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By PHILLO WHITE,

Printer of the Laws of the United States.

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## Gen. Jackson and Mr. Monroe.

Correspondence between Gen'l. Jackson and Mr. Monroe.....concluded.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Monroe to General Jackson, dated Washington, December 14, 1816.

DEAR SIR: I have, since my last to you, had the pleasure of receiving two letters from you, the last, of the 12th of November. The advantage of the late treaties with the Indians is incalculable. One of the benefits consists in putting an end to all dissatisfaction on the part of Tennessee, proceeding from the former treaty. This has been done on very moderate terms. Another consists in enabling the government to bring to market a large body of valuable land, whereby the public debt may be considerably discharged. A third, in extending our settlements along the Mississippi and towards the Mobile, whereby great strength will be added to our Union in quarters where it is most wanted. As soon as our population gains a decided preponderance in those regions, East Florida will hardly be considered by Spain as a part of her dominions, and no other power would accept it from her as a gift. Our attitude will daily become more imposing on all the Spanish dominions, and, indeed, on those of other powers in the neighboring islands. If it keeps them in good order, in our relations with them, that alone will be an important consequence. I have communicated what you have suggested respecting General Coffee and Lieut. Gadsden, to the President, who is, I am satisfied, well disposed to promote their views.

It is very gratifying to me to receive your opinions on all subjects on which you will have the goodness to communicate to me. I have the utmost confidence in the soundness of your judgment and purity of your intentions. I will give you my sentiments on the interesting subject in question, like wise, with our reserve. I agree with you, decidedly, in the principle that the Chief Magistrate ought not to be the head of a party, but the head of the nation itself. I am, also, of opinion that the members of the Federal party, who left it in the late war, and gallantly served their country in the field, have given proofs of patriotism and attachment to free government that entitle them to the highest confidence. In deciding, however, how a new Administration ought to be formed, admitting the result to correspond with the wishes of my friends, many considerations claim attention, as, on a proper estimate of them, much may depend of the success of that Administration, and even of the Republican cause. We have, heretofore, been divided into two great parties. That some of the leaders of the Federal party entertained principles unfriendly to our system of government, I have been thoroughly convinced; and that they meant to work a change in it, by taking advantage of favorable circumstances, I am equally satisfied. It happened that I was a member of Congress, under the Confederation, just before the change made by the adoption of the present Constitution; and, afterwards, of the Senate, beginning shortly after its adoption. In the former, I served three years, and, in the latter, rather a longer term. In these stations, I saw indications of the kind suggested. It was an epoch at which the views of men were most likely to unfold themselves, as if any thing favorable to a higher toned government was to be obtained, that was the time. The movement in France tended, also, then, to test the opinions and principles of men, which were disclosed in a manner to leave no doubt on my mind of what I have suggested. No daring attempt was ever made, because there was no opportunity for it. I thought that Washington was opposed to their schemes, and not being able to take him with them, that they were forced to work, in regard to him, underhand, using his name and standing with the nation, as far as circumstances permitted, to serve their purposes. The opposition, which was carried on with great firmness, checked the career of this party, and kept it within moderate limits. Many of the circumstances on which my opinion is founded, took place in debate and in society, and therefore find no place in any public documents. I am satisfied, however, that sufficient proof exists, founded on facts and opinions of distinguished individuals, which

became public, to justify that which I had formed.

The contest between the parties never ceased, from its commencement to the present time, nor do I think that it can be said to have ceased. You saw the height to which the opposition was carried in the late war; the embarrassment it gave to the government; the aid it gave to the enemy. The victory at New Orleans, for which we owe so much to you, and to the gallant freemen who fought under you, and the honorable peace which took place at that time, have checked the opposition, if they have not overwhelmed it. I may add that the darling measures of the Hartford Convention, which unfolded views which had been long before entertained, but never so fully understood, contributed, also, in an eminent degree, to reduce its opposition to its present state. It is under such circumstances that the election of a successor of Mr. Madison has taken place, and that a new Administration is to commence its service. The election has been made by the Republican party, supposing that it has succeeded, and of a person known to be devoted to that cause. How shall he act? How organize the Administration, so far as depends on him, when in that station? How fill the vacancies existing at the time?

My candid opinion is, that the dangerous purposes which I have adverted to, were never adopted, if they were known, especially in the full extent, by any large portion of the federal party, but were confined to certain leaders, and they principally to the Eastward. The manly and patriotic conduct of a great proportion of that party in the other states, I might, perhaps, say, of all, who had an opportunity of displaying it, is a convincing proof of this fact. But still, Southern and Eastern federalists have been connected together as a party, have acted together heretofore, and, although their conduct has been different, of late especially, yet the distinction between republicans and federalists, even in the Southern and Middle and Western States, has not been fully done away. To give office to free government, and secure it from future danger, ought not its decided friends, who stood firm in the day of trial, to be principally relied on? Would not the association of any of their opponents in the administration, itself wound their feelings, or, at least, of very many of them, to the injury of the republican cause? Might it not be considered, by the other party, as an offer of compromise with them, which would lessen the ignominy due to the councils which produced the Hartford Convention, and thereby have a tendency to revive that party on its former principles? My impression is, that the administration should exert, strongly, on the republican party, indulging towards the other a spirit of moderation, and evincing a desire to discriminate between its members, and to bring the whole into the republican fold, as quietly as possible. Many men, very distinguished for their talents, are of opinion, that the existence of the federal party is necessary to keep union and order in the republican ranks; that is, that free government cannot exist without parties. This is not my opinion. That the ancient Republics were always divided into parties, that the English government is maintained by an opposition, that is, by the existence of a party in opposition to the ministry—I well know. But, I think the cause of these divisions is to be found in certain defects of those governments, rather than in human nature; and that we have happily avoided those defects in our system. The first object is, to save the cause, which can be done by those who are devoted to it only, and, of course, by keeping them together; or, in other words, by not disgusting them, by too hastily an act of liberality to the other party, thereby breaking the generous spirit of the republican party, and keeping alive that of the federal. The second is, to prevent the re-organization and revival of the federal party, which if my hypothesis is true, that the existence of party is not necessary to free government, and the other opinion which I have advanced is well founded, that the great body of the federal party are republican, will not be found impracticable. To accomplish both objects, and thereby exterminate all party divisions in our country, and give new strength and stability to our government, is a great undertaking, not easily executed. I am, nevertheless, decidedly of opinion that it may be done, and, should the experiment fail, I shall conclude that its failure was imputable more to the want of correct knowledge of all circumstances claiming attention, and of sound judgment in the measures adopted, than to any other cause. I agree, I think, perfectly, with you, in the grand object, that moderation should be shown to the federal party, and even a generous

policy be adopted to it; the only difference between us seems to be, how far shall that spirit be indulged in the case; and it will make you thoroughly acquainted with my views on this highly important subject, that I have written to you so freely on it. Of the gentlemen of whom you have spoken, I think as you do, of which I gave him proof when in the Department of War, by placing him in the Board of Officers for digesting and reporting a system of discipline for the Army, and, afterwards, by other tokens of confidence; and I add, with pleasure, that I should be gratified, regarding the feelings and claims above stated, to find an opportunity, at a proper time hereafter, should the events in contemplation occur, to add other proofs of my good opinion and high respect for him.

In the formation of an administration, it appears to me that the representative principle ought to be respected, to a certain degree, at least, and that the Heads of a Department, (see being four,) should be taken from the four great sections of the Union, the East, the Middle, the South, and the West. This principle should not be always adhered to. Great emergencies and transcendent talents would always justify a departure from it. But it would produce a good effect to attend to it, when practicable. Each part of the Union would be gratified by it; and the knowledge of local details, and means, which would be thereby brought into the cabinet, would be useful. I am no wise compromised in respect to any one, but free to act, should I have to act, according to my judgment, in which I am thankful for the opinions of my friends, and particularly yours.

On the subject of fortifications, or works for the defence of the coast and frontiers, an arrangement has lately been made, by the President, with which I wish you to be well acquainted. You have, heretofore, I presume, been apprised, that Gen. Bernard, of the French corps of Engineers, under the recommendation of Gen. L. Fayette, and many others of great distinction in France, had offered his services to the United States, and that the President had been authorized, by a resolution of Congress, to accept them, confiding his rank to the grade of the Chief of our Corps. This resolution being communicated to Gen. Bernard, by the late Secretary of War, to whom he was known, he came over in compliance with the invitation which accompanied it. From Mr. Gallatin he brought letters, stating that he was the seventh in rank in the corps, and inferior to none in reputation and talents; if not first. It required much delicacy in the arrangement, to take advantage of his knowledge and experience, in a manner acceptable to himself, without wounding the feelings of the officers of our own corps, who had rendered such useful services, and were entitled to the confidence and protection of their country. The arrangement adopted will, I think, accomplish fully, both objects. The President has instituted a Board of Officers, to consist of five members, two of high rank in the corps, General Bernard, one engineer at each station, of young Gadsden, for example, at New-Orleans, and the naval officer commanding there, whose duty it is made to examine the whole coast, and report such works as are necessary for its defence, to the Chief Engineer, who shall report the same to the Secretary of War, with his remarks, to be laid before the President. Mr. Rice and Turner are spoken of, for the two first, who, with Gen. Bernard, will continue till the service is performed; the two latter will change with the station. The General commanding each division will be officially apprised of this arrangement, that he may be present, when he pleases, and give such aid as he may think fit. The attention of the Board will be directed to the inland frontiers, likewise. In this way, it is thought that the feelings of no one can be hurt. We shall have four of our officers, in every consultation, against one foreigner, so that, if the opinion of the latter becomes of any essential use, it must be by his convincing his colleagues, when they differ, that he has reason on his side. I have seen Gen. Bernard, and find him a modest, unassuming man, who preferred our country, in the present state of France, to any in Europe, in some of which he was offered employment, and in any of which he might probably have found it. He understands that he is never to have the command of the corps, but always will rank second in it.

This letter, you will perceive, is highly confidential; a relation which I wish always to exist between us. Write me, as you have done, without reserve—and the more so, the more gratifying your communications will be.

With great respect and sincere regard, yours,  
JAMES MONROE.

WASHVILLE, JAN. 6, 1817.

DEAR SIR: I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, of the 14th December last, which I have read with great interest and much satisfaction.

Your idea of the importance of the late-acquired territory, from the Indians, is certainly correct, and all the importance you attach to it will be realized. The sooner these lands are brought into market, a permanent security will be given to what I deem most important, as well as the most valuable part of the Union. This country once settled, our fortifications of defence in the lower country completed, all Europe will cease to look at it with an eye to conquest. There is no other point, America united, that combined Europe can expect to invade with success.

On the other subjects embraced in my letter, as well as this, I gave you my crude ideas with the candor of a friend. I am much gratified that you received them as I intended. It was the purest friendship for you individually, combined with the good of our country, that dictated the liberty I took in writing you. The importance of the station you were about to fill to our country and yourself, the injury in reputation that the chief magistrate may sustain, from the acts of a weak ministry, the various interests that will arise to recommend for office their favorite candidate, and, from experience in the late war, the mischief that did arise to our national character by wickedness or weakness, induced me to give you my candid opinion on the importance of the character that should fill this office. I had made, for this purpose, the most extensive inquiry in my power, from the most impartial sources, for the most fit character, combining *virtue, honor, and energy*, with *talents*, and all united in the individual named.

I am fully impressed with the propriety as well as the policy you have pointed out of taking the heads of departments from the four grand sections of the United States, where each section can afford a character of equal fitness; where that cannot be done, fitness, and not locality, ought to govern—the Executive being entitled to the best talents, when combined with other necessary qualifications, that the Union can afford.

I have read, with much satisfaction, that part of your letter on the rise, progress, and policy, of the Federalists. It is, in my opinion, a just exposition. I am free to declare, had I commanded the military department where the Hartford Convention met, if it had been the last act of my life, I should have punished the three principal leaders of the party. I am certain an independent court-martial would have condemned them under the 21st section of the act establishing rules and regulations for the army of the United States. These kind of men, although called federalists, are really monarchists, and traitors to the constituted government. But, I am of opinion that there are men called federalists that are honest, virtuous, and really attached to our government, and, although they differ in many respects and opinions with the republicans, still they will risk every thing in its defence. It is, therefore, a favorite adage with me, that the "tree is known by its fruit." Experience in the late war taught me to know, that it is not those who cry patriotism loudest, who are the greatest friends to their country, or will risk most in its defence. The Senate of Rome had a Sempronius; America has hers. When, therefore, I see a character, with manly firmness, give his opinion, but when overruled by a majority, fly to support that majority, protecting the eagles of his country, and the security of its independent rights; I care not by what name he is called; I believe him to be a true American, worthy the confidence of his country, and of every good man. Such a character will never do an act injurious to his country. Such is the character given me of Colonel D. Believing in the recommendation, I was, and still am, confident he is well qualified to fill the office with credit to himself and benefit to his country, and to aid you in the arduous station a grateful country has called you to fill. Permit me to add, that names, of themselves, are but bubbles, and some times used for the most wicked purposes. I will name one instance. I have, once upon a time, been denounced as a federalist. You will smile when I name the cause. When your country put up your name in opposition to Mr. M—I was one of those who gave you the preference, and for reason that, in the event of war, which was then probable, you would steer the vessel of state with more energy, &c. &c.; that Mr. M. was one of the best of men, and a great civilian, I always thought; but I always believed that the mind of a philosopher could not dwell on blood and carnage with any composure,

of course that he was not well fitted for a stormy sea. I was immediately branded with the epithet Federalist; and you also. But I trust, when compared with the good old adage, of the tree being known by its fruit, it was unjustly applied to either. To conclude, my dear sir, my whole letter was to put you on your guard against American Sempronius, that you might exercise your own judgment in the choice of your own ministry, by which you would glide smoothly through your administration, with honor to yourself and benefit to your country. This was my motive; this the first wish of my heart; to see you, when I am in retirement, endeavoring to nurse a broken and debilitated constitution, administering the government with the full approbation of all good men, pursuing an unyielding course, alone dictated by your own independent, matured judgment.

Present Mrs. J. and myself respectfully to your lady, and accept for yourself our best wishes, and believe me to be your most obedient servant,  
ANDREW JACKSON.  
The Hon. James Monroe, Esq.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Monroe, dated Washington, March 1st, 1817, to Gen. Jackson.

DEAR SIR: I wrote you a short letter lately by Gen. Bernard, and intended to have written you another, but had not time; indeed, so constantly have I been engaged, in highly important business, that I have not had a moment for my friends.

In the course of last summer, the President offered the Department of War to Mr. Clay, who then declined it. Since it was known that the suffrages of my fellow citizens had decided in my favor, I reserved to him the offer, which he has again declined. My mind was immediately fixed on you, though I doubted whether I ought to wish to draw you from the command of the army of the South, where, in case of any emergency, no one could supply your place. At this moment, our friend Mr. Campbell, called, and informed me that you wished me not to nominate you. In this state, I have resolved to nominate \* \* \* \* though it is uncertain whether he will serve.—His experience, and long and meritorious services, give him a claim over younger men, in that state.

I shall take a person for the Department of State from the Eastward; and Mr. Adams' claims, by long service, in our diplomatic concerns, appearing to entitle him to the preference, supported by his acknowledged abilities and integrity, his nomination will go to the Senate. Mr. Crawford, it is expected, will remain in the Treasury. After all that has been said, I have thought that I should put the administration more on national grounds, by taking the Secretary of State from the Eastward, than from this quarter, or the South, or West. By this arrangement, there can be no cause to suspect any unfair combination for improper purposes. Each member will stand on his own merit, and the people respect us all, according to our conduct. To each, I will act impartially, and of each, expect the performance of his duty. While I am here, I shall make the administration, first, for the country and its cause; secondly, to give effect to the government of the people, through me, for the term of my appointment, not for the aggrandizement of any one.

With great respect, and sincere regard, yours,  
JAMES MONROE.

WASHVILLE, MARCH 18, 1817.

DEAR SIR: I had the pleasure this day of receiving your letter of the 1st inst. That by Gen. Bernard I have not received, I learn by this day's mail that he has reached Knoxville, and will be on in a few days.

My friend Judge Campbell was instructed, and fully authorized, to make the communication to you that he did, and, I hope, gave you fully my reasons for my determination and wishes on that subject.

I have no hesitation in saying you have made the best selection to fill the Department of State that could be made. Mr. Adams, in the hour of difficulty, will be an able helpmate, and I am convinced his appointment will afford general satisfaction.

No person stands higher in my estimation than \* \* \* \* He is a well tried patriot, and, if he accepts, will, with a virtuous zeal, discharge the duties of the office as far as his abilities will enable him. I cannot disguise to you my opinion on this occasion; my anxious solicitude for your

\* In declining the appointment of Secretary of War.