “complaint appearing to be unfounded.”

Apr 24 From John Crumby and Simon Draper. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Recommend Henry M. Morfit for consul in France.

Apr 24 From Delaunay, Luuyt, Burgy & Co. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Recommend Henry M. Morfit for consul in France.

Apr 25 To [Lewis Cass]. ALS, DLC (22-1167). Introduces ironmaster Lewis Harvey, seeking a contract to supply ordnance.

Apr 25 To Martin Van Buren. Recommend Henry M. Morfit for consul in France.


Apr 25 From John Boyle. LS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-137). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports that Washington navy yard mechanic Benjamin King’s $1 daily salary fully compensates his services. Endorsed by AJ approving the present salary, King’s “complaint appearing to be unfounded.”


Apr 25 From Adolphe LeMoyne. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Recommends Henry M. Morfit for consul in France.


Apr 25 Remission of fine and costs and release from custody for Georgetown constable John B. Gray, convicted of assault. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1168; T967-1).

Apr 26 From John Durand & Co. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Recommend Henry M. Morfit for consul in France.

Apr 26 From John Leeds Kerr. ALS, DLC (22-1183). Recommends his nephew David Kerr for midshipman.


Apr 26 From Louis McLane. AN, DNA-RG 56 (22-1185). Submits Tilghman A. Howard’s report on Israel T. Canby’s defalcation as receiver of the Crawfordsville, Ind., land office. AJ advises allowing time for repayment, if well secured.

[Apr 26] From William Powel. ALS, DLC (60; 22-1187). Presents his case
to fill the pending vacancy as marshal in Pennsylvania’s eastern district.

**Apr 26**

**Apr 27**

**Apr 27**
From James T. Pollock. DNA-RG 56 (M726-9). Receiver at Crawfordsville, Ind., complains that speculators are buying up veterans’ bounty scrip and presenting it for cash at the land office.

**Apr 27**
From E. A. & W. Winchester et al. DNA-RG 59 (23-0516). Urge a pardon for convicted smuggler John French in mercy to himself and family. Refused by AJ because opposed by the collector and prosecutor, prison being the only means to punish insolvents who violate the revenue laws.

**Apr 27**
Andrew Jackson Donelson to William Walker Moore. ALS, THer (22-1190). Declines for AJ an offer of escort by the Washington National Cadets to the Fredericksburg cornerstone-laying, as AJ wishes a “plain and unostentatious” participation.

**Apr 27**
Henry Hunte to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-27). Recommends Edward Wyer for some employment.

**Apr 28**
Emily Tennessee Donelson to Mary Ann Eastin Polk. ALS, NcU-George Washington Polk Papers (mAJs). Gives news of herself, Mary Pageot’s lovesickness, Cora Livingston’s wedding, McLane’s health, and Van Buren’s banter. Franked by AJ.

**Apr 29**
To John Boyle. ANS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-137). Asks when the Delaware will be ready for sea, as Livingston “should go out immediately.”

**Apr 29**
From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports that the Delaware, needing work at the unfinished Norfolk dry dock, will not be ready before June, and offers the sloop Fairfield to take Livingston instead.

**Apr 29**
To William Berkeley Lewis.

**Apr 29**
From Mary Donelson Coffee.

**Apr 29**
From Louis McLane. LS, DNA-RG 56 (22-1211). LC, DNA-RG 56 (M415-1). Submits Louisiana district attorney Henry Carleton’s request to Treasury solicitor Virgil Maxcy for additional counsel. AJ directs engaging Isaac T. Preston.

**Apr 29**
From Roger Brooke Taney.

**Apr 29**
Check to George Breathitt for $100. DS, DLC (42).

**Apr 29**
Temporary commission for Maximo de Aguirre as consul at Bilbao, Spain. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (22-1196).

**Apr 30**
To John Boyle. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-137). Orders the Delaware to sail Jun 1, and authorizes replacing the Norfolk dry dock superintendent if needed to ensure it.

**Apr 30**
Apr 30  To Wilson Lumpkin.  
Apr 30  From Christian Eckloff.  
Apr 30  From Reuben Miles Whitney. ADS, DLC (22-1222). Outlines a plan for shifting deposits to state banks while thwarting BUS retaliation, regulating their operations, redeeming the last of the national debt, and maintaining a uniform currency, and proposes a presidential manifesto to announce the change. 
Apr 30  Bill from Bailey & Kitchen to Andrew Jackson Jr. for a clock and candelabra. DS, DLC (43). Receipted Sep 1.  
Apr 30  Reappointment of Samuel Harrison Smith and others as levy court judges for Washington, D.C. ANS, DNA-RG 59 (22-1220).  
Apr 30  Temporary commission for Joshua Dodge as consul at Bremen. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (22-1213).  
[Apr]  From Francis Thomas. Envelope, DLC (59; 17-0093). Endorsed by AJ that Thomas has sent on his $50 donation for the sufferers of a fire at Cumberland, Md.  
May 1  To Andrew Jackson Crawford.  
May 1  From Louis McLane. AD, NjP (22-1257). Advises informing Garret D. Wall that neither he nor AJ has power to release Robert Arnold from his debt to the government, and that Arnold can be discharged from imprisonment only upon application.  
May 1  To Edward Livingston. AD, DNA-RG 206 (22-1255). LC, DNA-RG 59 (M40-23). Directs him to inform Garret D. Wall that Robert Arnold cannot be released from his debt to the U.S. and can only be discharged from his imprisonment on civil process upon petition.  
May 1  From Gideon Lee. ALS draft, N (22-1253). Transmits an invitation to visit from the New York City Common Council.  
May 1  From William Berkeley Lewis.  
May 1  From Mordecai Manuel Noah.  
May 1  Check to Michael Anthony Giusta for $867.79 to close his stewardship. DS, DLC (42).  
May 1  Temporary commission for Romulus Mitchell Saunders as claims commissioner under the French convention. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1261).  
May 1  Charles Kitchel Gardner to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-27). Recommends Edward Wyer for consul.
May 2 To [A. C. Cazenove & Co.]. ALS, E. E. Moore (22-1263).
Accepts a draft and pledges payment of $292.23 for imported madeira.

May 2
To Henry Toland. 288

May 2
From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Encloses Winfield Scott’s recommendation of Henry Cadwalader for midshipman.

May 2

May 2
From Martin Van Buren. 288

May 2

May 2
Check to new White House steward Joseph Boulanger for $150. DS, DLC (42).

[May 2]
Check to Edward Livingston for $350 for furnishings and wine. DS facsimile, Alexander Autographs sale, May 19, 1998, lot 777 (mAJs).

May 2
Appointment of Michael Nourse as acting register of the Treasury during Thomas L. Smith’s absence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1264).

May 3
To James Barron. AN, ViW (22-1270). Agrees to see him.

May 3
To John Coffee. 289

May 3
From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports no Maryland midshipman vacancies for John C. Weems’s son Alexander.

May 3
From James Gadsden. ALS, THi (22-1275). Applauds the progress of Indian removal and asks to have St. Marks town lots offered for sale as soon as possible.

May 3
From William Berkeley Lewis. 290

May 3
From William Berkeley Lewis. 292

May 3

May 3
Martin Gordon to Louis McLane. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (mAJs). Complains that surveyor Samuel Spotts is thwarting New Orleans customs collections and encloses a letter to AJ. Referred by AJ to McLane for report.

May 4
To Thomas Handy Gilliss. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1293). Appoints him acting fourth auditor during Amos Kendall’s absence.

May 4
To William Berkeley Lewis. 293

May 4
From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits testimonials for George W. McLean.

[May 4]

May 4
Pardon for convicted thief Addison Brown. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1290; T967-1).

May 4
Discharge of liability for Eliakim Barney for violating the revenue laws, upon payment of $300 plus interest since 1827. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1279; T967-1).
May 4 Approval of regulations for the War Department commissioner of pension's office. Copy, DNA-RG 153 (22-1303).

May 5 From Alexander Gordon Penn. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (M726-9). Resigns as receiver at the St. Helena, La., land office in frustration over administrative inertia.

May 6 From Thomas Pennant Barton. ALS, DLC (42). Tenders thanks and regards, and solicits an appointment.

May 6 From Felix Grundy. 294


May 6 Appointment of Daniel Kurtz as acting commissioner of Indian Affairs during Elbert Herring's absence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1308).

May 6 Appointment of John Robb as acting secretary of war during Lewis Cass's absence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1309).

May 6 Check to self for $200 for expenses to Fredericksburg. DS, DLC (42).

May 7 Address of the Fredericksburg Monumental Committee. 295

May 7 Address at Fredericksburg. 297

May 7 From Leopold, Grand Duke of Baden. LS, DNA-RG 59 (22-1310). Announces the birth of a niece.

May 7 From Louis McLane. LS, DNA-RG 56 (22-1315). LC, DNA-RG 56 (M415-1). Submits Edenton, N.C., customs collector Duncan McDonald's letter attributing his delinquency in rendering accounts to the inspector's absence. Endorsed by AJ not to accept this excuse in future.

May 7 From Martin Van Buren. ALS, DLC (22-1317). Introduces Myndert Van Schaick.

May 7 Druggist's bill from E. H. & C. H. James to Andrew Jackson Donelson. DS, DLC (43). Receipted Jan 1, 1835.


May 8 From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Encloses Marine lieutenant George W. McLean's commission for signature.

May 8 From John Donelson (1807–1879). 301

May 8 From James Thomas. LC, MdAA (22-1324). Asks to have an Army engineer survey an intracoastal canal route between Delaware and Chesapeake Bays at Maryland state expense.


May 8 From Edmund Carmick Watmough. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-25). Asks to be appointed consul at Paris.

May 8 Alexander Clinton McLean to Levi Woodbury. LS, DNA-RG 45 (22-1321). Resigns as Marine lieutenant. Accepted by AJ.
May 9  
To John Boyle. Extracts, M & S Rare Books #9746, 2017 (mAjS). Requests a report on reappointing dismissed Navy midshipman Spotswood A. Washington.

May 9  
From Benjamin Say Bonsall. ALS, DLC (42). Introduces John Sharp, to consult on banking.

May 9  
From Amos Kendall. 302

May 9  
From Henry Toland. ALS, DLC (42). Introduces John Sharp.

May 9  
From Martin Van Buren. 304

May 9  
From "A Friend Truly." 305

May 9  

May 10  
From James Nelson Barker. ALS, DLC (43). Introduces John Sharp, to present his views on banking.

May 10  

May 10  
From Levi Woodbury. 306

[May 10]  
Approval of regulations for the War Department Commissioner of Indian Affairs office. LC, DNA-RG 153 (22-1331).

May 11  
To John Coffee. 307

May 11  

May 11  
From John A. Bell et al. 308

May 11  
From Thomas Hart Benton. 309

May 11  
From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports on the circumstances of midshipman Spotswood A. Washington's dismissal and precedents for his restoration.

May 11  

May 11  

May 11  
Approval of John L. Brightwell’s account for $339.23 as messenger to the commissioners under the Danish claims convention. DS, DNA-RG 217 (22-1337).

May 11  
Check to Thompson & Homans for $72.43. DS, DLC (43).

May 12  
To Martin Van Buren. 310

[cMay 12]  
From John Sharp. AD, DLC (43; 22-1349). Proposes a system of state banks to receive federal deposits.

May 13  
To John Boyle. AD, DNA-RG 45 (M124-138). Asks if the Delaware has entered dry dock, and insists she be ready Jun 1.

May 13  
From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports “zealous efforts” to ready the dry dock and fit the Delaware for sea.

May 13  
To Eli Simpson Davis. AN, DLC (43). Returns a John C. Calhoun letter Davis had given him.

May 13  
From Robert Arnold. DS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0008). Former Perth Amboy, N.J., collector solicits a discharge from prison, being
unable to pay the $50,000 still owing the U.S. after forced sale of his estate. Referred by AJ to James A. Hamilton for examination.

May 13
From Susan Wheeler Decatur.

May 13

May 13
Appointment of Louis McLane as acting secretary of state during Edward Livingston's absence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1360).

May 13
Memorandum on Robert Beverley Randolph.

May 14
From Frederick Jones. ADS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-84). Explains his desertion from the Army to escape the cholera and requests a release from his enlistment.

May 14
From John Reynolds. LC, IHi (22-1361). Requests the grant to Illinois of a salt spring tract in Jefferson County.

May 14
From Martin Tiernan et al. LS, DNA-RG 107 (M222-31). Complain of Solomon G. Krepps's and Andrew Stewart's anti-administration bias in appointing Cumberland Road assistant superintendents and of their designs to remove Valentine Giesey. Referred by AJ to Cass for “a strict inquiry,” as appointing meritorious political supporters will “ensure an energetic action to promote the public welfare; when those opposed will do all things to lessen, rather than promote the character of that administration they are abusing.”

May 14
Bill from John Smith to AJ Jr. for $52.75 for furnishings. DS, DLC (43; 23-0068). Receipted Jun 27 as paid by Henry Toland.

May 15
From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-1362). Recommends approving Joseph Parks's sale of his Shawnee reservation.

May 15
From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-1363). Recommends designating Roenunas's reservation under the Wyandot treaty of 1832.

May 15
From Gideon Lee. LS, DNA-RG 56 (mAJs). Conveys the New York City Common Council's request to postpone decision on a new custom house site until August.

May 15
Edmund M. Smith to James Gibbon. DS, DNA-RG 56 (mAJs). Charges Richmond, Va., customs officers with malfeasance, persecution, and physical assault. AJ orders investigation Nov 1.

May 16

May 16
From William Berkeley Lewis.

May 16

May 16
From Roger Brooke Taney. AN, CrY-A (22-1370). Encloses letters from Henry Ashton and Francis S. Key reporting on Robert
B. Randolph’s escape and pursuit and jurisdictional impediments to his arrest.

**May 16**  
*From Henry Toland.*  
May 16  
*From Martin Van Buren.*  
May 16  
Check to Tucker & Thompson for $52 for tailoring. DS, DLC (43).

May 16  
[James L. Edwards] to Andrew Jackson Donelson. N, DNA-RG 15 (22-1367). States that Anthony Dibrell’s pension application has been returned as defective.

**[May 17]**  

May 17  
From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Transmits a report on the Norfolk dry dock.

**[May 17]**  
From Thomas Emerson. Printed, Windsor Vermont Republican & Journal, Jun 21, 1833 (mAJs). Tenders a citizens’ invitation to visit Windsor, Vermont.

May 17  
Appointment of James Thompson as acting third auditor during Peter Hagner’s absence. DS, DLC (75).

**May 18**  
*From Susan Wheeler Decatur.*  
May 18  
*To Susan Wheeler Decatur.*  
May 18  
Check to Susan Wheeler Decatur for $350 for china and plated ware. DS, DLC (43).

**May 18**  
Memorandum on Susan Wheeler Decatur’s china.

**May [18]**  
*To Henry Toland.*

May 18  
From William Lee Davidson Ewing et al. DS, DNA-RG 77 (mAJs). Repel scoundrel William Turner’s scurrilous charges against William C. Greenup and urge his restoration as Cumberland Road superintendent in Illinois.

May 18  
From Louis McLane. LC, DNA-RG 56 (M415-1). Reports that Martin Gordon’s charges against New Orleans customs surveyor Samuel Spotts are not fully sustained.

May 18  
From Samuel McRoberts. ALS, DNA-RG 77 (mAJs). Repels “worthless” William Turner’s charges against William C. Greenup of intemperance and inattention to duty.

**May 19**  
*To Felix Grundy.*

May 19  
*To Martin Van Buren.*

May 19  
*From Susan Wheeler Decatur.*

May 20  
From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports that the pension claim of William Nicolson’s heirs has been referred to the Treasury Department.

May 20  

May 20  
*From Edward Everett.*

May 20  
From Thomas Irwin. ALS, DNA-RG 77 (22-1413). Encloses a Brownsville, Pa., protest against the anti-administration influence of Solomon G. Krepps and Andrew Stewart over
Cumberland Road appointments and their plan to remove Valentine Giesey.

**May 20**
From Louis McLane.  
From John Milroy. ALS, DNA-RG 77 (mAJs). Appeals for the reinstatement as West Point cadet of his son James H. Milroy, dismissed for a small offense.

**May 20**
Order to dismiss assistant Army surgeon John Walker Baylor for avoiding his examination. ANS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-79).

**May 21**
To Edward Livingston. LS, NjP (mAJs). Introduces Dr. George W. Campbell, who goes to Paris to further his medical education.

**May 21**

**May 21**
From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports that the Navy Department has made a powder contract with Du Pont.

**May 21**
From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits midshipmen’s warrants for signature.

**May 21**

**May 21**

**May 22**
From Susan Wheeler Decatur. ALS, THer (22-1424). Delivers AJ’s china and plate, packed for shipment.

**May 22**
From Thomas Hickman. ALS, DNA-RG 15 (M804-1267). Recites his Revolutionary service, recalls AJ at Guilford Courthouse, and complains of difficulties in obtaining a pension. Endorsed by AJ that he must produce the required proofs or seek relief from Congress.

**May 23**
From John Samuel Claybrooke. LS, THi (22-1432). *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 6 (1947): 175. Informs that John Overton’s estate owes him $500 from an 1831 loan, though repayment is not urgent.

**May 23**
From Richard Keith Call. ALS, DLC (22-1429). Discusses Florida politics and his close race for congressional delegate, and recommends Benjamin D. Wright for customs collector at Pensacola. Endorsed by AJ to appoint Wright.

**May 23**
From John Hopkins. ALS, OCIWHi (22-1434). Presents a snuff box.

**May 23**
Order to award Riah Gilson & Co. the contract for building the Potomac bridge. DS, DNA-RG 56 (22-1436).

**May 24**
From Caroline Calvert. D, DNA-RG 59 (22-1521). Begs release from prison and remission of her fine and costs for assault and battery, which she is unable to pay. Approved by AJ May 30.

**May 24**
From Richard Cheatham. ALS, THer (22-1439). Asks for information to repel campaign charges of fraud in AJ’s Chickasaw negotiations of 1818 and 1830.
May 24 From Campbell Patrick White. ALS, DLC (43). Encloses an address urging removal of federal deposits from the BUS.

May 24 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Nicholas Philip Trist. ALS, DLC-Trist Papers (mAJs). Envelope, ViU-Trist, Randolph, and Burke Family Papers (mAJs). Sends the requested extract from AJ’s first annual message. Franked by AJ.

May 25 To John Boyle. AN, DNA-RG 45 (M124-138). Demands to know whether the Navy Department advertised its powder contract before awarding it to Du Pont.

May 25 From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports further on the circumstances of the Du Pont powder contract.

May 25 From Benjamin Franklin Currey to AJ and Lewis Cass. Copy, DNA-RG 75 (22-1445). Encloses his May 23 report to Indian commissioner Elbert Herring on the Cherokee council meeting (SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 4, pp. 413–17, Serial 247) and proposes measures to increase pressure for removal.


May 25 From Samuel Breese Snowden. ALS, T (22-1458). Relates the death of William Hume, his Christian submission, and his love for AJ.

May 25 From Martin Van Buren. ALS, DLC (22-1462). Mentions Mr. Gaines, encloses a letter for Nicholas Trist, and advises leaving the choice of accommodations on AJ’s northern tour to the local committees.

May 25 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Describes construction progress and delays at the Norfolk dry dock and predicts completion by Jun 10.

May 25 From John Coffee. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-80). Urges approving Army lieutenant George W. Corprew’s request to change regimens for his wife’s health.


May 27 To Nicholas Philip Trist. AN, DLC (22-1465). Encloses a letter from Van Buren.

May 27 From John Boyle. ALS, DLC (43). Transmits John Hopkins’s gift of a snuff box.

May 27 From Katherine Duane Morgan.

May 27 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Lafayette Maynard’s midshipman’s warrant for signature.


May 28  From Edward Livingston. AN, DNA-RG 59 (M639-24). Encloses and seconds Samuel H. Thompson’s application to replace foreigner George T. Ladico as consul and naval storekeeper at Port Mahon in the Balearics.

May 28  To Levi Woodbury. AN, DNA-RG 45 (M124-138). Asks his opinion on replacing George Ladico as naval storekeeper at Port Mahon.

May 28  From Levi Woodbury. AD, DNA-RG 59 (M639-13). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Says that Ladico performs well and charges less than others would.

[May 28]  From Susan Wheeler Decatur. ANS, ebay #390994163369, Dec 11, 2014 (mAJs). Recommends someone for office. Endorsed by AJ “this to be retained.”

May 28  From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-1467). LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). TPUS, 24:855. Says that Taney advises against proceeding with sale of St. Marks town lots until the Supreme Court decides a private land claim to the site.

May 28  From John Pemberton. ALS draft, PFii (22-1469). Gives thanks for his son John’s West Point appointment, discusses plans for AJ’s Philadelphia visit, and recommends Henry Cadwalader and Charles S. Macdonough for midshipmen.

May 28  From John Robb. ALS, DLC (22-1473). Urges Mr. Beall for Marine second lieutenant.

May 28  Check to James Reeside for $100 for a horse. DS, DLC (43).

May 28  From Andrew Jackson Donelson to Henry Mason Morfit. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Says the Paris consulate is filled, and advises instead accepting that at Buenos Aires.

May 29  To Mary Donelson Coffee. 356

May 29  From Edward Livingston. 357

May 29  To Edward Livingston. 358

May 29  To Edward Livingston. AN, DNA-RG 59 (M639-24). Presumes from Woodbury’s May 28 report that Samuel H. Thompson will not want George T. Ladico’s post at Port Mahon.

May 29  To Peter Grayson Washington. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1518). Appoints him acting Treasurer during John Campbell’s absence.

May 29  From James Buchanan. 358


May 29  From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (22-1507). Recommends approving Pierre and Therese Gouin’s sale of their reservations, but not Charles Gouin’s which has been improperly located. Approved by AJ.

May 29  From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). Reports that Illinois governor John Reynolds’s claim for a salt spring and adjacent sections is contrary to law.
May 29 From Michael McCarthy. DS, DNA-RG 59 (22-1548). Requests a pardon for forgery, claiming he was convicted for innocently passing a forged note. Approved by AJ May 29.

May 29 From Richard Henry Ridgely. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (22-1514). Regrets his youthful failure to pay debts and requests appointment as a midshipman.

May 29 Appointment of Asbury Dickens as acting secretary of the Treasury during the secretary's absence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1498).

May 29 Temporary commission for Louis McLane as secretary of state. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1513).

May 29 Temporary commission for William John Duane as secretary of the Treasury. DS facsimile, Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 54 (1930): 29. LC, DNA-RG 59; Copy, DNA-RG 46 (22-1502).

May 29 Temporary commission for Edward Livingston as minister to France. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1512).

May 29 Temporary commission for Thomas Pennant Barton as secretary of legation at Paris. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1476).


May 30 To Joseph Mechlin. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1528). Appoints him acting fourth auditor during Amos Kendall's absence.


May 30 Remission of fine and costs for assault and battery and discharge from imprisonment for Caroline Calvert. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1519; T967-1).

May 30 Approval of West Point cadet Arnold Harris's court-martial for card-playing and of commuting his sentence from dismissal to three months' confinement to quarters. DS, DNA-RG 153 (22-1525).

May 31 From Edward Chandler. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). Asks to be changed from district attorney to marshal in Florida.

May 31 From Pardon Clark Greene. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-76). Withdrawing his name as surety on Florida marshal Thomas Eastin's bond.

May 31 From Hannah Hedges. DS, DNA-RG 59 (22-1564). Begs a remission of her fine and costs for assault and battery, which she is unable to pay. Approved by AJ Jun 4.

May 31 Approval of West Point cadet William Dewey's court-martial for card-playing and of commuting his sentence from dismissal to one month's confinement to quarters. DS, DNA-RG 153 (22-1534).

May Memorandum on the Bank of the United States. 361

[cMay] From Francis Preston Blair. 362

Jun From Willie Blount. 366
Jun 1  Check to Darius Clagett & Co. for $29.97 for Emily T. Donelson’s account. DS, DLC (43).

Jun 1  Pardon and discharge order for convicted forger Michael McCarthy. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1547; T967-1).

Jun 2  To Andrew Jackson Hutchings. 373

Jun 3  To Richard Henry Bayard. Printed, New York Evening Post, Jun 7, 1833 (mAJs). Declines an invitation to stop in Wilmington, Del., on his northbound trip, but intends to pass through New Castle on Jun 8.


Jun 3  From Ebenezer James Hume. 375


Jun 3  Check to Joseph Boulanger for $723.15 for White House expenses. DS, DLC (43).

Jun 4  To Cora Livingston Barton. 376


Jun 4  From John Murphy et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-6). Recommend reappointing John M. Davis marshal in Pennsylvania.

Jun 4  From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Isaac Chauncey’s appointment to the Board of Navy Commissioners for signature.

Jun 4  Receipted bill from Lewis Veron & Co. for $1,180.52 for Hermitage tableware and furnishings. D, PCIWHi (23-0069).

Jun 4  Remission of fine and costs and order for release of convicted assailant Hannah Hedges. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1562; T967-1).

Jun 5  To John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1570). Appoints him acting secretary of the Navy during Levi Woodbury’s absence.

Jun 5  To the Marquis de Lafayette. LS, NIC (22-1579). Introduces Cayetana Susana Bosque Grymes, wife of John R. Grymes, who visits France for her health.

Jun 5  To Charles Jones Love. 376

Jun 5  From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports in reply to Mr. Garrison’s application to be auctioneer at Gosport navy yard that auctioneers of dead seamen’s effects are employed locally as needed.

Jun 5  Appointment of Daniel Carroll Brent as acting secretary of state during Louis McLane’s absence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1574).

Jun 5  Appointment of John M. Moore as acting GLO commissioner during Elijah Hayward’s absence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1582).

Jun 5  Remission of penalty against William H. Wall for ignorantly overloading passengers on the William Ross. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1585; T967-1).

Jun 5  Power of attorney to Andrew Jackson Jr. and William Berkeley Lewis over AJ’s BUS account in his absence. DS, InFwLW (mAJs; 22-1577).
Jun 5  Check to self for $1850. DS, DLC (43).


Jun 5  Received bill from Clement Woodward for $8.76 for White House kitchenware. ADS, DNA-RG 217 (M235-891). Runs to Oct 21.

Jun 5  Deposition of Robert Arnold. DS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0011). Relates his participation in customs fraud and sale of all his property to meet his debt to the U.S. Discharge from prison ordered by AJ Jun 13.

[Jun 6] To Richard Cheatham. ALS, THer (22-1591). Defends the Chickasaw negotiations of 1818 and 1830 and condemns his traducers.

Jun 6  To Martin Van Buren.

Jun 6  To Andrew Jackson Jr.


Jun 6  Appointment of Enoch Reynolds as acting second comptroller during James B. Thornton’s absence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1597).

Jun 6  Appointment of John Robb as acting secretary of war during Lewis Cass’s absence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (22-1599).

Jun 7  Address to Black Hawk et al.

Jun 7  From Ferdinand II, King of the Two Sicilies. LS and Translations, DNA-RG 59 (22-1605). Announces the marriage of his sister Maria Antonia to Grand Duke Leopold II of Tuscany.


Jun 8  From Joseph Biles Anthony. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-6). Recommends reappointing John M. Davis marshal in Pennsylvania.

Jun 8  From Anson Virgil Parsons. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-6). Recommends reappointing John M. Davis marshal in Pennsylvania.

Jun 9  To Theodore Frelinghuysen et al. Printed, Newark Daily Advertiser, Jun 12, 1833 (mAJs). Declines their invitation to visit Newark, N.J.

Jun 9  To Thomas Jefferson Grotjan.

Jun 9  To Littleton Kirkpatrick et al. Photocopy of LS, NjHi (23-0006). Accepts an official invitation to visit New Brunswick, N.J., on his way to New York.

Jun 9  To Gideon Lee. Printed, New York Evening Post, Jun 11, 1833 (mAJs). Accepts the New York City Common Council’s invitation to visit.

Jun 9  To James Madison Porter, Isaac Cox Wikoff, and Melchior Hay
June 1833

Horn. Printed, Easton Centinel, Jun 14, 1833 (mAJs). Declines an official invitation to visit Easton, Pa.

Jun 10
To Andrew Jackson Jr. 382

Jun 10
From William Hilton. ALS, DNA-RG 15 (M804-1283). Revolutionary veteran requests a pension, claiming disability and need.

Jun 10

Jun 11

Jun 12
Address by Jacob Morton. 383

Jun 12

Jun 13
To John Anderson. Printed, Portland Eastern Argus, Jun 17, 1833 (mAJs). Accepts an official invitation to visit Portland, Maine.

Jun 13
To Joseph B. Ard et al. Printed, Harrisburg Chronicle, Jun 24, 1833 (mAJs). Accepts their invitation to visit Lewistown, Pa., if his schedule permits.

Jun 13
To Henry Buehler et al. Printed, Harrisburg Chronicle, Jun 17, 1833 (mAJs; 22-1544). Gives thanks for the invitation to Harrisburg, and hopes to visit on his return route.

Jun 13

Jun 13

Jun 13

Jun 13
To Benjamin Toppan Pickman and Abel Cushing. 384

Jun 13
To Rufus Seth Reed et al. Printed, Erie Observer, Jun 22, 1833 (mAJs; 23-0030). Thanks them for their invitation to visit Erie, Pa., on his return route.

Jun 13
To Joseph Robinson et al. Printed, Concord New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette, Jun 24, 1833 (mAJs). Thanks them for the invitation to Concord, N.H., hopes to be able to accept, and praises the state’s “moral, political, social and literary” institutions.

Jun 13
Order of discharge, on payment of costs, for insolvent debtor to the U.S. Robert Arnold. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0007; T967-1).

Jun 13
Appointment of Daniel Carroll Brent as acting secretary of state in Louis McLane’s absence or indisposition. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0017).
Jun 13 Appointment of Michael Nourse as acting register of the Treasury in Thomas L. Smith’s absence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0023).

Jun 13 Check to Joseph Boulanger for $300 for White House expenses. DS by AJ Jr., DLC (43).

Jun 13 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Washington Irving. 384

Jun 13 Shivers Parker, William H. Bunn, and John Hillyer to Andrew Jackson Donelson. LS, Benjamin H. Caldwell Jr. (37-0517). Committee of the Tammany Society waits on AJ to invite him to attend their council.

Jun 14 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 385

Jun 14 From Elizabeth Fellows. D, DNA-RG 45 (M124-138). Requests any prize money due her late husband, Navy ship’s carpenter Isaac Fellows.

Jun 14 From Jacob Sutherland et al. Printed, Albany Argus, Jul 9, 1833 (mAJs; 23-0034). Invite AJ to visit Albany, N.Y.

Jun 14 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Edward Jones Mallett. ALS, DLC (23-0032). Accepts for AJ an invitation to call on Mallett’s father-in-law James Fenner in Providence, R.I., but declines a private lodging in accord with his general rule.

Jun 15 To Anna Johnson Reid. ANS, William Dearborn (23-0037). Acknowledges her kind attentions.

Jun 15 From Thomas Cotter. ALS, DLC (43). Encloses his Young Arithmetician’s Guide.

Jun 15 Address by Henry Waggaman Edwards. 386


Jun 15 Barnabas Bates to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DLC (23-0035). Forwards a letter from Elbert Herring to Donelson asking AJ to appoint Daniel Kurtz acting commissioner of Indian affairs during Herring’s absence. Endorsed by AJ.

Jun 16 To Alexander Harrison. Printed, New Haven Columbian Register, Jun 22, 1833 (mAJs; 23-0039). Thanks him for a box of axes made at his factory.

Jun 16 From Henry Martin et al. 387

Jun 16 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Emily Tennessee Donelson. Abstract and facsimile of envelope with AJ frank, Robert F. Batchelder catalog 64, item 44 (mAJs). Recounts AJ’s visit to New Haven.

Jun 17 Address by Andrus & Judd. 389

Jun 17 Reply to Andrus & Judd. 390

Jun 17 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 390

Jun 18 From John Hathaway Shaw and William Coffin Jr. Printed, Nantucket Inquirer, Jun 22, 1833 (mAJs). Present the Jun 15
welcoming address from Nantucket Jacksonians and invite him to visit.

Jun 18  To John Hathaway Shaw and William Coffin Jr. Printed, Nantucket Inquirer, Jun 22, 1833 (mAJs). Thankfully declines their invitation to visit Nantucket.

Jun 19  From Christopher Grant Champlin et al. To John Hathaway Shaw and William Coffin Jr. Printed, Nantucket Inquirer, Jun 22, 1833 (mAJs). Declines the Nantucket Jacksonians’ Jun 15 invitation to visit.

Jun 19  From Harman Visger. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (T185-3). Asks to be appointed to succeed his late father Harman Visger as U.S. consul at Bristol, England.

Jun 20  From Aaron Ogden De Hart. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M148-85). Asks that his appointment as acting midshipman on the Vincennes be transferred to a ship ordered for sea.

Jun 20  From Thomas Lloyd Halsey Jr. ALS, DNA-RG 76 (23-0045). Requests the government’s intervention to procure payment of his claim against Buenos Aires.

Jun 21  From Cyrus Barton et al. Printed, Concord New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette, Jul 1, 1833 (mAJs). Convey the New Hampshire legislature’s official invitation to visit.


Jun 21  Address by James Richardson. 393

Jun 21  From Aaron Vail. 394

Jun 21  Address by Charles Wells. Printed, Boston Daily Advertiser and Patriot, Jun 26, 1833 (mAJs; 23-0049). Mayor of Boston officially welcomes AJ.

Jun 21  Check to William Berkeley Lewis for $40.92. DS by AJ Jr., DLC (43).

Jun 21  Grant & Stone to Edward Livingston. LS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0180). Complain of U.S. inconsistency in measuring ship capacity and request remission of a $750 fine for overloading passengers on the British bark William Ewing. Endorsed by AJ Jul 11 that the record is insufficient to act upon.

Jun 22  Address by Levi Lincoln. 396

Jun 22  Address by James Boyd. 398

Jun 22  Reply to James Boyd. 399

Jun 22  To Benjamin Russell et al. 399

Jun 22  To Renel Williams et al. Printed, Augusta, Maine, The Age, Jun 26, 1833 (mAJs). Regrets he cannot go to Augusta, but plans to visit Portland.


Jun 22  Samuel Foster McCleary to Andrew Jackson Donelson. D, TNJ

Jun 24
From Parker Cleaveland. Copy, MeB (23-0053). Bowdoin College professors invite AJ to visit.

Jun 24
From James Gadsden.

Jun 24
Receipt from Henry Toland to Andrew Jackson Jr. for $115.85 for matting and freight on goods shipped to New Orleans for the Hermitage. DS, DLC (43; 23-0070).

Jun 25
From Israel Balch. ALS, NhD (mAJs). Hails AJ as defender of the republic, benefactor of mankind, and champion of democracy.

Jun 25
Andrew Jackson Donelson to Francis Preston Blair.

Jun 25
Robert Arnold to Louis McLane. ALS, DNA-RG 206 (23-0480). Pleads that he has no money to pay court costs to obtain his discharge. Endorsed by AJ Jul 11 to require proof.

Jun 26
To William John Duane.

Jun 26
To William John Duane.

Jun 26
Address at Harvard by Josiah Quincy.

Jun 26
Reply to Josiah Quincy.

Jun 26
Address at Bunker Hill by Edward Everett.

Jun 26
Reply to Edward Everett.

Jun 26

Jun 27
To the Haverhill, Mass., citizens’ committee. Printed, Newburyport Herald, Jul 2, 1833 (mAJs). Regrets that ill health will prevent his planned visit.

Jun [27]
From Willie Blount.

Jun 27

Jun 27
Receipted bill from Thomas W. Morgan to Henry Toland for $40.92 for sperm oil for the Hermitage. DS, DLC (43; 23-0071).

Jun 28

Jun 28
Address by Robert Davis et al. Printed, Concord New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette, Jul 3, 1833 (mAJs). Welcome AJ to Concord, N.H.

Jun 28
From Henry Lee.

Jun 28
Henry Toland to Andrew Jackson Jr. ALS, DLC (43; 23-0066). Sends receipts for $1,390.04 in household goods purchased and sent to the Hermitage.

Jun 29
To Nathaniel Bouton. N, NhHi (23-0072). Accepts his invitation to attend Sunday services at Bouton’s Congregational church in Concord.

Jun 29
Address by Samuel Dinsmoor. Printed, Concord New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette, Jul 3, 1833 (mAJs; 23-0074). New Hampshire governor welcomes AJ.

Jun 29
Reply to Samuel Dinsmoor.


Jun 29 Check to George Washington South for $4,308.82. ADS by William B. Lewis, DLC (43).

Jun 29 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Josiah Quincy. ALS, MH-Ar (23-0075). Sends the text of AJ's reply to Quincy's Jun 26 address at Harvard. Franked by AJ.

Jun 30 To John Anderson. Printed, Portland Eastern Argus, Jul 3, 1833 (mAJs). Regrets that ill health will prevent his planned visit to Portland, Maine.

Jun 30 To Francis Bloodgood. Printed, Albany Argus, Jul 6, 1833 (mAJs; 23-0083). Regrets that ill health will not permit a visit to Albany, N.Y.


Jun 30 To Jacob Sutherland et al. DNA-RG 59 (23-0524). Urge a pardon for convicted smuggler John French.


Jul 1 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Kirk Boott. Printed, Boston Weekly Messenger, Jul 4, 1833 (mAJs; 23-0091). Encloses $50 from AJ to aid two young men injured while firing a salute to him at Lowell, Mass., on Jun 27.


Jul 2 From Julius Converse et al. DNA-RG 59 (23-0519). Urge a pardon for smuggler John French, already punished severely for a small offense.

Jul 2 From Powhatan Ellis. DNA-RG 77 (mAJs). Asks AJ's
favourable consideration of Thomas D. Stiles's appeal of his dismissal as West Point cadet.

-Jul 2-

From Martin Gordon.

Jul 2

Check to Andrew Jackson Jr. to cover Cazenove & Co.'s draft for $292.23 for wine. DS by AJ Jr., DLC (43).

Jul 3

From John Coffee.

Jul 4

From Charles Jared Ingersoll. ALS, DLC (43). Congratulates AJ on his high standing in Europe, as reported by Levett Harris.

Jul 5

Check to Joseph Boulanger for $494. DS by AJ Jr., DLC (43).

Jul 6

From William I, King of the Netherlands. LS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0093). Copy and Translation, DNA-RG 59 (M56-1). Announces the birth of a grandson.

Jul 8

From Gideon J. Cowles. ALS, DLC (43). Reports John Coffee's death and laments his loss.

-Jul 8-

From John Donelson (1787–1840).

-Jul 8-

From Samuel Hogg.

-Jul 8-

From John McKinley. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-26). Laments John Coffee's death and recommends James H. Weakley to succeed him as surveyor general.

-Jul 8-

From Louis McLane. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0095). Reports on State Department contingent expenditures for the second quarter of 1833.

-Jul 8-

From James Harvey Weakley.

-Jul 8-


-Jul 9-

From Heckaton. LS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-530). Copy, DNA-RG 46 (23-0096). SDoc 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 4, pp. 461–63 (Serial 247). Quapaw chief complains of their dispossession and destitution, failure to allot them a home, efforts to compel them to the Caddo country, and withholding of their funds.

-Jul 10-

From William John Duane.

-Jul 10-

From John M. Moore. LC, DNA-RG 49 (23-0099). Transmits John Bell's recommendation for a land office site in the Mississippi Chickasaw cession.

-Jul 10-

From Joseph Montfort Street. ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-947). Urges removing the Winnebagoes across the Mississippi and disbanded the Fort Winnebago subagency, and complains of American Fur Company interference.

-Jul 10-


-Jul 10-


-Jul 11-

From Philip Pendleton Barbour. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-105). Recommends John Stanard for office.
Jul 11 From John Pemberton. ALS copy, PHi (23-0100). Recommends Pemberton Waddell for an Army or Marine appointment.


Jul 12 To William John Duane. 475

Jul 12 From William John Duane. 475

Jul 12 To Amos Kendall. AN, ebay #352008908422, Mar 22, 2017 (mAJs). Cincinnati Commercial, Feb 4, 1879 (DLC-43). Asks to see him on business.


Jul 12 From James Biddle. Copy, PHi (23-0106). Recommends his nephew James S. Biddle for midshipman.

Jul 12 From George Mifflin Dallas. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (23-0109). Recommends Pemberton Waddell for a commission in the dragoons.


Jul 12 From Henry Horn. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (23-0117). Recommends Pemberton Waddell for a dragoon commission.


Jul 13 From Benjamin W. Richards. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (23-0120). Recommends Pemberton Waddell for lieutenant in the dragoons or Marines.

Jul 12 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits midshipmen’s warrants for signature.

Jul 12 Martin Van Buren to Lewis Cass. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-12). Urges an appointment for Alexander Jones. Endorsed by AJ to all Department heads that “it would be pleasing to the President if he can with propriety be given an office.”


Jul 13 From William H. Ellis. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (23-0123). Asks approval to appoint New Haven customs surveyor John H. Jacocks as coastwise trade inspector also. Referred by AJ to Duane that, if allowable, Jacocks is “worthy & capable.”

Jul 13 From John Hill Jacocks. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (23-0126). Recalls AJ’s visit to New Haven and asks approval for his additional employment in the customs.

Jul 13 From Peter W. Kenaday. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (mAJs). Asks for funding to investigate an extensive ring of BUS note counterfeiters along the Ohio River.

Jul 13 From Henry Mason Morfit. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Urges his personal and political claims to the consulate at Paris.

Jul 13 Epigraph from first Annual Message “to ask nothing that is not clearly right, and to submit to nothing that is wrong.” ANS, MWiW-C (23-0128). Attested by William B. Lewis.


Jul 14 To Richard Keith Call. 476

Jul 14 From Elizabeth Hare. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-84). Begs for the release of her son, Army deserter Jesse Mercer Hare.

Jul 14 From Charles Richard Vaughan. 477

Jul 14 From Jared Watson. ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-223). Reports that the Creeks would agree to remove but for the interference of land speculators led by John S. Scott. Endorsed by AJ: “This gives a glaring description of the frauds on the Indians & the abuse of Scott, agent for the company—& of the Executive, in his speeches to the Indians A.J.”

Jul 14 From Lewis B. Willis. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-27). Presses his claims to be appointed New Orleans customs surveyor, claims Martin Gordon’s support, and defends Gordon’s conduct in office.

Jul 15 To William Carroll. 478

Jul 15 From Shakers of Alfred, Maine. 480

Jul 15 Unknown to Andrew Jackson Donelson. AL fragment, DLC (73). Reports James Reeside’s plan for sending AJ’s carriage on from Philadelphia to Washington.

Jul 16 From John Ball et al. LS, NjP-Blair-Lee Papers (mAJs). Revolutionary veterans send an address they had planned to make to AJ at Schuylerville, N.Y. Endorsed by AJ “to be acknowledged.”


Jul 16 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Louis McLane. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-76). Forwards the diplomatic chest to be delivered to the government of Central America, as requested by Lafayette on Apr 6.

Jul 17 To William John Duane. 481

Jul 17 From Thomas Leavitt. ADS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-14). Asks to be appointed consul at Saint John, New Brunswick.

[cJul 17] From Peter Tuel. DS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0152). Asks remission of his fine and costs for assault and battery, which he is unable to pay, to avoid imprisonment and family destitution. Approved by AJ Jul 17.
Jul 17 Remission of fine and costs and order of discharge for assailant Peter Tuel. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0150; T967-1).

Jul 17 Grant & Stone to Louis McLane. LS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0184). Submit a statement by Philadelphia collector James N. Barker that the British bark William Ewing had been mismeasured and was not overloaded with passengers. AJ orders remission of penalty Jul 19.

Jul 18 From Thomas Brooke Reily. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (mAJs). Protests his dismissal as clerk by Joseph Anderson for exposing nepotism, incompetence, and political opposition in the first comptroller's office.

[cJul 18] From Joseph Small et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0199). Ask a pardon for convicted mail robber Joseph J. Straughan, a duped youth of "slender capacity."

Jul 18 Thomas Pollock Devereux to Louis McLane. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0202). Encloses and supports the petition to pardon mail robber Joseph J. Straughan. Approved by AJ Jul 22.

Jul 19 From William John Duane (not sent). ALS draft, PPAmP-Duane Family Collection (mAJs). Duane Narrative and Correspondence, pp. 71–83 (23-0155). Answers AJ's arguments of Jul 17 and declines to order the deposits removed before Congress convenes.


Jul 20 To Elijah Hayward. 491


Jul 20 From William John Duane. LC, DNA-RG 56 (M415-1). Confirms that the William L. Robeson who headed the complainants against Martin Gordon is the land office receiver at New Orleans. AJ orders his removal.

Jul 20 From John Robb. LS, DNA-RG 77 (mAJs). LC, DNA-RG 94 (M91-3; 23-0166). Reports on Thomas D. Stiles's appeal of his dismissal as West Point cadet, on claim that he had been unjustly charged demerits while on furlough.

Jul 20 Order disallowing Thomas Duncan Stiles's conduct demerits while on furlough, and restoring him as West Point cadet. DS, DNA-RG 77 (mAJs).

Jul 20 Appointment of Daniel Kurtz as acting commissioner of Indian affairs during Elbert Herring's absence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0165).

Jul 20 Temporary commission for James Harvey Weakley as surveyor general of Alabama public lands. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0173).

Jul 20 Remission of a mistaken penalty against the British bark William Ewing for overloading passengers. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0179; T967-1).


Jul 22 To William John Duane. 491
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>From/To</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jul 22</td>
<td>To William John Duane.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jul 22</td>
<td>To William John Duane.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jul 23</td>
<td>From Samuel H. Thompson.</td>
<td>Urges his claims to a consulate.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jul 24</td>
<td>To Enoch Reynolds.</td>
<td>Extends his appointment as acting second comptroller until James B. Thornton returns.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jul 24</td>
<td>To Martin Van Buren.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jul 24</td>
<td>From Lewis Cass.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jul 25</td>
<td>To Thomas Handy Gilliss.</td>
<td>LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0222). Appoints him acting fourth auditor during Amos Kendall’s absence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 25</td>
<td>To Martin Van Buren.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 25</td>
<td>Check to Andrew Jackson Donelson for $500.</td>
<td>DS, Jay S. Goodgold (mAJs).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 27</td>
<td>To Martin Van Buren.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jul 27</td>
<td>From Betsey Hawley.</td>
<td>ALS, DNA-RG 59 (T229-1). Complains of the government’s failure to help recover her dead brother Isaac P. Hawley’s property in Colombia. Referred by AJ to McLane for inquiry.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jul 27</td>
<td>From Tilghman Ashurst Howard.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Jul 28 From Edward Livingston. 506


Jul 29 From Ange Adrian De Laperriere. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-90). Recommends James C. Thurmond for cadet at West Point.

Jul 29 From James Page. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0236). Resigns as bankruptcy commissioner, having been appointed Philadelphia postmaster.

Jul 29 From Martin Van Buren. 507

Jul 30 To Martin Van Buren. 507

Jul 30 From Samuel Houston. 508


Jul 31 From Zephaniah Drake et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-12). Recommend John Johnson for consul at Buenos Aires.

Jul 31 To George McIntosh. ALS, DLC (43). Presents a gift of madeira.

Jul 31 From Louis McLane. 511

Jul 31 From Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia. LS and Copy (in French), DNA-RG 59 (23-0248). Copy (in French) and Translation, DNA-RG 59 (M39-2). Compliments departing American minister James Buchanan.


Aug 1 From Matthew James Boyle. ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-776). Destitute teacher asks employment at a government Indian school.

Aug 1 From Charles Cassidy. ALS, DLC (43). Eulogizes John Coffee and recommends James H. Weakley to succeed him as surveyor general.

Aug 1 From Louis McLane. 513

Aug 2 From John Boyle. LS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-139). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Asks his instructions on the report and expense account just submitted by the commissioners to investigate Hanson Gassaway’s charges of Navy Board corruption. Papers
returned by AJ for examination and decision after his return to Washington.


Aug 2 *From Richard Mentor Johnson.* 514

Aug 2 *From Amos Kendall.* 515


Aug 2 Check to Joseph Boulanger for $829.36. ADS by William B. Lewis, DLC (43).

Aug 3 *To John T. Sullivan, Henry Dilworth Gilpin, and Peter Wager.* 519

Aug 4 From William Carroll. 520

Aug 5 From Andrew Jackson Donelson. 522

Aug 5 From Alexis Locklin Johnson. ALS, DLC (43). Praises AJ and asks for a few lines of handwriting.


Aug 5 From Daniel Todd Patterson. LS and Copy, DNA-RG 59 (M179-77). Asks authority to go to Vienna to seek an amelioration of port regulations at Trieste.

Aug 5 *From Roger Brooke Taney.* 523

Aug 6 From Felix Grundy. 524

Aug 6 From John T. Sullivan. 525

Aug 6 From Martin Van Buren. 526


Aug 7 *From Felix Grundy.* 527

Aug 7 From William Jones Leiper. ALS, DLC (43). Condemns BUS stock speculation, reports growing anti-BUS sentiment in Pennsylvania, and supports the Philadelphia *Pennsylvanian*’s denial of being pro-BUS.

Aug 8 *To Robert Johnstone Chester.* 528

Aug 8 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). Submits a proclamation for the sale of Choctaw lands ceded by the 1830 Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek.

Aug 8 From John McNairy. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0300). Resigns as district judge in Tennessee, and recommends Thomas J. Lacy to succeed him.

Aug 8 *From Martin Van Buren.* 529


Aug 8 Commission for Samuel Davis as bankruptcy commissioner in Pennsylvania. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0298).

Aug 9 From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Transmits mail from New Hampshire received in the Navy Department.

Aug 9 From William Carroll. 530


Aug 10 From Edward Livingston. 532

Aug 10 Appointment of Asbury Dickins as acting secretary of state in the event of McLane’s absence or illness. DS and LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0309).

Aug 10 Thomas Bruen Brown to Elijah Hayward. ALS, DLC (43). Justifies and asks AJ’s approval of an Indiana court-ordered sale of Potawatomi reservation lands from the late John Burnett’s estate to discharge his debts to Fielding Lowry, and encloses Nov 10 (DLC-41) and Nov 23, 1832 (DLC-41), records of the sale.

Aug 11 To Roger Brooke Taney. 533

Aug 11 From Amos Kendall. 536

Aug 11 Temporary commission for John Waller Overton as clerk to the claims commission under the Neapolitan convention. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0314).

Aug 12 To Martin Van Buren. 539

Aug 12 From Sheldon Smith Clark. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (mAJs). Resigns as customs appraiser at New Orleans.

Aug 12 From Samuel A. Smith. ALS, DNA-RG 77 (mAJs). Recommends reinstating Horatio M. Slack, dismissed from West Point for an excess of demerits.

Aug 13 From Henry Dilworth Gilpin. 541

Aug 13 From James Alexander Hamilton. 541

Aug 13 From William Berkeley Lewis. 543

Aug 14 From Daniel Carroll Brent. LC, DNA-RG 59 (M40-24). Gives news of the exchange of ratifications of the 1832 Neapolitan convention, encloses a proclamation of it for AJ to sign, and proposes office and furniture arrangements for the claims commissioners.

Aug 14 From Lewis Cass. 546

Aug 14 From Amos Kendall. 547

Aug 14 From John T. Sullivan. 548

Aug 15 To Mary Donelson Coffee. 550

Aug 15 To Aaron Vail. 551


Aug 15 From Morgan Welles Brown. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-3). Asks to be appointed district judge in Tennessee.


Aug 15  From Peter Ogilvie Studdiford et al. LS, DNA-RG 77 (mAJs). Ask for the reinstatement of dismissed West Point cadet Horatio M. Slack.

Aug 15  William Arthur Cook to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-3). Recommends Morgan W. Brown for district judge in Tennessee. Endorsed by AJ.

Aug 16  To Martin Van Buren.

Aug 16  From John Frazee. ALS, DNA-RG 77 (23-0342). Accuses West Point superintendent Sylvanus Thayer of persecuting cadet Hiram A. Norris since his reinstatement by AJ. Endorsed by AJ “to be attended to at Washington.”

Aug 16  From Frederick Watts Huling. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-3). Recommends Morgan W. Brown for district judge in Tennessee.

Aug 16  From Samuel Milroy. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (M726-9). Thanks AJ for his restoration as register of the Crawfordsville, Ind., land office, reports the securing of defaulting receiver Israel T. Canby’s debt to the U.S., recommends William Marshall to negotiate a Miami removal treaty, and hails victory in Indiana congressional elections fought on the Bank and land bill issues.

Aug 16  From Samuel Swartwout.

Aug 17  To Louis McLane. Appoints John W. Overton as clerk to the claims commission under the Neapolitan convention. ADS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0365).

Aug 17  To Daniel Carroll Brent. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-77). Encloses the signed proclamation of the Neapolitan convention and John W. Overton’s appointment as commission clerk, and approves Brent’s housing arrangements for the commissioners.

Aug 17  To Nathaniel Macon.

Aug 17  To Wright Southgate, Joseph H. Robertson, et al. LS draft, DLC (43). Norfolk Herald and General Advertiser, Aug 19. Declines with thanks their invitation to visit Norfolk.

Aug 17  From Margaret Dysart Nichol Armstrong.

Aug 17  From John Donelson Coffee.


Aug 18  From Louis McLane.

Aug 18  From Richard Henry Ridgely. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (23-0378). Solicits a midshipman’s appointment and remarks on Kentucky’s congressional elections.

Aug 19  From Jacob Barker. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-2). Urges his son Thomas H. Barker’s appointment as consul at St. Petersburg to reward his own patriotism and early service to AJ’s cause.

Aug 19  From Henry Dilworth Gilpin et al. LC, PHi; Copy, DNA-RG 233 (23-0382). Copy endorsed by AJ, DLC-Polk Papers; Bassett,
Government BUS directors report on their discovery in its accounts of large expenditures for printing and circulating political materials, and on the board’s rejection of their motion to halt the practice.


Aug 19 From Martin Van Buren. 562
Aug 20 To Tilghman Ashurst Howard. 564
Aug 20 To Martin Van Buren. 566
Aug 20 From Ferdinand VII, King of Spain. LS, Copy, and Translation, DNA-RG 59 (23-0426). Announces Spanish minister resident Francisco Tacon’s elevation to envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary.

Aug 20 From Henry Dilworth Gilpin. 567
Aug 20 From James Jackson. ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-421). Ottawa subagent asks permission to enter and reside on a quarter section of ceded land to reduce his expenses and preserve an Ottawa burial ground.

Aug 21 From George Campbell Childress. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-3). Recommends Morgan W. Brown for district judge in Tennessee.
Aug 21 From William McCullers. ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-223). Asks AJ’s aid in procuring payment of his claim against the Creeks for cattle destroyed in 1817.

Aug 23 From George Mifflin Dallas. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-1). Recommends Andrew Armstrong for office to redress his unfair ouster as Lima, Peru, navy agent in 1830.

[cAug 23] From Benjamin Holbrook. DS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0442). Protests the U.S. suit against him for not depositing the papers of his ship *John* with the U.S. consul at St. Thomas, where laws require they be lodged at the custom house.

Aug 23 From Berndt Robert Gustaf, Baron de Stackelberg. AL fragment, DLC (43). Former Swedish chargé bids farewell on his departure.

Aug 24 From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval petty officers’ warrants for signature.
Aug 24 From William Duane. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18). Urges an office for Zalegman Phillips, whose legal career has suffered for his political constancy and Jewish faith.
Aug 24 From William John Duane. LS, DNA-RG 56 (23-0460). LC, DNA-RG 56 (M415-1). Encloses Niagara district, N.Y., customs collector Seymour Scovell’s letter rebutting charges of absentee-
ism and neglect of duty (DNA-RG 56, M174-2). Endorsed by AJ that “the explanation is satisfactory.”

Aug 24
From Henry Dilworth Gilpin. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18).
Recommends Zalegman Phillips for office.

Aug 24
From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28).
Recommends removing Crawfordsville, Ind., land office register Samuel Milroy, shown by examiner James B. Gardiner’s enclosed Aug 12 report (SDoc 439, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 35–40, Serial 243) to be “rash and abusive” and grossly neglectful of duty.

Aug 24
From Henry Horn. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18). Recommends Zalegman Phillips for office.

Aug 24
From Henry Toland. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18).
Recommends Zalegman Phillips for office.

Aug 25
From William Evans Anderson. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-3).
Recommends Morgan W. Brown for district judge in Tennessee.

Aug 25
From Richard Gilliam Dunlap. 568

Aug 25
From Amos Kendall. 572

[Aug 26]
To Henry Dilworth Gilpin. Cover addressed and franked by AJ and postmarked Aug 26, Matthew Bennett Autographs, Dec 4, 2008, sale, lot 20 (mAJs).

Aug 26
From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Transmits the investigating commission’s report on Hanson Gassaway’s corruption charges against the War Department and Navy Board.

Aug 26
From John Howard. DS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0577). Convicted felon begs remission of his fine and costs, which he is unable to pay, and release from imprisonment. Approved by AJ.

Aug 26
From Nathaniel Macon. 574

Aug 27
From John Boyle. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits a report on Navy lieutenant John R. Coxe’s appeal of his court-martial.

Aug 27
From Henry Dilworth Gilpin. ALS copy, PHi (23-0642).
Promises an immediate copy of the apparently miscarried BUS government directors’ Aug 19 report.

Aug 27
From Zalegman Phillips. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18).
Encloses Henry D. Gilpin’s letter recommending him for office.

Aug 27
From James Williams. ALS, DLC (43 and 59; 23-0471).
Applauds AJ’s Bank veto and submits a plan to use state banks as depositories and provide a uniform currency.

[cAug 27]
John McGill Thomas to Andrew Jackson Jr. ALS, DLC (43).
Submits his bill as physician to AJ Donelson’s family from Sep 15, 1832 to Jan 1, 1833. Endorsed by AJ to check for errors. Receipted Aug 27.

Aug 27
Check to John McGill Thomas for $61. DS, DLC (43).

Aug 27

Aug 28

Aug 28
From William Donelson. ALS, DLC (43). Asks AJ’s aid in raising $25,000 on John C. McLemore’s Memphis property to pay
McLemore’s debts on which he is an endorser; offers his own place for sale; reports improving health among AJ’s’s slaves. Endorsed by AJ “to be answered.”


Aug 28 Rejection of Robert Arnold’s appeal to remit costs and allow his discharge, on James A. Hamilton’s word that Arnold has undisclosed funds. ADS, DNA-RG 206 (23-0479).

Aug 29 To Ferdinand VII, King of Spain. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0486). Offers congratulations on the birth of his niece.

Aug 29 To Henry Dilworth Gilpin. ALS, NJP (23-0487). Informs him that the original of the Aug 19 BUS government directors’ report has arrived.

Aug 29 To Andrew Jackson Hutchings.

Aug 29 From Louis McLane. ADS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-77). LC, DNA-RG 59 (M40-24). Submits a reorganization plan for the State Department and requests the removal of the fifth auditor’s office to the new Treasury building to provide more space. Approved by AJ Aug 30.


Aug 30 From James Gadsden. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-77). Advises against appointing a Florida district attorney until all the recommendations are in.

[cAug 30] Memorandum to seek Taney’s opinion on the apparent illegality of John Pope’s splitting quarter-sections in selecting federal land to fund a public building at Little Rock. ANS, DLC (43).


Aug 30 From Martin Van Buren.

Aug 30 Remission of judgment against smuggler John French and order for his discharge on payment of costs. DS, N (23-0492). LC, DNA-RG 59 (T967-1).

Aug 30 Remission of penalty against William Lister, master of the British bark Hope, and order for his discharge from prison on payment of costs. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0535; T967-1).
Aug 30 Remission of penalty against Hugh McKenzie, master of the Canadian brig *Rob Roy*, and order for his discharge from custody on payment of costs. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0547; T967-1).

Aug 30 Louis Barbé Charles Sérurier to Louis McLane, ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M53-8). Requests an exequatur for Paul Pierre Thomasson de Lamassee as French vice-consul at Savannah. Approved by AJ.

Aug 30 To John Donelson Coffee. 579

Aug 30 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 580

Aug 30 To James Knox Polk. 581


Aug 31 Temporary commission for John Jacob Lehmanowsky as justice of the peace in Washington, D.C. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0567).


[cAug] From Joseph Boulanger. AD, DLC (58; 21-1234). Lists AJ’s 18 White House servant posts and proposes reassignments “to make the House a little more comfortable.”


Aug Robert Finley Canfield to William John Duane. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (mAJs). New Orleans customs appraiser accuses collector Martin Gordon of misusing his office for private profit. AJ on Sep 12 directs Duane to furnish Gordon the charges for rebuttal.

Sep 1 To John Pemberton. LS, PHi (23-0584). Introduces Ansil D. Bugg of Gallatin, Tenn., going to Philadelphia to buy goods.

Sep 1 From James Gadsden. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-25). Recommends George T. Ward for district attorney in Florida.

Sep 2 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 583

Sep 2 To Nathaniel Macon. 584

Sep 2 From Matthew Bathurst et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-20). Recommend Edward Ryan for consul at Copenhagen.

Sep 2 From Lucius Bolles. Copy, KHi (mAJs). Asks AJ for a letter of endorsement to western Indian agents for Johnston Lykins, who goes to select sites for Baptist General Convention Indian schools and missions.


Sep 2 From William & Hugh Colhoun et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-20). Recommend Edward Ryan for consul at Copenhagen.

Sep 2 From Henry Toland. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-20). Introduces and commends Edward Ryan.
Sep 2 Decision that Governor John Pope’s selection of fractional quarter-sections of land to fund a government building in Arkansas was unlawful. ADS, DNA-RG 56 (23-0598). Copy, DNA-RG 56 (M726-2). TPUS, 21:787–89.

Sep 3 To George Washington Martin.

Sep 3 From William Craig. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-20). Recommends Edward Ryan for consul at Copenhagen.


Sep 4 To Hardy Murfree Cryer. Copy, THer (mAJs). Offers Christian condolences on Elizabeth Cryer’s death.


Sep 4 From Henry Dilworth Gilpin. ALS copy, PHi (mAJs). Says that he has sent the Sep 3 government directors’ report on the BUS and will talk soon with James A. Bayard.

Sep 4 From William Lister. LS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0724). Begs remission of his costs under AJ’s Aug 30 discharge order, which he is utterly unable to pay. Referred by AJ to McLane for report.

Sep 4 From Martin Van Buren.

Sep 5 To [Lewis Cass]. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-33). Orders the transfer of the Seneca Indian trust fund.

Sep 5 To Amos Kendall. Abstract, Anderson Galleries catalog, 1928 (23-0652). Asks to see him.

Sep 5 From John Christian Blum. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0629). Asks to be appointed public printer in North Carolina.

Sep 5 From William John Duane. LS, DNA-RG 56 (23-0468). LC, DNA-RG 56 (M415-1). Recommends deferring construction on a new New York City custom house while searching for a better site. Approved by AJ.

Sep 5 Appointment of John M. Moore as acting commissioner of the General Land Office during Elijah Hayward’s illness. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0653).

Sep 5 From John M. Moore. LC, DNA-RG 49 (23-0654). LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). Submits surveyor John Bell’s proposal to permit a tavern operation on the reserved land office section in the Chickasaw cession.


Sep 5 Pardon and order of discharge for James Brown, convicted of manslaughter at Cantonment Leavenworth. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0633; T967-1).
Sep 5  Mr. Smith to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (23-0655). Recommends William B. Flint for a clerkship.

Sep 6  From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 49 (23-0661). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-3). LC, DNA-RG 75 (M21-11). Proposes regulations to govern the operation of a tavern on the land office section in the Chickasaw cession. Approved by AJ.

Sep 7  To Thomas Lilly Smith. 595

Sep 7  From John Henry Eaton. ALS fragment, DLC (75). Censures Felix Grundy’s machinations in Tennessee’s pending senatorial election, cautions of BUS resistance to deposit removal, and reports on cotton prices and his wife’s health.

Sep 7  From Fish, Grinnell & Co. et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-10). Recommend Carl J. Hambro for consul at Copenhagen.

Sep 7  From Martin Van Buren. 595

Sep 7  Check to self for $50. DS, DLC (43).

Sep 8  To James Alexander Hamilton. 596

Sep 8  To Martin Van Buren. 597

Sep 8  From Peter Vivian Daniel. ALS, DLC (43). Introduces his son Peter V. Daniel Jr.


Sep 9  To Samuel Jackson Hays. 599

Sep 9  From Andrew Armstrong. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-1). Solicits an office to recoup losses suffered by unfair treatment while he was navy agent at Lima, Peru.

Sep 9  From William John Duane. 601

Sep 10  To Andrew Jackson Jr. 601

Sep 10  From James Gordon Bennett. 602

Sep 10  From Bradley & Catlett et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-23). Recommend Samuel Stettinius for justice of the peace in Washington, D.C.

Sep 10  From Betsey Hawley. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (T229-1). Asks for payment of her claim against the Colombian government.

Sep 10  From William Berkeley Lewis. LC, DNA-RG 217 (23-0680). States that the Seneca Indian trust fund has been paid into the Treasury as AJ instructed.

Sep 10  From John M. Moore. LC, DNA-RG 49 (23-0682). Recommends approving the location of Martin Lane’s Seneca reservation.

Sep 10  From Jane Walmsley. DS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-90). Requests an Army discharge for her husband, Thomas M. Walmsley, who had enlisted while drunk.

Sep 10  Memoranda on a Cabinet meeting. 604

Sep 10  Appointment of Charles Tyler as register of the Crawfordsville, Ind., land office in place of Samuel Milroy, removed. ADS, Steven S. Raab, 2004 (mAJs; 23-0686).

Sep 10  Thomas Pollock Devereux to Louis McLane. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0809). Denies Abel Turner’s innocent intent in passing a
counterfeit BUS note, but questions the point of keeping him imprisoned. Pardon ordered by AJ Sep 19.

Sep 10
Roger Brooke Taney to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DLC (23-0684). Accepts AJ's invitation to dinner and will bring Francis S. Key.

Sep 11
From Albert Gallatin Blanchard. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-85). Asks that his commission as Army second lieutenant be back-dated to his West Point graduation in 1829.

Sep 11
From John Henry Eaton. AL fragment, DLC (75). Remarks on the BUS's political expenditures and the Tennessee senate election.

Sep 11

Sep 11
From John M. Moore. LC, DNA-RG 49 (23-0688). Asks whether to approve construction of land office buildings in the Chickasaw cession at above the authorized cost.

Sep 11
From Roger Brooke Taney. LC, DNA-RG 60; LC, DNA-RG 153 (23-0689). HRDoc 123, 26th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 914–15 (Serial 387). Opines that the Army ordnance bureau's contract with Hanson Gassaway to pay for his gun skidding with scrapped cannon contravened the law and War Department regulations.

Sep 11
From Martin Van Buren. 605

Sep 12
From Amos Kendall. 607

Sep 12
To James Gordon Bennett. 607

Sep 12
To Hiram Ariel Norris. 608

Sep 12

Sep 12
From William Carroll. 610

Sep 12

Sep 12
From John French. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0795). Begs an unconditional release, as he is unable to pay costs under AJ's Aug 30 discharge order. Referred by AJ for report.

Sep 12
From Elijah Hayward. LS, OMC-Rothus Hayward Collection (mAJs). Proposes personnel changes in the GLO, including firing negligent clerk William Otis.

Sep 12

Sep 12
From Roger Brooke Taney. LC, DNA-RG 60 (23-0704). HRDoc 123, 26th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 915–16 (Serial 387). Opines on the Gassaway investigation that the Navy commissioners have
paid some clerks money above their lawful salaries, which should be refunded.

Sep 12  Temporary commission for Thomas H. Barker as consul at Elsinore, Denmark. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (23-0698).
Sep 12  Temporary commission for Carl Joachim Hambro as consul at Copenhagen. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (23-0701).
Sep 12  Check to Joseph Boulanger for $300 for September expenses. DS, DLC (43).
Sep 12  James Alexander Hamilton to Louis McLane. LS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0728). Confirms William Lister’s inability to pay costs required for his release. AJ orders his discharge Sep 16.

Sep 13  To James Alexander Hamilton. 610
Sep 13  From Solomon Clark. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-3). Recommends Morgan W. Brown for district judge in Tennessee.
Sep 13  From William John Duane. LC, DNA-RG 56 (M415-1). Copy, DNA-RG 56; Copy, DNA-RG 217 (23-0707). Requests authority to transfer $4,000 from one Treasury appropriation to another.
Sep 13  From James Lindsay Gillespie. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-93). Asks to be appointed cadet at West Point.

Sep 13  From James Gordon Bennett. 611
Sep 14  Bill from Peter Wager to Henry Toland for $100.50 for wine for AJ. D, DLC (43). Receipted Oct 16.
Sep 14  To Levi Woodbury. DS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-139). Orders the enforcement of Kendall and Van Ness’s report on the Gassaway charges and Taney’s Sep 12 ruling on overpaid clerks, and directs that all future Navy supply contracts go to the lowest bidder.

Sep 14  From Martin Van Buren. 617
Sep 14  From Charles Jones Love. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-3). Recommends Morgan W. Brown for district judge in Tennessee.
Sep 14  From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Francis Gardner’s gunner’s warrant for signature.
Sep 14  Check to James C. Hall for $30. DS, DLC (43).
Sep 14  Receipted bill for $30 from James C. Hall for operating on AJ’s coachman Charles for hydrocele. DS, DLC (43).

Sep 15  To Andrew Jackson Hutchings. 618
Sep 15  To Mary Donelson Coffee. 619
Sep 15  To Roger Brooke Taney. 620
Sep 15  To Martin Van Buren. 621
Sep 15  From Mr. and Mrs. Bureau N, DLC (43). Thank AJ for a lock of his hair presented to their daughter.

Sep 15  From Francis Alexander Hamilton. 622
Sep 15  From Francis Gurney McCauley. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M148-88). Navy purser requests assignment to the Mediterranean to be near his brother Daniel, consul at Tripoli.
**September 1833**

**Sep 16**  
*From James Alexander Hamilton.*  
Remission of costs and order of discharge for William Lister, imprisoned for a customs violation. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0723; T967-1).

**Sep 17**  
*From William John Duane.* LC, DNA-RG 56 (M415-1). Submits new Treasury regulations for approval.

**Sep 17**  
*From Henry Dilworth Gilpin.* ALS, DLC (43). ALS copy, PHi (23-0731). Recommends James A. Bayard for government BUS director next year when he is willing to serve, and reports rising indignation against the BUS.

**Sep 17**  
*From John M. Ross.* ALS, NcD (23-0734). Solicits a midshipman's warrant for his brother Randolph Ross Jr.

**Sep 17**  
*From Roger Brooke Taney.*

**Sep 17**  
*From Levi Woodbury.* LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits midshipmen's warrants for signature.

**Sep 18**  
*Cabinet paper on deposit removal.*

**Sep [c18]**  

**Sep 18**  
Noah Haynes Swayne to Louis McLane. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (25-0046). Reports that counterfeiter Humphrey Nichols, a petitioner for pardon, is a hardened offender, not in bad health, and wholly unfit for clemency. Pardon refused by AJ.

**Sep 19**  
*From William John Duane.*

**Sep 19**  
*To Martin Van Buren.*

**Sep 19**  
*From Churchill Caldom Cambreleng.* ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-2). Complains of foreigner Carl J. Hambro's appointment as consul at Copenhagen instead of Thomas H. Barker.

**Sep 19**  
*Memorandum on deposit removal.*

**[Sep 20]**  
*Draft for Globe on deposit removal.*

**Sep 20**  
*From Joseph Sebastian Cabot and Nathaniel West Jr.* LS, DNA-RG 56 (mAJs). Ask that the Asiatic Bank replace the politically hostile Merchants' Bank as federal depository in Salem, Mass.

**Sep 20**  

**Sep 20**  
*From John M. Moore.* LC, DNA-RG 49 (23-0800). *TPUS*, 24:884. Reports that the survey of the Arredondo grant in Florida has not yet been received.

**Sep 20**  
*From Rosewell Saltonstall.* ALS, TNJ (23-0802). Requests funds to develop his invention and advises on deposit removal.

**Sep 20**  

**Sep 20**  
Remission of costs and discharge from imprisonment for smuggler John French. DS, N (23-0792). LC, DNA-RG 59 (T967-1).

**Sep 20**  
Pardon and discharge from imprisonment upon payment of
costs for Abel Turner, convicted of passing a counterfeit BUS
note. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0804; T967-1).

Sep 21 From William John Duane. 666
Sep 21 To William John Duane. 670
Sep 21 From William John Duane. 670
Sep 21 To the Marquis de Lafayette. LS, NIC (23-0818). Introduces Dr.
Allen P. Elston, who travels to France.
Sep 21 To Edward Livingston. LS, NjP (mAJs). Introduces Dr. Allen P.
Elston, who travels to France.
Sep 21 To Samuel Smith. 672
Sep 21 From James Gordon Bennett. 672
Sep 21 From James Buchanan. 673
Sep 21 From Enoch Parsons. 675
Sep 21 From Roger Brooke Taney. LS, DLC (43). HRDoc 123, 26th
Cong., 2d sess., pp. 916–17 (Serial 387). Opines that the
Treasury secretary may legally contract with state banks to take
security from them for the safety of federal deposits in their
keeping.

Sep 22 To Martin Van Buren. 680
Sep 22 From William John Duane. 681
Sep 22 From William John Duane. 684
Sep 22 From Martin Van Buren. 686
Sep 23 From William John Duane. 686
Sep 23 To William John Duane. 687
Sep 23 To Roger Brooke Taney. 688
Sep 23 From Roger Brooke Taney. 688
Sep 23 Temporary commission for Roger Brooke Taney as secretary of
the Treasury. LC, DNA-RG 59; Copy, DNA-RG 46 (23-0849).

Sep 23 To Martin Van Buren. 688
Sep 23 To Samuel Lewis. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0839). Appoints him
acting second auditor during William B. Lewis's absence.
Sep 23 From George Hume Steuart. ALS, TNJ (23-0840). Recommends
the Bank of Baltimore to receive federal deposits, for its financial
soundness and political friendliness.

Sep 23 Globe heading on the Cabinet paper. 690
Sep 24 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 690
Sep 24 To Martin Van Buren. 693
Sep 24 From Bolling Gordon. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-3).
Recommends Morgan W. Brown for district judge in Tennessee.
Sep 24 Check to Ralph Eleazar Whitesides Earl for $60. DS, DLC (43).
Sep 24 Temporary commission for Samuel Stettinius as justice of the
peace in Washington, D.C. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0860).

Sep 25 To Martin Van Buren. 694
Sep 25 From William Britton et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-21).
Request the appointment of a consul at St. Mary's, Gambia.

Sep 25 From James Alexander Hamilton. 694
Sep 25 From Nathaniel Macon. 695
Sep 26 To Martin Van Buren. 697
Sep 26 From Anthony Butler. 698
Sep 26  From John W. Cooke. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-3). Recommends Morgan W. Brown for district judge in Tennessee.

Sep 26  From Finis Ewing. ALS, NjP (23-0865). Reports on John Bull's election to Congress from Missouri due to Jacksonian division, the pending appointment of a Senator, public outrage against the BUS and Duff Green's election as Senate printer, and a religious revival. Referred by AJ to Blair for possible excerpting in the Globe.


Sep 26  From Isaac Phillips. ALS, TNJ (23-0874). Asks to be appointed to succeed his late uncle Isaac Phillips as navy agent at Baltimore.

Sep 26  From Martin Van Buren.


Sep 26  From David A. Hall. DS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0870). Solicits a pardon for George Holly, a young black man sentenced to two years on a charge of obtaining goods on false pretenses for naively passing a found cancelled $3 note. Approved by AJ Sep 26.

Sep 26  Pardon for George Holly and order for his discharge upon payment of costs. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0869; T967-1).

Sep 27  To George Bomford. AN, DLC (23-0888). Proposes eliminating unnecessary offices at the Springfield, Mass., armory to reduce the high cost of making muskets there.

Sep 27  From Ethan Allen Brown. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M121-11). Explains that his financial reasons for wishing to resign as chargé d'affaires to Brazil are not urgent.

Sep 27  From David Burford. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-3). Prefers Morgan W. Brown for district judge despite endorsing other candidates, and reports Grundy's machinations against Eaton for senator.

Sep 27  From William Creighton et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-21). Recommend Thomas Scott for district judge in Ohio.


Sep 27  From John Milton Goodenow. ALS and ALS copy, DNA-RG 59 (M639-9). Asks to be appointed district judge in Ohio.

Sep 27  From Martin Van Buren.

Sep 27  Check to Andrew Jackson Jr. for $50. DS, DLC (43).

Sep 27  Rejection of Robert Arnold's appeal to be liberated without paying costs, based on William C. H. Waddell's report on his solvency. ANS, DNA-RG 206 (23-0884).

Sep 28  To the Marquis de Lafayette.

Sep 28  To the Marquis de Lafayette. LS, NIC (23-0895). Introduces Alfred Mordecai, who goes to observe French public works and cultural institutions.

Sep 28  To Levi Woodbury. AN, DLC (23-0901). Encloses a letter for delivery.

Sep 28  From Ulysses Freeman Doubleday et al. DS, DNA-RG 59
Calendar


Sep 28
From Samuel Finley MacCracken. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-12).
Recommends William W. Irvin for Ohio district judge.

Sep 28
From Henry Stanbery et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-12).
Recommend William W. Irvin for district judge in Ohio.

Sep 28
From Martin Van Buren.

Sep 28
Appointment of John Robb as acting secretary of war during Lewis Cass's absence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0896).

Sep 28
John Milton Goodenow to Elijah Hayward. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-9). Asks him to deliver to AJ a backup copy of his Sep 27 letter. Endorsed by AJ.

Sep 29
To Martin Van Buren.

Sep 29
From Lawrence Taliaferro Dade. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-140). Asks AJ to restore to midshipman Alexander Gibson the seniority he lost through dismissal and reinstatement.

Sep 29
From William Hampton et al. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-21).
 Recommend Thomas Scott for district judge in Ohio.

Sep 30
From William Allen. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-21).
Recommend Thomas Scott for Ohio district judge.

Sep 30
From John M. Moore. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28).
Submits a draft of instructions to withhold from sale Mississippi lands designated by War Department locating agents.

Sep 30
From John M. Moore. LS, TNJ (23-0907).
Submits land patents for signature.

Sep 30

Sep 30
From John Thomson. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-14).
Recommends Humphrey H. Leavitt for Ohio district judge.

Sep 30
From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1).
Submits naval chaplain James Wiltbank's commission for signature.

[Sep 30]
Copy of an opinion by Roger Brooke Taney.

[Sep 30]
Last Will and Testament.

[Sep]
From Eleazer Porter Kendrick et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-21).
Recommend Thomas Scott for Ohio district judge.

[Sep]
From John Patterson et al. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-14).
Recommend Humphrey H. Leavitt for Ohio district judge.

Sep
From Clifton Wharton, Reuben Holmes, and David Hunter. LS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-82).
Dragoon captains complain of later appointments usurping their seniority.

Oct 1
To Anthony Butler.

Oct 1
To William I, King of the Netherlands. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0935).
Offers congratulations on his grandson's birth.

Oct 1
From Julius Converse et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0670).
Urge the release of smuggler Lewis Hutchins, imprisoned for inability to pay his judgment.

Oct 1
From Guy William Doane, Joseph Olds, et al. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-12).
Recommend William W. Irvin for Ohio district judge.
Oct 1 Appointment of James Thompson as acting third auditor during Peter Hagner's illness. DS, ebay #121199791461, Oct 29, 2013 (mAJs).
Oct 2 From Samuel Augustus Barker et al. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-24). Recommend Benjamin Tappan for Ohio district judge.
Oct 2 From Anthony Butler.
714
Oct 2 From Martin Van Buren.
716
Oct 2 Check to Joseph Boulanger for $678.82 for White House expenses. DS, DLC (43).
Oct 2 Check to Darius Clagett & Co. for $29.37½ on AJ Jr.'s account. DS, DLC (43).
Oct 2 Check to self for $60 for AJ Jr. DS, DLC (43).
Oct 2 Receipted dressmaker's bill from Elizabeth Stott to Sarah Yorke Jackson for $5.13. DS, DLC (43).
Oct 3 From Big Elk et al.
717
Oct 3 From Thomas S. Cowperthwaite. DS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0808). Ship captain begs clemency after two years in prison awaiting trial on a piracy charge for failing to deliver a shipment of flour.
Oct 3 From “A Friend to the Union.” ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-223). Urges firmness in removing all intruders on Alabama Creek lands, to put down lawlessness and nullification and forestall civil war.
Oct 3 From George Washington Martin. ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-188). Reports on his progress and difficulties in locating Choctaw reserves.
Oct 3 From John Thomson. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-24). Recommends Benjamin Tappan for Ohio district judge.
Oct 3 From Micajah Terrell Williams. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-24). Recommends Benjamin Tappan for Ohio district judge.
Oct 4 From Andrew Jackson Jr.
718
Oct 4 From Maria Christina, Regent of Spain. LS, Copy, and Translation, DNA-RG 59 (23-0945). Announces her husband Ferdinand VII's death, her daughter Isabella II's accession, and the inauguration of her regency.
Oct 4  From Maria Christina, Regent of Spain. L fragment, Copy, and Translation, DNA-RG 59 (23-0953). Renews Francisco Tacon's credential as Spanish minister to the U.S.

Oct 4  From William Cabell Rives. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-140). Asks AJ to restore to midshipman Alexander Gibson the seniority he lost through dismissal and reinstatement.


Oct 4  From Martin Van Buren.

Oct 4  Power of attorney to Bank of the Metropolis cashier George Thomas to receive AJ's salary as president. DS (signature removed), DNA-RG 217 (23-0960).


Oct 5  From Isaac Hill. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0675). Urges that the further confinement of smuggler Lewis Hutchins would be both cruel and pointless.

Oct 5  Isaac Hill to Roger Brooke Taney. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0672). Asks AJ to release Lewis Hutchins after a year in prison, as he did for John French. Endorsed by AJ to consult Hill and Daniel Webster before acting, as French was a subordinate and Hutchins the chief.

Oct 5  From Henry Horn et al. LS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-140). Ask that James Wiltbank be appointed naval chaplain with shore duty. Referred by AJ to Woodbury to consider “if any indulgence can be given to this aged & Revd. Gentleman with justice to others & without injury to the service.”

Oct 5  From Roger Brooke Taney.


Oct 6  To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Oct 6  To Sarah Yorke Jackson.

Oct 7 To Levi Woodbury. LS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-140). Orders an increase in the bond required of navy agents.

Oct 7 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). Asks whether a patent should issue for Benjamin Marshall's reservation under the 1833 Creek treaty.

Oct 7 From Humphrey Howe Leavitt. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-24). Recommends Benjamin Tappan for Ohio district judge.

Oct 7 From Sultan of Muscat Said bin Sultan Al-Said. L and Translation, DNA-RG 59 (M37-10). New-York Commercial Advertiser, Dec 14, 1836. Announces his conclusion of a commercial treaty with American envoy Edmund Roberts and his friendship for AJ.

Oct 7 From Roger Brooke Taney. LC, DNA-RG 26 (23-0989), LC, DNA-RG 56 (M733-1). Recommends approving Richard C. Allen's claim for compensation as Florida law agent in 1832.


Oct 7 Check to self for $50. DS, DLC (43).

Oct 7 Check to Andrew Jackson Donelson for $100. DS, R & R Enterprises, Sep 15, 2010, sale, lot 7 (mAJs).

Oct 8 To Elijah Hayward. 725

Oct 8 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 726

Oct 8 From John Frazee. ALS, DNA-RG 77 (mAJs). Pleads for a decision in the case of cadet Hiram A. Norris, the blameless victim of Sylvanus Thayer's malignity.


Oct 9 To Virgil Maxcy. 727


Oct 9 From Louis McLane. LS, Njp; LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-0995). Submits an account of State Department incidental and contingent expenditures for the third quarter of 1833, ending Sep 27 (DLC-43).


| Oct 9 | Henry Toland to Andrew Jackson Jr. ALS, Stanley F. Horn (23-1000). Details the arrangements for shipping furniture and household goods to the Hermitage. Endorsed by AJ. |
| Oct 10 | From John Kintzing Kane. ALS, DLC (43). Introduces John M. Read. |
| Oct 10 | From R. H. Miller. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-24). Recommends Benjamin Tappan for Ohio district judge. |
| Oct 10 | From Henry Toland. |
| Oct 10 | From Unknown. |
| Oct 10 | From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports on the Navy Board's determination of the sum Robert B. Randolph should refund. |
| Oct 11 | To Andrew Jackson Jr. |
| Oct 11 | To Andrew Jackson Jr. |
| Oct 11 | To Sarah Yorke Jackson. |
| Oct 12 | From William Taylor Barry. AD, DLC (43). Pledges retrenchment in the Post Office Department to bring it out of debt. Endorsed by AJ to investigate contractor abuses on the Baltimore-Philadelphia route and to bar postal officials from accepting free passage in mail coaches. |
| Oct 12 | From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits a carpenter's and a sailmaker's warrant for signature. |
| Oct 12 | Appointment of Michael Nourse as acting register of the Treasury during Thomas L. Smith's illness. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-1018). |
| Oct 12 | Temporary commission for Benjamin Tappan as Ohio district judge. DS, DLC; LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-1019). |
| Oct 13 | To Sarah Yorke Jackson. |
| Oct 13 | From John Alexander Bryan and Bela Latham. |
| Oct 13 | From Eli Simpson Davis. |
| Oct 14 | To Henry Toland. |
| Oct 14 | From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (23-1034). Encloses an explanation for the failure to furnish a copy of the survey of the Arredondo grant in Florida. |
Oct 15 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). Recommends doubling the penalty on the receiver's bond at Mt. Salus, Miss., in light of increased land sales.


Oct 15 Pardon and release from imprisonment for larcenist James Williams. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-1039; T967-1).


Oct 16 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75; LC, DNA-RG 49 (23-1047). Recommends approving the sale of James and Henry Conner's Potawatomi reservations to William Conner.

Oct 17 From Martin Gordon. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (mAJs). Protests the appointment of drunkard Alexander H. Smith as customs appraiser at New Orleans.


Oct 17 Temporary commission for Austin J. Raines as consul at Monterey, California. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (23-1056).

Oct 17 Temporary commission for Thomas Wooldridge as consul at Brazoria, Texas. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (23-1057).

Oct 18 To Francis Preston Blair. 736

Oct 18 From Eli Simpson Davis. 737

Oct 18 From Henry Horn. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (mAJs). Introduces Joseph Tagert and urges making his Farmers and Mechanics' Bank a federal depository in Philadelphia.

Oct 19 To Lewis Cass. 738

Oct 19 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 738

Oct 19 To Unknown. Printed, United States Magazine, and Democratic Review 15 (Nov 1844): 460–61 (23-1067). States that there was no colonel named J. T. Smith under his command at New Orleans.

Oct 19 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports no midshipman vacancies at present for young Barney of Maryland.
Oct 20  To Andrew Jackson Donelson (1815–1861). 740
Oct 20  To Andrew Jackson Jr. 740
Oct 20  Receipt for $40 from David Munn to Andrew Jackson Jr. for steamboat passage from Wheeling to Cincinnati. ADS, DLC (43).
Oct 21  From Burnard Warner Holtzclaw. 741
Oct 21  From John Pemberton. ALS draft, PHi (23-1072). Recommends Reuben M. Whitney to be inspector of the depository banks.
Oct 21  Andrew Jackson Donelson to Francis Preston Blair. ALS, NJP-Blair-Lee Papers (mAJs). Says that he could not find Francis S. Key or Nathan Lufborough and that the Oct 19 Globe account of AJ’s Feb 23 dinner with John Randolph was correct. Stray note by AJ on cover.
Oct 21  From John Pemberton. ALS draft, PHi (23-1079). Recommends William J. Dubs for consul at Maracaibo.
Oct 22  Temporary commission for Peter Vivian Daniel as attorney general. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-1076).
Oct 22  Authorization for an advance to acting sailing master John S. Missroon on the Vincennes. DS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-140).
Oct 23  John Henry Eaton to Lewis Cass. ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-136). Proposes that the government sue settlers on the salt lick tract leased by William B. Lewis and Robert P. Currin under the 1818 Chickasaw treaty to force a judicial test of title, and praises AJ’s dismissal of Duane. Endorsed by AJ that under the treaty the government can remove intruders at the Indians’ behest, but not itself bring a suit over ownership.
Oct 24  To Lewis Cass. 742
Oct 24  To Roger Brooke Taney. AN, DNA-RG 217 (M235-763). Approves $500 plus expenses to him for services as attorney general in the suit against Thomas L. Kuhn.
[Oct 25]  To Andrew Jackson Jr. 742


Oct 26 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 743


Oct 27 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 743

Oct 27 To Edward Livingston. LS, NjP (mAJs). Introduces James P. Brown and asks to have him attached to the Paris mission.

Oct 28 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 744

Oct 28 To Virgil Maxcy. AN, DNA-RG 206 (23-1107). Approves sending his Oct 26 report to the three district attorneys it identified as delinquent in their returns.


Oct 28 From Anthony Butler. 745

Oct 28 From Samuel John Carr. 747

Oct 28 From Henry Augustus Dingee. 747

Oct 28 From Louis McLane. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M899-6). LC and Copy, DNA-RG 59 (23-1109). Recommends appointing Nicholas P. Trist disbursing agent to the commission procuring Spanish archives on Florida, and advancing him funds. Approved by AJ.

Oct 28 Pardon and discharge from imprisonment for convicted thief Christian G. Klopfer. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-1097; T967-1).

Oct 29 To Hardy Murfree Cryer. 749


Oct 29 From Goodhue & Co. et al. to AJ and Roger Brooke Taney. Printed, New York Evening Post, Nov 29, 1833 (mAJs). Protest a scheme to block construction of the New York City custom house by widening Nassau Street, and offer indemnity against its success.

Oct 29 From Isaac McCoy. ALS draft, KHi (mAJs). Recommends James H. Brown for commissioner to settle private land claims in Missouri.

Oct 30 To Anthony Butler.


Oct 30 From Baron Steuben Doty et al. DS, DNA-RG 56 (23-1125). Recommend reappointing Oswego customs collector John Grant Jr.


Oct 30 From Arthur St. Clair.

Oct 31 To Andrew Jackson Donelson.

Oct 31 From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-3). Clears adjutant general’s clerk John M. Hepburn of wrongdoing alleged in Miss Searle’s claim.

Oct 31 From Henry Toland. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-19). Introduces Joseph Ray and urges AJ to rectify the injustice of his expulsion as consul at Pernambuco, Brazil.


Oct From Isaac Hill et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0680). Urge the release of smuggler Lewis Hutchins, whose year’s imprisonment has fully served justice.

Nov 1 To Andrew Jackson Jr.

[cNov 1] To Mary Ann Eastin Polk.

[Nov 1] From Thomas Bulfinch. ADS, MHi (23-1170). Pennsylvania Avenue sidewalk paving contractor requests an extra allowance to cover unexpected costs. Endorsed by AJ that Bulfinch deserves “justice” but he has no power to alter a contract.

Nov 1 From John Cunningham. ALS draft, StEdU (mAJs). Belfast flour merchant claims a family relation to AJ through his wife Jennet Galt Cunningham and asks AJ's countenance for his plan to emigrate to America.

Nov 1 From William Hendricks. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (M726-22; 23-1174). Encloses Arthur St. Clair’s Oct 30 protest and asks an inquiry into the charges against him. Referred by AJ to Taney that “nothing can be done” as St. Clair has been removed, and the Senate can investigate when considering the confirmation of his successor.
Nov 1 From Antonio López de Santa Anna. 757
Nov 2 From Benjamin B. Cooper. ALS, DLC (43). Asks AJ to authorize
William N. Shinn to settle and collect AJ’s portion of Bolivar's
spring 1832 earnings at stud.
Nov 2 From John T. Sullivan. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-19). Urges
Joseph Ray’s reinstatement as consul at Pernambuco.
Nov 2 From Marcus Wilson. LS, DNA-RG 59 (25-0376). Solicits a
pardon for Christian Weirich, sentenced to 21 years for purloining
money from the mail.
Nov 2 Check to Joseph Boulanger for $766.97½ for house expenses.
DS, DLC (43).
Nov 3 To Andrew Jackson Hutchings. 758
Nov 4 To Andrew Jackson Hutchings. ALS, THi (23-1184). Encloses
the William B. Lewis letter he had meant to send and asks the
return of whatever was sent in its place.
Nov 4 From J. Forbes & Son et al. LS, DNA-RG 56 (23-1182).
Recommend William Durand Jr. for New Haven customs
surveyor.
Nov 4 From William Henry Jones et al. LS, DNA-RG 56 (23-1188).
Recommend William Durand Jr. for New Haven customs
surveyor.
Nov 4 From Unknown. L fragment, DNA-RG 56 (23-1191).
Recommends William Durand Jr. for New Haven customs
surveyor.
Nov 4 From Norris Willcox. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (23-1193).
Recommends William Durand Jr. for New Haven customs
surveyor.
Nov 4 René Edward De Russy to Richard Pollard. ALS, DNA-RG 94
(M688-89). Attributes his son John Pollard’s dismissal from
West Point to idleness but invites his reappointment. Referred by
AJ to Cass. AJ orders reappointment Apr 22, 1834.
Nov 6 From Martha Bond Dickinson Allen. ALS, DNA-RG 77 (mAJs).
Requests a furlough for her son, West Point cadet Andrew J.
Dickinson, to recruit his health.
Nov 6 Check to Emily Tennessee Donelson for $12.38 to pay her
account at Jane Abbot's Fancy Store. Nate’s Autographs catalog
19 (1993), item 14524 (mAJs).
Nov 7 To William Berkeley Lewis. 761
Defends the awarding of two Alabama mail contracts protested
by losing bidder John G. Bostick.
11. Recommends ordering the marshal to forcibly expel timber-
cutting intruders on West Florida public lands, as civil suits for
trespass are ineffectual.
Nov 7 From Roger Brooke Taney. LC, DNA-RG 56 (M415-1). Submits
naval purser Timothy Winn’s request to continue keeping his
accounts in the Patriotic Bank of Washington.


Nov 9 To Virgil Maxcy.


Nov 9 From Gilbert L. Giberson. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (23-1223). Supports Abraham G. Myers’s petition for release and remission of his fine and costs for assault and battery.


Nov 9 Temporary commission for Richard Pollard as consul at Mexico City. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (23-1215).


Nov 10 From John Yellow Hair et al. DS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-806). Apalachicola Indians of Choconica and Attaulgus ask to emigrate with John Blount.

Nov 11 To Asbury Dickins. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-1216). Appoints him acting secretary of state during Louis McLane’s absence.

Nov 11 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). Reports that the survey of Creek cession lands in Alabama is nearly complete.

Nov 11 From Hugh McElderry. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-88). Recommends William H. Hickman for cadet at West Point.

Nov 11 Order for release of Abraham G. Myers and remission of his fine and costs for assault and battery. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-1217; T967-1).

Nov 12 From Benjamin Franklin Butler.


Nov 12 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval warrants for signature.

Nov 13 To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Nov 13 From Robert Emory. ALS, NcD (23-1230). Asks to be appointed midshipman.


Nov 14 From Betsey Hawley. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (T229-1). Claims that consul Franklin Litchfield’s misconduct makes the U.S.
ble for her claim against Colombia, and threatens suit if it is not paid.

Nov 14  From Eliza M. Jones. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-74). Asks AJ to appoint her son Paul Alexander Jones cadet at West Point.

Nov 14  Check to John T. Brown for $62.31 for a chest of tools for AJ Jr. DS, DLC (43).

Nov 14  Roger Brooke Taney to Unknown. ALS, THer (23-1233). Says he has chosen two New Orleans depository banks and hopes to reach terms with the Union Bank in Nashville.

Nov 15  To William Moore. 765

Nov 15  Temporary commission for Benjamin Franklin Butler as attorney general. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-1236).

Nov 16  To Andrew Jackson Jr. 767

Nov 16  To Louis McLane. ANS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-75). Refers a House call of Feb 5 for the 1803 correspondence between Robert R. Livingston and James Madison on the Louisiana treaty.

Nov 16  To Martin Van Buren. 768


Nov 16  From Joseph Leslaier. DS, DNA-RG 59 (23-1303). Begs a release from prison and remission of his fine for theft, which he is unable to pay. Approved by AJ Nov 22.

Nov 16  From John Shepherd. ALS fragment, DNA-RG 56 (23-1241). Asks to be appointed customs surveyor at New Haven.

Nov 16  From Roger Brooke Taney. DS, DNA-RG 56 (23-1243). Submits the Alexandria Canal Company’s request for $40,000 out of its appropriation to build an aqueduct across the Potomac at Georgetown. Approved by AJ Nov 18.


Nov 16  Check to self for $30. DS, DLC (43).

Nov 17  From David Frazier. LS, DNA-RG 59 (25-0378). Supports a pardon for Claysville, Pa., postmaster Christian Weirich, convicted of stealing money from the mail.

Nov 18  To James Buchanan. 769


Nov 18  From Patrick Bears. DS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0906). Petitions for remittance of the judgment against him for smuggling, which he is unable to pay, and for release from prison. Referred by AJ for report on the circumstances.

Nov 18  From Leonard Bowker. DS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0930). Petitions for remittance of the judgment against him for smuggling, which he is unable to pay, and for release from prison. Referred by AJ for report on the circumstances.

Nov 18  From James Alexander Hamilton. 769
Nov 18  From Albert Smith. ADS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-77). Asks what
to do with an African named Mordo, illegally imported as a
slave into Maine and now in federal custody.

Nov 19  To Martin Van Buren. 770

Nov 19  From Margaret Coxe Freeman. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-93).
Revolutionary officer Constant Freeman’s widow requests a
West Point cadetship for his namesake nephew. Referred by AJ
to Cass that “the applicant being a descendant of those who
have periled much for their Country, ought to be favorably heard.”

Richard R. Waldron for consul at Buenos Aires.

Nov 19  From Louis McLane. ALS, MiU-C (23-1256). Introduces George
Hickman, to request a change in the physician employed on the
Delaware breakwater.

Nov 19  From Henry Toland. ALS, LU (mAJs). Gives news of the
Hermitage furniture’s safe arrival at New Orleans on the
Chandler Price and sends a bill of lading to forward to Maunsel
White for the chest of tools shipped on the Archer.

Nov 19  From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits
Roger N. Stembel’s midshipman’s warrant for signature.

Nov 19  AJ note on an envelope from Robert Love, to reply and send
him the annual message. ANS, DLC (43).

Nov 19  Joseph Lovell to Lewis Cass. LS and LC, DNA-RG 112 (23-
1252). Proposes regulations to govern examinations for appoint-
ment and promotion of Army medical staff. Approved by AJ
Dec 17.

Nov 20  From William Taylor Barry. 772

Nov 20  From Benjamin Franklin Butler. 773

Nov 20  From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-3). Requests
authority to transfer funds from the Army’s Subsistence
Department to the surgeon general.

Nov 20  Check to Joseph Boulanger for $120 for monthly expenses. DS,
DLC (43).

Nov 21  To William Jones Leiper. 775
23-1308). Encloses a letter to Martin Gordon, which can be
opened if he is absent. Referred by AJ to Taney asking if Taney’s
letter about the appraiser has been answered.

Nov 22  From Moses Dawson. 776

Nov 22  To Roger Brooke Taney. 776

Nov 22  From Lewis Cass. AN, DLC (43; 23-1266). LC, DNA-RG 107
(M127-3). Submits Justice Henry Baldwin’s opinion (DLC-59)
denying federal authority to remove intruders on Alabama
Creek lands.

that his barouche is finished and ready to exchange for his old
carriage at New York. Endorsed by AJ that his carriage and a
$600 check have been sent on to make the exchange.

Nov 23  To Andrew Jackson Jr. 777

Nov 23  From William Coventry Henry Waddell. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (23-1309). Introduces Erasmus D. Converse, on a southern tour.

Nov 23  Remission of Joseph Leslaier’s fine for stealing and order for his discharge from prison. DS, DNA-RG 21 (23-1301). LC, DNA-RG 59 (T967-1).

Nov 23  Martin Gordon to Roger Brooke Taney. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (mAJs). Urges that New Orleans customs appraisers Alexander H. Smith and Robert F. Canfield be removed and Cyrus Bradlee and Sheldon S. Clark appointed in their stead. Approved by AJ. Note by AJ on Feb 20, 1834, of their nominations to the Senate.

Nov 25  To Andrew Jackson Jr. 777


Nov 25  From Thomas Stuart. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-15). Recommends James S. Mayfield for commissioner to settle Missouri land claims.


Nov 26  To Mary Ann Lewis Pageot. Abstract, American Book-Prices Current, 1951–52 (23-1311). Discusses a date for the baptism of her son Andrew.

Nov 26  To James Reeside. 779

Nov 26  To Samuel Swartwout. 780

Nov 27  To Anthony Butler. 780


Nov 27  From Roger Brooke Taney. LC, DNA-RG 217 (23-1322). Requests authority to transfer $20,000 from the lost and destroyed property compensation fund to the fund for contingent expenses of the Treasury building.

Nov 27  Check to self for $50. DS, DLC (43).


Nov 28  From Samuel Swartwout. 782
Nov 28  Lewis Fields Linn to Elijah Hayward. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (23-1323). Resigns as commissioner to settle Missouri land claims. Endorsed by AJ.

Nov 29  From Alfred Balch.


Nov 29  Hugh Lawson White to Lewis Cass. ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-75). Transmits a Nov 7 letter to Cass from Samuel McConnell, reporting on divisions of opinion among the Cherokees and the appointment of a delegation to Washington to appeal to Congress. Endorsed by AJ that he has nothing to add to Cass’s Nov 26 and 28 instructions to agent Hugh Montgomery (DNA-RG 75, M21-11), refusing to cover the delegation’s expenses unless they come to treat for removal.

Nov 30  To Francis Preston Blair.


Nov 30  Pardon and release for mail thief Leland B. Rose. LC, DNA-RG 59 (23-1394; T967-1).

[cNov]  To the United States Congress (not sent).


Nov  From John Reid et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (25-0051). Petition to pardon counterfeiter Humphrey Nichols, in sinking health from his imprisonment.

Nov  From Edward Sacket et al. DS, DNA-RG 56 (23-1163). Recommend reappointing John Grant Jr. as customs collector at Oswego, N.Y.


[cDec 1]  From John Alexander Otis. DS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0449). Prays a remission of his $400 penalty for heedlessly importing
a suit of clothes without paying duty. Approved by AJ Dec 11.

Dec 2  
To Sarah Yorke Jackson. 790

Dec 2  
To George Bryan Porter. 790

Dec 3  
Fifth Annual Message to Congress. 791

Dec 3  
From William Carroll. 802

Dec 3  
From George L. Kinnard, Edward Allen Hannegan, and Amos Lane. LS, DNA-RG 46 (24-0176). Brand James B. Gardiner’s charges against Arthur St. Clair as falsehoods and urge his reinstatement as land office register at Indianapolis.

Dec 3  
From George L. Kinnard, Edward Allen Hannegan, and Amos Lane. LS, DNA-RG 46 (24-0192). Brand James B. Gardiner’s charges against James P. Drake as falsehoods and urge his reinstatement as Indianapolis land office receiver.

Dec 3  
From Knowles & Thayer. DS, DLC (43). Receipt for $600 and AJ’s old carriage and harness, exchanged for a new one.

Dec 3  
From Samuel Swartwout. ALS, DLC (43). Sends Knowles & Thayer’s receipt for AJ’s new carriage and describes arrangements for its delivery to Washington.

Dec 3  
From John T. Sullivan. 803

Dec 3  
Check to Joseph Boulanger for $767.03 for family and house supplies. DS, DLC (43).

Dec 3  
Court report on two lawsuits over William Terrell Lewis’s estate, including AJ signed depositions as co-executor and defendant on Apr 16, 1827, and Jan 15, 1829. D, TFWi (24-0200).

Dec 4  
Distribution bill veto message. 805

Dec 4  
From James Gordon Bennett. 812

Dec 4  
From John Campbell. LC, DNA-RG 50 (24-0331). Submits accounts of the Treasurer’s office for 1832 and 1833.

Dec 4  

Dec 4  
From Elijah Hayward. Printed, HRRep 194, 24th Cong., 2d sess., p. 275 (Serial 307) (23-1240). Forwards Richard T. Archer and George Dougharty’s Nov 16 complaint about Columbus, Miss., land sale frauds and proposes an investigation.

Dec 4  
From Elisha Long et al. DS, DNA-RG 77 (mAJs). Indiana Cumberland Road contractors urge John Milroy’s retention as superintendent.

Dec 4  
From Samuel Smith. 814

Dec 4  
From James McClung Wickham. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-27). Asks to be appointed district attorney in Virginia.

Dec 4  
Francis Bassett to Roger Brooke Taney. LS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0537). Transmits a petition to remit the forfeiture of the British schooner Mary Jane, seized at Boston for overloading passengers. Approved by AJ Dec 16.

Dec 5  
To Maria Christina, Regent of Spain. LS, SpMaAHN; LC, DNA-RG 59 (24-0385). Offers condolences on Ferdinand VII’s death and congratulations on Isabella II’s accession.
Dec 5 To Maria Christina, Regent of Spain. LS and Copy (in Spanish), SpMaAHN (24-0388). Renews Cornelius P. Van Ness's credential as American minister to Spain.

Dec 5 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (24-0393). SDoc 4, 23d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 238); Richardson, 3:35. Transmits the plan to equalize pay for Army and Navy officers.


Dec 5 From Philip Norborne Nicholas. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-17). Recommends his son Robert C. Nicholas for district attorney in Virginia.

Dec 5 Isaac Watts Crane to Roger Brooke Taney. ALS, DLC (43). Hails AJ's removal of the deposits, criticizes Duane and his exposé, and reports overhearing Biddle eulogize Duane in August. Endorsed by AJ: “This gives a clue to the course of Mr Duane—To be filed” with other evidence on his conduct in office.


Dec 6 From William Hendricks. ALS, DNA-RG 46 (24-0407). Affirms Arthur St. Clair's “unquestioned integrity” and urges a reexamination of the charges against him and James P. Drake.

Dec 6 From John Randolph Tucker. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M148-90). Passed midshipman asks to have his examination, put off one year by his court-martial sentence, antedated to restore his seniority as was done for George N. Hawkins.


Dec 6 Check to Tucker & Thompson for $108 for AJ's frock coat and to settle AJ Jr.'s account. DS, DLC (43).

Dec 7 From John Hicks Howland et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (25-0152). Jurors recommend pardonning Henry Moad, Peter Valence, and Asa Smith, sentenced to a year in prison for incidental participation in a revolt on the ship Tremont.
Dec 7  From Seth Godfrey et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (25-0156). Solicit a pardon for Henry Moad, Peter Valence, and Asa Smith.

Dec 7  From John Pemberton. ALS copy, PHi (24-0423). Introduces Meredith Colhoun.


Dec 8  To Andrew Jackson Jr. 815

Dec 8  From John Bell. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-3). Recommends Morgan W. Brown for district judge in Tennessee. Endorsed by AJ “very strong Major E. also”


Dec 9  From James Alexander Hamilton. 816


Dec 10  To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (22-0446). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:336. Nominates Andrew Dunlap to continue as district attorney in Massachusetts.

Dec 10  From Margaret Dysart Nichol Armstrong. 817

Dec 10  From Isaac Butler. D, DNA-RG 59 (24-0497). Begs release from jail and remission of fine and costs for assault and battery, which he is unable to pay. Approved by AJ Dec 14.

Dec 10  From Robert Butler. AD, DLC (43 and 59; 24-0438). Presents his religious verses, “Trinity is One” and “There shall be weeping, and wailing and gnashing of teeth.” Endorsed by AJ “the efusions of Col. R. Butlers pen, worthy to be preserved.”

Dec 10  From Alexander H. McCulloh. ALS, NeD (24-0441). Asks to be appointed midshipman.

Dec 10  From Roger Brooke Taney. LS, DNA-RG 233 (24-0444). LC, DNA-RG 56 (M415-1). *HRDoc* 5, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1–2 (Serial 254). Reports a transfer of $29,000 in Treasury Department funds to the insolvent debtors and building accounts.


Dec 11  Remission of penalty against John Alexander Otis for failing to pay an import duty. LC, DNA-RG 59 (24-0448; T967-1).

Dec 12  *To the United States Senate.*


Dec 12  From George Loyall. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (24-0461). Introduces William M. A. Moore, to see AJ.

Dec 12  From Jeremy Robinson. ALS copy, DNA-RG 59 (24-0462). Complains that his communications to the State Department are being intercepted.


Dec 13  From Samuel Rossiter Betts. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0464). Submits an appeal for clemency from Charles T. Davis, condemned for murder and robbery on the high seas. Refused by AJ as the “case is too agravated for Executive clemency, & no extenuating circumstances but the age of the prisoner.”

Dec 13  From James Alexander Hamilton.


Dec 13  Check to Thomas Jefferson Donelson for $150 for traveling expenses home. DS, Michael A. Carnacchi (mAJs).

Dec 13  Martin Gordon to Francis Preston Blair. ALS, DLC (43). Deplores Alexander Porter’s election to the Senate, blames it on the selection of politically hostile banks as federal depositories, and denies Porter’s U.S. citizenship.

Dec 14  From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-3). Conveys the Army tactical manuals requested by David Porter for the Turkish government.
Dec 14  From Martin Gordon.  
Dec 14  Bill from Templeman & Denham for stationery. DS, Stanley F. Horn (24-0504). Runs to Feb 18, 1834; receipted Mar 8.
Dec 14  Remission of fine and costs and order for release of Isaac Butler, convicted of an assault and battery. LC, DNA-RG 59 (24-0496; T967-1).
Dec 14  Benjamin Wells to Elisha Whittlesey. ALS, OClWHi (mAJs). Asks his aid in securing a Revolutionary bounty land claim for Isaac Johnston’s heirs. AJ declines intervening and refers Wells to Congress.

Dec 15  To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Dec 15  To Sarah Yorke Jackson. Extracts, Emily Driscoll catalog, 1963 (24-0506). Mentions Thomas J. Donelson’s visit, ill health, overwork, and her and AJ Jr.’s failure to write.

Dec 15  From Alexander Hammett. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (T224-2). Asks compensation for his diplomatic services at Naples.


[Dec 16]  To Sarah Yorke Jackson.


Dec 16  From Sullivan Burbank et al. LS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-78). Officers of the 7th Infantry complain of the burden imposed by other officers’ prolonged absence from duty.

Dec 16  From Henry Dilworth Gilpin.

Dec 16  From William IV, King of Great Britain. LS, DNA-RG 59 (16-1462). Announces the birth of his niece, Princess Mary Adelaide of Cambridge.

Dec 16  Remission of penalties against Melvin Lord, William Smith Wait, and Richard B. Carter for violating copyright law. LC, DNA-RG 59 (24-0531; T967-1).

Dec 16  Remission of forfeiture of the British schooner Mary Jane for inadvertent overloading of passengers. LC, DNA-RG 59 (24-0536; T967-1).

Dec 16  Check to Joseph Boulanger for $300. DS, DLC (43).

Dec 16  Bill from Templeman & Denham for stationery. DS, DLC (44). Runs to May 16, 1834; receipted May 30.

Dec 16  Martin Gordon to Francis Preston Blair. ALS, DLC (43). Condemns the selection of politically hostile banks as New Orleans federal depositories, and encloses his Dec 21, 1832, letter warning Louis McLane against the Union Bank (DLC-41).

Dec 16  Martin Gordon to William Berkeley Lewis. ALS, DLC (43). Condemns the administration’s support of opposition politicians and banks in New Orleans in defiance of his recommendations, and encloses his letter to Blair to show to AJ.


Dec 17 From Charles Russell. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (m Aj s). Asks AJ to make the Commercial Bank in New Bedford a federal depository and to help obtain redress for foreign seizures of his whaling ships.

Dec 17 Andrew Jackson Donelson to John Donelson Coffee. ALS, DLC (24-0549). Asks the correct age of the stallion Aborak, bred by John Coffee. Franked by AJ.


Dec 18 From Benjamin Franklin Butler. Printed, HRDoc 123, 26th Cong., 2d sess., p. 919 (Serial 387). Reports on irregularities in Charles T. Davis’s trial for murder and robbery at sea, perhaps justifying a pardon.


Dec 18 From Richard Ward Greene. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-9). Asks to be reappointed district attorney in Rhode Island.

Dec 18 From Perley Keyes et al. DS, DNA-RG 56 (m Aj s). Recommend collectors Thomas Loomis at Sackets Harbor and Jere Carrier at Cape Vincent, N.Y., for reappointment.

Dec 18 From Samuel Swartwout. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18). Recommends William M. Price for district attorney in New York.

Dec 18 AJ bank book for personal account with the Bank of the Metropolis. AD, DLC (78). Runs to Nov 21, 1835.

Dec 18 Check to John Henry Eaton for $1000 on loan. DS, DLC (43).

Dec 18 Daniel Kellogg to Isaac Hill. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0682). Withdraws his opposition to releasing Lewis Hutchins, whose year’s imprisonment has served its purpose of punishment and deterring smuggling. Approved by AJ Dec 28.


Dec 19 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). Advises against removing the Montevallo, Ala., land office to Mardisville.

Dec 19 From William Ramsay. LS, DNA-RG 45 (M148-90). Asks that long-serving Navy lieutenants like himself be promoted to commander.

Dec 19 Check to self for $70 for cash and to pay Templeman & Denham for stationery. DS, DLC (43).

Dec 20 From Joel Roberts Poinsett. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (24-0569). HRRep 541, 23d Cong., 1st sess., p. 38 (Serial 263). Urges again the establishment of a naval depot at Charleston, S.C.

Dec 20 Roger Brooke Taney to Loammi Baldwin. Copy, DLC (43). Asks his opinion on the proposed design for the Potomac bridge.

Dec 21 From Thomas Lilly Smith. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18). Recommends William M. Price for district attorney in New York.


Dec 22 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 826
Dec 22 To Sarah Yorke Jackson. 827
Dec 22 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 827
Dec 22 From Nicholas Philip Trist. 828

Dec 22 Martin Gordon to Roger Brooke Taney. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (M174-2). Transmits revenue cutter captain James Nicholson’s refusal to serve further under him and recommends William B. G. Taylor to replace him. Nicholson’s resignation accepted by AJ.

Dec 23 To Lewis Cass. 829
Dec 23 From James Knox Polk. 830
[Dec 23] To James Knox Polk. 830


Dec 23  
James Cage to Harry Cage. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-23). Recommends Alexander B. Sterrett for surveyor general of Louisiana public lands. Endorsed by AJ.

Dec 24  
To James Alexander Hamilton. 831

Dec 24  
To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (24-0585). Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:338–39; Richardson, 3:37. Transmits Indian treaties for Senate advice and consent.

Dec 24  
From Eleazar Wheelock Ripley. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). Recommends Edward R. Christie for surveyor general in Louisiana.

Dec 24  
From Giles Thompson. ADS, DNA-RG 75 (24-0583). Requests title to his Choctaw treaty reservation so he can complete its sale.

Dec 24  
J. F. Gibson to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ADS, DLC (43). Receipted bill for $25.50 for brandy.

Dec 25  

[Dec 26]  
To Jesse Miller. N, DeU (24-0589). Invitation to dinner.

Dec 26  

Dec 26  
From Daniel Jackson. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M303-1). Recommends removing consul at Tabasco Daniel N. Pope on Aaron Leggett’s evidence.

Dec 26  
From Elizabeth Spicer. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (24-0592). Pleads for quick settlement of her late husband Peter W. Spicer’s accounts as land office inspector in Illinois. Referred accordingly by AJ.

Dec 26  
From John Tracy et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-7). New York state senators recommend John W. Edmonds for district attorney.

Dec 26  
From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits John L. Ring’s midshipman’s warrant for signature.

Dec 26  
Memorandum on deposit removal. 831

Dec 26  
Henry Baldwin Jr. to Andrew Jackson Jr. ADS, DLC (43). Conveyance of timber rights on ten acres in Williamson County, Tenn., acquired from William Jackson on Feb 5, 1833 (DLC-42).

Dec 26  
Francis Kinloch Huger to Joel Roberts Poinsett. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-141). Asks to have his son, passed midshipman Francis Huger, appointed sailing master. Referred by AJ to Woodbury.

Dec 27  
To Moses Dawson. 833

Dec 27  
To Ferdinand II, King of the Two Sicilies. LS photocopy, Gallery of History, 1994 (mAJs). LC, DNA-RG 59 (24-0610). Announces the withdrawal of treaty negotiator Auguste G. V.
Davezac to resume his regular diplomatic post at the Netherlands.


Dec 27 From Charles Edward Dudley. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-7). Encloses customs violator Isaac Lawson’s petition for pardon.

Dec 27 From Henry Lee. 833


Dec 27 From Anna Maria Perry Rodgers. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-140). Asks AJ to authorize advance pay for her son, midshipman Christopher R. P. Rodgers, in light of her late husband George W. Rodgers’s service and sacrifice.


Dec 27 From Joseph Swiler. ALS, DNA-RG 26 (24-0612). Asks to be appointed captain of a revenue cutter.

Dec 27 Joseph Swiler to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DNA-RG 26 (24-0615). Encloses his application to AJ to be appointed captain of a revenue cutter.

Dec 27 From Archibald Waterman Hyde. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0924). Approves clemency for imprisoned smuggler Patrick Bears, who is ailing and destitute.


Dec 28 From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-3). LC, DNA-RG 75 (M21-11). Advises postponing sale of the Choctaw orphan reservations until their locations are known.

Dec 28 From Nicholas Gevelot. ALS, THer (24-0617). Presents his bust of AJ.

Dec 28 From James Alexander Hamilton. 845


Dec 28 Remission of penalty and discharge from imprisonment for smuggler Lewis Hutchins. DS, N (24-0621). LC, DNA-RG 59 (T967-1).

Dec 29 From Mr. Meyer. ALS, NjP-Livingston Papers (mAJs). Offers George Washington portraits and some biographical sketches for sale.

Dec 30 To John Donelson Coffee. 845
Dec 30 From Patrick Barry. DS, DNA-RG 59 (25-0012). Pleads for remittance of his fine for unwittingly receiving smuggled goods, which he cannot pay, and for release from prison.

Dec 30 From William Beaumont. AD, THer (24-0685). Presents a copy of his work on gastric juices and digestion.

Dec 30 From Richard Pollard. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M296-1). States his inclination to resign as consul at Mexico City and solicits a domestic office.


Dec 30 From Jane Walmsley. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-90). Requests an Army discharge for her husband Thomas M. Walmsley, whose enlistment has left her destitute.

Dec 30 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports that midshipman John W. Graham was dismissed for failing his examinations, in accord with the rule.

Dec 31 From John Rodgers. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-140). Presents his sister-in-law Anna Maria Perry Rodgers’s Dec 27 request.

Dec 31 From John Ward. DS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-241). Asks to be granted his improved lands as a reserve under the 1832 Creek treaty.

Dec 31 Medical bill from John McGill Thomas for $199 for AJ and family in 1833. DS, DLC (45). Receipted Jan 4, 1834.

Dec 31 Bill for $13 for quarterly pew rent at St. John’s Church in Washington. DS, DLC (44). Receipted Mar 18, 1834.

Dec 31 Harry Rufus Willie Hill to Andrew Jackson Jr. DS, DLC (45). Copy, DLC (58; 24-0690). Deed of sale for the 601½-acre Hunter’s Hill property for $10,000.

[cDec] From George Henry Grosvenor. ALS, DNA-RG 56 (mAJs). Relates his military exploits and political sacrifices and asks to be appointed customs inspector at Silver Creek, N.Y.


[cDec] Memorandum on deposit removal.

[c1833] To William Berkeley Lewis.


From Martin Van Buren. ALS, DLC (60; 21-1252). Reports he has talked with John Forsyth “& find all right.”

Check to Unknown for $100. DS, DLC (58; 21-1250).

Receipted bill from M. Bowen to Sarah Yorke Jackson for $6 for sundries. DS, DLC (59; 21-1325).
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