

CORRESPONDENCE
OF
ANDREW JACKSON

EDITED BY
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TO CHRISTOPHER RANKIN.¹

NASHVILLE, June 19, 1820.

Sir, On my return to this place last evening from a tour to the south and South East, I received your letter of the 16th May last, requesting me in the name of the representation from the State of Mississippi, to accept the appointment of Commissioner, to treat with the Choctaw Indians. at the same time I also received a request from Mr. Monroe. I had determined to have nothing more to do with Indian treaties. But Sir thus solicited, both by the President and the representation of the state of Mississippi, unanimously, I must forego that determination and my own private feelings—for I owe a debt of gratitude to the people of your state and their late Governor, for the prompt and efficient support afforded me, in our late struggle with Great Britain, and feel it a duty to serve them, whenever it is in my power to do so. I will therefore accept the appointment. It affords me much pleasure to learn that my friend Genl. Hinds will be associated with me in this highly important business.

I have the Honor to be very resp'y yr. ob' svt.

TO SECRETARY CALHOUN.¹

NASHVILLE, June 19, 1820.

Sir: On last evening I reached this place, where I recd. your letter of the 24th of May last, and one from the delegation of the state of Mississippi of the 16th May, requesting that I should accept the appointment of commissioner to aid in holding a treaty with the Choctaw Indians.

I had determined never to have any thing to do again in Indian Treaties; but finding that the President of the U. States, is desirous that I should engage in this duty, this added to the Solicitation of the delegation of that state, has determined me to depart from the resolution I had formed and to accept of the appointment. I never can withhold my services, when requested by old Monroe, and I owe a debt of gratitude to the people of Mississippi and their late Governor, for their support, in our late struggle with Great Britain—by him and them I was well supported. I feel it a duty therefore, to endeavour to serve them, when they by their representatives believe I have it in my power. There is no man I would rather be associated with, than Genl Hinds, nor one in whom I have more confidence.

In making out the instructions, permit me to suggest the propriety of pointing out the bounds west of the Mississippi out of which the land to be given the Choctaws in exchange for their land whereon they now live, is to be laid out. The wish of the real Indian Chiefs is (as I am informed) to perpetuate the existance of their Nation by concentrating the whole in a country that will support them as a Nation—at present they are scattered and wandering over a great space of Country, and if not shortly united will be lost to their nation in other tribes. The pride of a real Indian is in the strength of his Nation and this is a chord I mean to touch to obtain the object in view. I therefore wish to point the lands and describe

¹ Copy. Rankin was M. C. from Mississippi 1819-1826.

¹ Copy. Printed in *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.*, II. 230.

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its bounds, where their father the President of the U. States means to settle his red children—concentrate and perpetuate them as a nation and thereby make his children happy.

I am Sir with great respect Yr Mo. Obt. Srvt.

TO PRESIDENT MONROE.¹

HERMITAGE, June 20, 1820.

Dear Sir: I returned from my tour to the south and southeast on the evening of the 18th instant, when I received your very friendly and interesting letter of the 23d of May last, which I have read with great interest and attention. On its perusal and consideration, I have determined to remain in service until the situation of Europe fully develops itself, and our affairs with Spain are brought to a final close.

Although retirement has been, and still is the first object of my wishes, yet so long as it is believed that my military service may conduce to the benefit of my country, in any way, my exertions belong to her. I have hitherto made, and it is still my duty as a patriot to make, my private interests and views subservient to my country's good. I have, therefore, upon due consideration and reflection on the subject matter of your interesting letter, resolved not to retire from service so long as my continuing may promote the welfare, safety, and happiness of our country. I am well aware, as soon as you believe the situation of our affairs will permit of my retiring without injury to our country, you will notify me thereof, and permit me to retire. Until then, my private wishes and feelings must bend to what may be conceived will promote the public good.

The view you have taken of the conduct pursued by our government, relative to South America,² in my opinion has been both just and proper, and will be approved by nine-tenths of the nation. It is true it has been attempted to be wielded by certain demagogues to the injury of the administration; but, like all other base attempts, has recoiled on its authors; and I am clearly of your opinion, that for the present, we ought to be content with the Floridas—fortify them, concentrate our population, confine our frontier to proper limits, until our country, to those limits, is filled with a dense population; it is the denseness of our population that gives strength and security to our frontier. With the Floridas in our possession, our fortifications completed, Orleans, the great emporium of the west, is secure. The Floridas in possession of a foreign power, you can be invaded, your fortifications turned, the Mississippi reached, and the lower country reduced. From Texas, an invading enemy will never attempt such an enterprise; if he does, notwithstanding all that has been said and asserted on the floor of Congress on this subject, I will vouch that the invader will pay for his temerity.³

¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS. For the events that led to the publication of this letter, see Bassett's *Jackson*, I. 272, and John Quincy Adams's *Memoirs*, XII. 109, 130, 132, 143, 147. This letter, with Monroe's of May 23, 1820, is in *Niles' Register*, LXVII. 343; Monroe's is also in *Writings of Monroe*, ed. Hamilton, VI. 126.

² Referring to Monroe's message of May 9.

³ In his denunciation of John Quincy Adams for giving up Texas in the Spanish treaty of 1819, Jackson, writing in 1843 and 1844, contradicted all the arguments made in the above letter respecting the value of Texas as a means of defense to the Mississippi Valley. See his letter to Blair, Oct. 24, 1844.

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⁴ Samuel L. Gouverneur's letter among Monroe's MSS. is acute in respect to the published in the newspaper he now took. It is false and Gouverneur felt it.

¹ War Dept. files.
² Jackson MSS., Le

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SHVILLE, July 26, 1820.
 aptain R K. Call, U. States etachment now engaged in d, In which he reports that d is on his march to Wills l, he is of opinion that it m the duty assigned him, my answer to forward an it to remove the Intruders
 Captain Call informs me and men collected for the regulars, but who threaten as these Troops are gone.

ept. files.

Capt. Call has addressed a letter to those infatuated people, with assurance of speedy and exemplary punishment if they should attempt to carry their threats into execution. I have no doubt but the approach of the Troops so opportunely prevented disagreeable scenes, but I have no doubt but the Indian Light horse will be able to prevent intrusion hereafter. Their chiefs addressed to Captain Call the enclosed letter which he submitted to me,² having no power to act on it. I therefore enclose it to you, not having any power to oppose their request, that you may lay it before the President for his determination. I have no doubt but Colo. Galbreath and a few others named, cloathed with authority under the united states could render great security to the Indians in that quarter. Captain Call informs me, the boarder Citizens there, are of the worst characters and has treated the Indians badly. I shall be glad to hear from you on this subject as the chiefs await my answer. I have addressed them that I have forwarded their letter to their father the President of the U States.³

I am Sir with due respect

TO SECRETARY CALHOUN.¹

NASHVILLE, September 2, 1820.

Sir, I have just received the enclosed letter from John Rogers the deputy from the Arkansa Cherokees, to the cherokees on Tennessee River now there, and hasten to lay it before you, believing with proper caution the information it contains may prove beneficial in laying the ground work, on which, the whole Georgia claim may be obtained from the Cherokees. This summer as I passed through the lower part of that nation, I was informed by a half Breed, Riley, that the opinion now expressed by Rogers was prevalent amongst the Indians in that part of the nation, and Hicks² and others threatened with death for deceiving them. I have now but little doubt, that a large portion of the real Indians wish to pass to the Arkansas, if they had the means. Might it not have a good effect to have this inquired into, and the real fact obtained; and if found true, could it not be carried into effect without much expense to the U. States, except the transportation and provisioning them. Let a confidential agent who will act impartially be appointed to go through the nation, and enroll all Indians who want to pass to the Arkansas, and when enrolled take their relinquishment of all their claim to land where they now live. As soon as this is done, let Congress provide the means of

² Not in the files or Letter-Book.

³ Sept. 15, 1820, Jackson wrote to the Secretary of War as follows:

"I set out yesterday on my mission to the Chocktaw Nation, and met with Capt R K Call on his returne from performing the duties assigned him in the Cherokee Nation. I have directed him to make a report to you which, when received I trust will be satisfactory; and will shew that not with standing the duties, he had to performe were arduous, and delicate, that they have been executed, with both judgement, and prudence and much to the interest of the Cherokee-Nation and will have the effect in future of preventing the infraction of our Treaties with that Nation."

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book L, p. 76; also in War Dept. files.

² Elijah Hicks, clerk of the nation.

transporting and provisioning them and pass a law providing that land shall be laid out for them adjoining the bounds of the Cherokees on Arkansas, and that a like portion of their land here, shall be surrendered to the state of Georgia adjoining the settled parts thereof. There can be no question but Congress has the right to legislate on this subject.

The policy of treating with Indian tribes within the jurisdiction of the U. States, and acknowledging its Sovereignty, could only have arisen at a time when the arm of Government was too weak to execute any law passed for the regulation of the Indian tribes within our territorial limits. To treat with Indians acknowledging our sovereignty, and situate within our declared Territorial limits, as a nation, has always appeared very absurd to me; now when more justice can be done the Indians by Legi[s]-lation than by treaties, and the arm of Government is sufficiently strong to carry into effect any law that Congress may deem necessary and proper to pass for the welfare and happiness of the Indian and for the convenience and benefit of the U. States, It appears to me that it is high time to do away the farce of treating with Indian tribes. Should it be the fact that the wish of the large mass of the cherokees on this side the M. River, are ripe for emigration, it opens a fair field for Legislative interference by Congress, by which justice can [be] done the Indians, and the pledge of the union to Georgia, to extinguish the Indian title fulfilled. These are a few hasty remarks for your consideration. I have heretofore submitted to Mr. Monroe my ideas more fully

I am, Sir, with sincere respect

To SECRETARY CALHOUN.¹

NASHVILLE, September 15, 1820.

. . . . I enclose for your information a report of Maj Cary Nicholas, Batalion Pay Master on the Subject of the depreciated state of the funds received to meet his estimate for May and June current.

You will see that the Draft is on the Nashville Bank, which only pays paper, which is at 12 or 15 percent below specie Value. And the Specie value of this paper is declining daily as well as all other paper of the Banks of this State, in consequence of the establishment of a Bank by the last Session of our Legislature, with three millions of paper without one Dollar of Specie for its base.² added to this it is [rumored?], and that report has gained currency, that the Secretary of the Treasury has issued orders that no bills of the State of Tennessee, shall be received in payment of public lands, and that this order has reached the receiver of Public moneys at Huntsville. this true will give a Stroke to the credit of our Bank paper and reduce its value, as it will prevent its circulation in Alabama. It is unaccountable to me under these circumstances, how it should happen that the Secretary of the Treasury has directed the paper of a non Specie paying Bank, to be placed in the hands of the Paymaster to pay the debts of the Government when by his direction the Agents

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book L, p. 52.

² See T. P. Abernethy, "Andrew Jackson and the Rise of Southwestern Democracy", *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII. 68.

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of Government will not receive it in discharge of debts due to it. The Officers of Government here will not receive it in discharge of the debts due them at par, and will be under the necessity of forwarding their accounts and receipts to the paymaster at Washington for payment. Eastern Notes command a premium here of from twenty to twenty five per cent in exchange for the paper of the Nashville Bank

Yours Respectfully

TO SECRETARY CALHOUN.¹

NASHVILLE, November 13, 1820.

. . . . I cannot omit bringing to view the conduct of the Choctaw factor Mr Horsey.² I trust his conduct will be noticed by the Government, and he removed from his situation as factor. I enclose you the certificate of Mr E Duggan, a Gentleman who accompanied Genl Hinds to the treaty and remained there throughout the negotiation, and a man represented to me as a Gentleman of truth and respectability. It speaks a volume. In addition to this I have to remark that this same Mr Horsey, wrote a very long letter to Major Pitchlyn United States interpreter,³ with a request that he would read it to the chiefs of the Choctaw nation when assembled. Majr. Pitchlyn believing that the conduct of this man in writing this letter was improper, produced this letter to Genl Hinds and myself for our perusal. we find the whole object of this man was to mislead the Indians, thwart the views of Government, and prevent them from treating. we directed him not to read and interpret this letter to the chiefs, which he obeyed. Mr Horsey arrived at the treaty ground the day after the treaty was signed, I gave him a lecture, and informed him I should write you on the subject of his conduct, and I had no doubt but you would remove him. He professes religion, but as I believe without possessing it, and I am sure is doing no good but much evil. He must be one of those itinerant Yankies, who are endeavouring to poison the minds of our slaves, as well as the Indians, and who never ought to be entrusted with an office in a southern climate. . . .

TO SECRETARY CALHOUN.¹

NASHVILLE, November 30, 1820.

. . . . When I gave the order to Capt Call to seize and deliver over to the civil authority, all persons (with their stock of every kind) found trespassing on the Indian land; I had before me the communication above referred to. I had positive tes[t]imony, that the Intruders and persons on the frontier were in the habit of driving large herds of cattle into the Indian Country, and salting them on the Ground; by which means they would become attached to the place, and if you drove them off they would immediately return to the place where they had been salted. There was no method left by which the Treaty, and Intercourse laws for the

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book L, p. 56.
² John Hersey.
³ See vol. I, p. 358, note 1.
¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book L, p. 60.

believing, notwithstanding the exertions of a few that it will meet the approbation of the United States, and be ratified by the constitutional authority, I beg leave to lay before you two letters which I have some time since received, but have retained until intelligence of the ratification of the treaty by Spain, was received.

The first is from Majr George W Martin, a young man of great cleverness, and who has during the Creek War and the defence of New Orleans done his duty faithfully in the staff and family of Genl John Coffee. He is a young Gentleman of great sobriety, industry and morality, competent to discharge the duties of the office of Marshall, for which he asks; or any other in which to be a good accountant, to possess industry, energy and honesty are necessary qualifications for the incumbent. I therefore earnestly solicit for him the appointment of Marshall in the Florida's as soon as we assume the government thereof. I can with truth say it cannot be better filled, either as it regards the Governmental or individual interest, or as it respects the merits of the applicant. I therefore hope that he may not be neglected.

The other letter is from one of our Circuit Judges, recommending Doctor Taylor originally from Virginia. He is a relation of Mr Madison's, and from my acquaintance with him I suppose him worthy of the recommendation given him by the Judge (Alfred Harris). The Judge is a very worthy man, and in whose recommendation full credence ought to be reposed. I am certain that no consideration would induce him to attach merit to an unworthy individual. I hope therefore his letter will have due weight as it respects Doctor Taylor.

I ask pardon for one observation more respecting Majr Martin and that is, he is needy. One cause of which is, that from the age of 18, from 1812, until 1815, he was constantly in the field, all his private interest was neglected, and of course being then an Orphan without a guardian, his patrimony suffered. I name this believing it the duty of the Government whenever an individual has impaired his fortune in the service of that government, when an opportunity offers and an office presents itself to be filled, if that individual is in all respects competent to the duties, he ought to be preferred to another of only equal pretensions to qualification, who has rendered no service to his country nor suffered any privations in its defence. Knowing and appreciating the services of Majr Martin, I know you will pardon me for this long letter in his favour.

Accept assurances of my high consideration, respect and esteem and believe me to be Yr M Obt servant

TO SECRETARY CALHOUN.¹

NASHVILLE, January 18, 1821.

Sir, On yesterday a deputation of Cherokees from the Creek path Town, consisting of George Fields, Wolfe and Turtle Fields, handed me

¹ Jackson MSS., Letter-Book L, p. 194; also in War Dept. files, and in *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.*, II. 503. The enclosures have not been found. The letter, like that of Sept. 2, 1820, shows that thus early Jackson believed that it was absurd to treat with Indians as though they constituted a sovereign state.

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the enclosed letters marked A, B and C. The paper marked D, contains the explanation and talk delivered me by their confidential agent Turtle Field and subscribed to by the others, which is also enclosed.

On my return from the Creek frontier last summer, and passing through the lower part of the Cherokee country, I found great dissatisfaction prevailed, arising from the jealousy of Hicks and others, which I believe I have communicated to you.

When I set out to hold a Treaty with the Choctaws, I heard that the Path Killer had sent to me a deputation. They passed my house and finding me not at home, followed me to the Choctaw nation. That deputation consisted of part of the present (viz) George Fields and Wolfe. They remained with me during the negotiation with the Choctaws, and appeared very desirous that the Choctaws should obtain a country adjoining their Cherokee Brothers on the Arkansas, that they might aid each other in the day of danger. Never did they hint their business until I reached Russelville (Alabama) on my return, and on the morning when we were to part. They then informed me of their instructions to consult me, whether their father the President of the U. States would, upon the terms mentioned in their talk marked D,² and herewith enclosed, give to them the reservation asked for? Informing me also, that they had no confidence in Hicks and others, that their people had not been heard in council, and for three years had not received any part of the annuities, and that they were fearful that Hicks etc. would at some future day cheat them out of their land. All of which they wish'd to make known to their father the President, and get him to secure them permanently in the bounds they now ask for. I then told them that I could make no communication to their father the President, until the chiefs of their Town would in writing address me on that subject; When that was done I would freely make it known through you to him, and I had no doubt but it would be granted.

I do believe it to be a reasonable request and ought to be granted. It is a small area compared to what their population entitles them out of the whole country reserved to the Cherokee nation. The only good land asked for in the reserve, is on Thompson's and Browns creeks—the distance from the one to the other is about one and a half miles, and from Brown's creek to Short Creek is about one and a half. The whole reservation does not contain more than about six thousand acres of good land, the ballance is rock and mountain of the most rugged kind.

I do believe in a political point of view, as well as in justice to these people, their prayer ought to be noticed. It is inviting Congress to take up the subject, and exercise its power under the Hopewell Treaty of regulating all the Indian concerns, as it pleases. This is a precedent much wanted, that the absurdity in politics may cease, of a sovereign, independent nation holding Treaties with these people living within its territorial limits, acknowledging its sovereignty and laws, and who, altho' not citizens, cannot be viewed as aliens, but as the real subjects of the United States. If Congress by law will on the terms proposed take up the subject and give them the grant asked for, it will give to Georgia and Alabama all the

² No. 4 in *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.*, II. 504.

Cherokee lands not settled upon by those who will petition Congress at the next session, for the right of citizenship. In short I do believe in a very short time, these people will offer this part of reserved land to the U. States for lands on the Arkansas, and as part of the nation is now there, good policy will dictate the propriety of sending all those who do not wish to remain where they now are as citizens of the U. States. This belief however is bottomed on my opinion merely, and is to be taken as such. These people wanting to go to the Arkansas could not, unless they abandoned their improvements without compensation.

They now fear the injustice of the upper part of the nation, and wish to become independent of them and wish to be in such a situation, that they can remain where they now are forever, or if they choose, exchange of their own accord for lands more beneficial to them. If the real object of the Government is to send all over the Mississippi that are not disposed to become citizens, to consolidate our southern population, now is the time for Congress to take up the subject, allow the grant, and establish a happy precedent that will establish hereafter the rule of Legislating for, rather than Treating with the Indians within our territorial limits. This will secure to the Indians more justice, and a great saving to the nation. I have only to add, that I do hope their prayer may be granted, and the precedent established of Congress legislating for them.

I am Sir, with great respect

PRESIDENT MONROE TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, January 24, 1821.

Dear Sir, You will hear from other friends the proceedings of Congress, on the principle of Oeconomy, respecting the reduction of the army.¹ On that subject therefore I need say nothing.

We expect daily the treaty from Spain ceding Florida, ratified by her govt. In that event, will you accept the govt. of the territory? The climate will suit you, and it will give me pleasure to place you in that trust. Let me hear from you, as soon as possible, as the arrangement must be made, during the present session of Congress, which will terminate, as you know, on the 3d of march. You declin'd it when I saw you,² but perhaps, further reflection may reconcile the measure to you. with the best regards of my whole family to you and mrs Jackson I am very sincerely your friend and servant

TO JAMES MONROE.¹

HERMITAGE NEAR NASHVILLE, February 11, 1821.

Dear Sir, I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th ulto.

I have read in the last papers a full detail of the proceedings of Congress, and it is with extreme regret that I find (from the *mania* for retrenchment) a majority of the House of Representatives have lost sight of the safety of our country at home, and its character abroad. And if this mania is not restrained by the wisdom and firmness of the Senate, in

¹ *Annals of Congress*, 16 Cong., 2 sess., cols. 932-934 (House).

² In 1819.

¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS.

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I was not surprised, Sir, to see the Ministerial Journal wantonly assailing you, and bearing the shafts of the administration against McDuffie and Randolph and all those who had the independence to stand forth the champions of the constitution and the people. This will always be the case when the schemes of an unholy coalition are unravelled. But, Sir, the people are awake, and are virtuous; and it is a pleasing consolation to the patriot to know that their voice and strength is with the minority of the senate. You may still confide in the support of the people; they may be led away for a moment by designing demagogues, and the influence of men who in the pursuit of office will sacrifice the greatest good of the country to procure it, but their reason is soon enlightened by truth and rallying round their true interests, they will throw aside the instruments of corruption, and accept those of good and faithful service.

I trust that my name will always be found on the side of the people, and as their confidence in your talents and virtue has placed you in the second office of the government, that we shall march hand in hand in their cause. With an eye single to the preservation of our happy form of government, the missiles of slander will fall harmless at your feet. The approbation of the virtuous yeomanry of the country will constitute a shield which the administration cannot destroy—it will live when the abuse of its [———] ² shall be forgotten.

TO COLONEL JOHN D. TERRILL.¹

HERMITAGE, July 29, 1826.

Sir, I have received by due course of mail yours of the 17th instant and with pleasure take a leisure moment to reply to it. The policy of concentrating our Southern tribes of Indians to a point west of the Mississippi, and thereby strengthening our Southern border with the white population which will occupy the land, is one of much importance, and in the execution of which will be required some attention to the Indian character.

In reference to the proposed negotiations as a part of this policy, I think it will be useless to attempt to prepare the minds of the Chickasaws for the surrender of a part of their lands. From my knowledge of their character I have no doubt that an entire exchange will be effected with less difficulty than a partial one. And with them, as with all Indians, the best plan will be to come out with candor. Tell them, situated where they now are, that they will always be exposed to encroachment from the white people who will be constantly harrassing their father the President for the privilege of occupation and possession etc.; and here the case of Georgia and the Creek and Cherokees will furnish a striking example. Say to them, their Father, the President, will lay off a country of equal extent, transport them to it, and give besides a premium of money which will enable them to buy stock etc.; that he will establish landmarks for them never to be moved, and give them a fee simple title to the land. You must be prepared to give assurance of permanency of title, and dwell

² Two words illegible.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS. Colonel Terrill had been appointed special agent to prepare the Chickasaws for a cession of their lands.

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upon the idea that they will never be asked to surrender an acre more. It might not then be useless to bring to their view the hope of a union between the Choctaws Creeks and Chickasaws, as a speedy means of making them a great, powerful, and happy people, and, when their children shall be educated, of enabling them to become a member of the United States, as Alabama and Mississippi are.

With these hints I shall only add that you should be careful to promise nothing to them, but what you will religiously perform, or they will say to you, you lye too much. nothing will defeat a negotiation with Indians so soon as the discovery of an attempt to deceive them.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, yr. obt. svt.

TO THOMAS P. MOORE.

HERMITAGE, July, 1826.

My Dear Sir, Your favor of the 21st instant is received,¹ reassuring me of the wish of many of my friends in Kentucky that I should visit the Harrodsburgh springs.

I had spoken early in the spring of this visit because those waters had been recommended as necessary to the restoration of Mrs. J's health, and there was additional gratification derived from the hope that I would see many of my old friends in Kentucky, whose company at all times would be pleasing to me. But in as much as Mrs J is lately so far improved, as *not* to render this trip necessary; it seems to me very questionable whether without this necessity I ought to yield to the other consideration at this juncture. I know that so far as Kentucky is concerned the unjust imputations which it is my wish to avoid, would never be raised; or rather that a great proportion of her citizens would attribute to their proper origin the objects of my visit. Yet when I reflect upon the management and intrigue which are operating abroad, the magnitude of the principles which they are endeavoring to supplant, and the many means which they can draw to their assistance from the patronage of the Government, I feel that it is not less due to myself and to principle, than to the American people, particularly so far as they have sanctioned my political creed, to steer clear of every conduct, out of which the idea might arise that I was manoeuvring for my own aggrandizement. If it be true that the administration have gone into power contrary to the voice of the nation, and are now expecting by means of this power, thus acquired, to mould the public will into an acquiescence with their authority, then is the issue fairly made out—shall the Government or the people rule? And it becomes the man, whom the people shall indicate as their rightful representative in this solemn issue, so to have acquitted himself that while he displaces these enemies of liberty there will be nothing in his own example to operate against the strength and durability of the government.

¹ In his letter, from Harrodsburg, Ky., Moore said: "Your letter to me has left us in some doubt in relation to the expected visit: to the Springs. I regret to trouble you, but I am sure you will rightly appreciate my motives. Your friends in Ky. have to encounter a sort of screw presses, the presence of the *prince of managers*. While I never will insult you by soliciting you to imitate his example in any thing, yet be assured that your visit to this State would contribute much towards enabling us to triumph in a contest in which is involved principles which should be dear to every patriot, and honest man."

ness hereafter—which I hope he obtained through the attonement made by our blessed saviour, and his sincere repentance. Let it be recollected, that this mutiny was at a time when every nerve of our country was strained to protect it from the invasion of an overwhelming British force, whose agents were then employed to stir up the Creeks to the indiscriminate murder of our defenceless border,

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

HERMITAGE, September 2, 1826.

. . . . I have read the instructions to the commissioners for holding a treaty with the Chickasaw and Choctaws with attention, and hasten to give you my opinion with regard to the restrictions therein contained. 1st. The current expenses of the treaty including compensation to the commissioners is not to exceed twenty thousand dollars the sum appropriated. you are not restricted as to the price to be stipulated for any land you may obtain from the Indians. This as it ought to be, is left to the discretion of the commissioners. on the event of a Barter you are only restricted as to acre for acre, but as it must have been well understood that a barter could not be obtained without Boot, this is also left to your discretion, but the treaty having to be approved by the president and Senate the sums stipulated to be given must await this approval and an appropriation by congress. I would advise in all stipulations for money, a stipulation for an annuity for a term of years *only*. The object of the Govt. is to obtain a cession of this Indian country for lands west of the Mississippi. it is the duty of the commissioners to obtain this cession on the best terms they can, leaving the President and Senate to ratify or reject as their judgt may dictate. It is well known that a barter cannot be obtained without giving the Indians Boot. was I a commissioner before I would fail in the object I would give in boot the excess in value of the acre of Indian land ceded, to the acre given by the U. States, taking into view the expence of surveying and selling the public land. This section of country is of great importance to the prosperity and strength of the lower Mississippi, a dense white population would add much to its safety in a state of war, and it ought to be obtained, if it can, on any thing like reasonable terms.

MAJOR HENRY LEE TO JACKSON.

BUFFALO, September 14, 1826.

dear Genl. I have been in this neighbourhood some days, vewing or reviewing the falls of Niagara and examining the various Battle scenes on the Canada side; having it in contemplation to write a history of the last War. On my way I visited and conversed with Govr. Clinton to whom I was recommended and by whom I was treated with much civility. His standing in the political world renders him an object of interest, and I proceed to give you the result of my observations. He is frendly *in his conversation* to your election and adverse to that of Adams; Still more so to the succession of Clay In answer to questions from me he said

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

dolph, Mr. M'Duffie etc. but principally against the former; and they endeavored to make you answerable for his political offences, as presiding officer of the Senate. They have succeeded, to a considerable extent, in injuring the popularity of Mr. Calhoun; but their arrows have fallen harmless at your feet. Your popularity throughout the State of Pennsylvania is fixed upon sure foundations which your enemies have not nor ever will be able to shake.¹

Our society in this City has had a most agreeable addition in Mr. Cheves² and his family. He has purchased a farm within a mile of Lancaster and has taken up his residence amongst us with an intention, as he says, of laying his bones here. His sterling good sense and his agreeable manners have already made him a great favorite. Although he has been and still, I believe, is upon terms of personal friendship with Mr. Clay; yet he disapproves highly of his recent political course and does not hesitate upon all proper occasions to express his opinion. . . .

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

HERMITAGE, September 25, 1826.

. . . . you will discover from the public journals that the presidential canvass has commenced with great spirit from the coast, even in Boston, the former hotbed of Federalism has had a meeting, and the secretary of state always comes in for his share of public censure, he like Lucifer, is politically fallen, never to rise again. He is on an electioneering tour in the upper parts of Virginia, travelling for his *health* it being much *impaired* by *official duty*, but it will not do, he never can raise himself again in Virginia. The administration will make great exertions to succeed. every engine that can be wielded will be used, as we have a right to expect from the falsehoods and fabrications we have already seen published, by their Tools. I think Jonathan Roberts,² must ere this, repent of his folly. he has been severely exposed, and the reply over the signature of Major Eaton which will soon appear in the Eastern prints, will prostrate him forever, indeed the four numbers which has appeared in the Cincinnati Republican over the signature of *Vindication* has put his falsehood to rest, but as most of the replies has been over anonymous names, it was thought best, as Mr Roberts has been a senator, that a reply by a senator who were both members during the discussion of the Seminole campaign would be more relied on and better calculated to prostrate the *faction*.

When you meet with Genl Hinds present me to him affectionately. I have no hope of your succeeding. if you succeed at all you must succeed with both nations, and succeed I would, if they will sell. what is

¹ This patent effort to identify, in Jackson's mind, the causes of Jackson and Calhoun did not succeed. In his reply, Oct. 15, 1826 (see *Works of James Buchanan*, I. 218), Jackson was very non-committal with respect to Calhoun.

² Langdon Cheves of South Carolina, M. C. 1811-1815, president of the United States Bank 1819-1822, removed from Philadelphia to Lancaster in 1826, but in 1829 returned to South Carolina.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

² Senator from Pennsylvania 1814-1821.

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September 25, 1826.
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the value of the soil, compared to the value of the population that sec-
tion of country will maintain. labour is the wealth of all nations, and it
is your business to make a treaty the best you can obtain, and leave it with
the senate and president to approve or reject.

TO A COMMITTEE OF THE DAVIDSON COUNTY BIBLE SOCIETY.¹

HERMITAGE, September 30, 1826.

Gentlemen, Your note of the 25th instant is Just recd through the post
office

Whilst I feel grateful for the honor intended me, I must decline your
request. Was this great and good cause in need of this effort it should
be yielded with much pleasure and promptness, but as this cannot be the
case, there being so many Gentlemen much better qualified for public
speaking than myself and more in the habit, I must be excused—having
lost many of my teeth it is with great difficulty I can articulate, and not
being in the habit of public speaking of late, it is very unpleasant for me
to appear in that character. I therefore resign to abler hands.

There is still a stronger reason for my declining—it is this—Under
existing circumstances, was such an address to go forth to the world, I
might be charged by my political enemies with having come forth hypo-
critically under the sacred garb of religion thus to electioner—never
having worn this mask I cannot permit myself to appear in an attitude
which might justify my enemies in raising imputations so unpleasant.

Permit me to assure you, gentlemen whilst for the reasons offered I
decline the profered honor, that there is nothing that I can do with pro-
priety that I will not do, to prosper the great and good cause of chris-
tianity and the true religion of Jesus christ by the spread of the gospel.

With great consideration and respect I am Gentlemen

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

[n. p., n. d., probably in September, 1826.]

. I have no idea that you will succeed at present, but you may
perhaps make a conditional treaty to be binding on the two nations should
they be pleased with the country when it is explored by their chiefs
selected for that purpose. It is your provence to make a treaty if you
can, and the best you can. If therefore they will yield their country at all,
you will have to pay them *well*. if you find that they alledge that they are
unacquainted with the country, stipulate on what terms they will *exchange*,
if they should be pleased with it when viewed by them, appoint an agent
to accompany them, and stipulate that they shall have so many months
to give their final approbation to this agreement, further stipulating that
the approval of the president and senate is to be had, to this conditional
treaty, in which, must be stipulated a sum to bear the expence of this
exploration. to this they Indians may agree, but still this ought to be the

¹ Jackson had been invited to attend the anniversary meeting of the Davidson County Bible Society, and to move a resolution approving the report of the managers, making appropriate remarks. The above letter was his reply to the invitation.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.