

CONGRESS.

1st Session.....22d Congress.

REMARKS OF MR. BROWN, OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Delivered in Secret Session in the Senate of the United States, on the nomination of Mr. Van Buren, as Minister to England.

Mr. BROWN said, that unwilling as he had been, to participate in this discussion, he could not, in justice to his own feelings, and to the distinguished individual, whose nomination, as Minister to England, was then before the Senate, refrain from giving utterance to the mingled sentiments of indignation and regret, at the course which the debate had taken.

The Senate had been told by the Honorable gentleman, [Mr. Clay,] who had preceded him in this debate, that Mr. Van Buren, when acting as Secretary of State, had disgraced his country, by certain expressions contained in his instructions, given to Mr. McLane, late Minister to England, in relation to the negotiation between the United States and Great Britain, on the subject of the West India trade.

Waiving all discussion as to whom the responsibility should attach, for instructions given to our foreign Ministers, whether to the President of the United States or to his Secretary of State, he would concede to those opposed to the nomination, the principle contended for by them, that the Secretary of State was responsible for his official conduct, to the fullest extent.

He knew Mr. Van Buren too well, to believe, for a moment, that he would desire that any shield should be interposed to screen him from a proper responsibility; he believed he would sooner court the strictest inquiry, than endeavor to escape from it.

But to return to the instructions. What was the language which was deemed so exceptionable? In order to remove the impression, that a feeling of hostility was felt in this country towards Great Britain, which the imprudent course of the late administration, in relation to the West India trade had produced, the late Secretary of State, had alluded in his instructions, to the change which the people of the United States had made, in those who administered our government, in the following language:—"The opportunities which you have derived, from a participation in our public councils, as well as other sources of information, will enable you to speak with confidence (as far as you may deem it proper and useful so to do) of the respective parts taken by those to whom the administration of this government is now committed, in relation to the course heretofore pursued upon the subject of the colonial trade."

But to come back to the charge of disgrace which had been so strongly urged and relied upon. How, sir, has the Minister to England disgraced his country? Where was the evidence of the imputed disgrace to be found? Was it to be found in the fact, that an arrangement had been made between the United States and Great Britain, in relation to her colonial trade, substantially on the very same basis, as that proposed under the administration of Mr. Adams, and were gentlemen who then approved that measure, now prepared to condemn the present administration for having succeeded in forming such an arrangement with the British government, as the late administration had proffered; and had failed to accomplish? Sir, said Mr. B. it appears to me that there lies the

rub, the objection to Mr. Van Buren, he feared with some gentlemen, was not that he had done too little, but that he had done too much. Under his auspices as Secretary of State, a restoration of the West India trade had been effected, which the late administration, had by several successive missions in vain endeavored to effect for several years.

He called on gentlemen who had spoken so pathetically of their country's disgrace to adduce some proof in support of the charge.—When had the American name stood more honored abroad? Under what administration from the origin of the Government to this time, had the national character held a more lofty elevation? There was no civilized country, but what American character, American institutions, were themes of the highest panegyric, and in none more than in that country, with whom this dishonorable transaction, is said to have taken place. The lively sensibility which the President had on all occasions shown to the honor of his country, forbade the supposition, that he would ever have sanctioned instructions to a foreign Minister, by which the character of his country was to be compromised.

There is no mark more infallible, as regards the degree of wisdom with which a nation is governed, than the respectability of that nation in other countries. All history will testify to the truth of the remark, that an administration conducted feebly, is contemptible abroad, and that which is conducted with wisdom and vigor, never fails to secure respect.

Mr. Brown said, he would not institute a comparison between the management of our diplomatic affairs, under the present administration, and that which had preceded it, and it would be from no apprehension, that the result would not rebound greatly to the credit of the existing administration.

Mr. Van Buren had, he believed, while acting as Secretary of State, accomplished more in less time than any of his predecessors. Comparatively inexperienced in the new station in which he had been called to act, the ease with which he had adapted himself to it, the rapidity with which he had comprehended the arduous and difficult duties of Secretary of State, bore honorable testimony to his abilities as a statesman.

It had been objected to the nominee, that he had introduced into the government of the United States, the party intrigues and discipline, said to prevail in his own State. Without stopping to notice what he considered an unjust reflection, on the public character of a great and patriotic member of this confederacy, he called upon those who made the charge, to support it by proof. It was honorable to the reputation of Mr. Van Buren, both public and private, that when his enemies were asked to furnish evidence, in support of the charges urged against him, that they were unable to fix upon him any one of them, by the semblance of proof.

Mr. B. could conceive of no adequate reason or motives for rejecting the nomination of the Minister to England. He was peculiarly fitted for the station which he then filled. His thorough and intimate acquaintance with the commercial relations of the two countries, pointed him out as a fit and proper representative of our interests at the Court of Great Britain. The State of New York had repeatedly vouched for his character and standing, by bestowing on him the highest civil honors within her gift.

From the Baltimore Republican. MR. CLAY AND GENERAL SMITH. We invite the attention of our readers to the following report (which we copy from the Globe of yesterday) of what occurred between Mr. Clay and General Smith, in the Senate on Monday, at the conclusion of Mr. Clay's three day's speech on his Tariff resolution.

Mr. CLAY passed to the consideration of the financial remarks of the Senator from Maryland (Mr. Smith.) The Senator commenced his remarks by saying that he had been accused of being friendly to manufacturers. A more malicious accusation, said Mr. Clay, was never made by created man. If any one should repeat the charge, let him be referred to me; and I will take my solemn oath, on the holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that since I have known anything of his course, in either house, he has been a most determined foe to manufacturers.

Mr. Clay called for the sinking fund act of which the senator from Maryland had accused him of ignorance. How did the Senator know that I was ignorant of that act? [Mr. Smith disclaimed the words imputed to him. He had never accused any member of this body of ignorance, and hoped he should never so far depart from Senatorial propriety.] The Senator, continued Mr. C. supposed me to be ignorant of that act. There are two errors which very frequently find place in some minds; one is the error of magnifying our knowledge, and the other is the error of depreciating the knowledge of others; and the honorable gentleman must excuse me if I say that he is a prominent example of the existence of both errors.

body. You shan't out-brag me. Give three millions to Internal Improvement, and Colonization, and the revenue may go down to nine millions. While treating the subject of Internal Improvement, Mr. Clay alluded to the construction of the committee on Roads and Canals; it had been so organized by the honorable Senator from Maryland, that four out of five of the members were against the constitutionality of the power to make Internal Improvements and the expediency of exercising the power.

Mr. SMITH was sorry to find that he had unintentionally offended the hon. gentleman from Kentucky. In referring to the vigorous age he himself enjoyed, he had not supposed he should give offence to others who complained of the infirmities of age. The gentleman from Kentucky was the last who should take the remark as disparaging to his vigor and personal appearance;—for, when that gentleman spoke to us of his age, he heard a young lady near him exclaim,—"Old, why I think he is mighty pretty." The hon. gentleman, on Friday last, made a similitude where none existed. I, said Mr. S., had suggested the necessity of mutual forbearance in settling the Tariff, and, thereupon, the gentleman vociferated loudly and angrily about removals from office. He said I was a leader in the system. I deny the fact.

I never exercised the least influence in effecting a removal, and, on the contrary, I interfered, successfully, to prevent the removal of two gentlemen in office. I am charged with making a Committee on Roads and Canals, adverse to Internal Improvement. If this be so, it is by mistake. I certainly supposed every gentleman named on that committee, but one, to be friendly to Internal Improvement.

Mr. CLAY placed, he said, a high value on the compliment of which the honorable Senator was the channel of communication, and he the more valued it, inasmuch as he did not recollect more than once before, in his life, to have received a similar compliment. He was happy to find that the Hon. gentleman disclaimed the system of proscription;—and he should, with his approbation, hereafter cite his authority in opposition to it. The committee on Roads and Canals, whatever were the gentleman's intentions in constructing it, had a majority of members, whose votes and speeches against Internal Improvements, were matter of notoriety.

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From the sketch given by our Reporter of Mr. Clay's three days speech, it will be seen that it closed with the most offensive and direct personalities aimed at a venerable Senator who has been almost 40 years in Congress. That "tottering" age should have been made the subject of Mr. Clay's mockery—nay more, that by his gestures he should have mimicked or rather caricatured the decrepitude of a venerable patriot who was gloriously fighting the battles of his country in the revolutionary war, when the scoffer was in his nurses arms—when, after he had insulted a man of more than eighty years of age, that he should with threatening violence have "dared" him to retaliate, and made the Senate chamber the scene of a bullying defiance which would have disgraced a decent bar room, was not to have been expected from a Senator, much less one aspiring to the Presidency. But it was in perfect keeping with the rest of Mr. Clay's peroration. His profane appeal to the "holy Evangelists of Almighty God," in a vein of ridicule—and his recurrence to his reminiscences as a brag player, when in a strain of vain glory of his success in his gaming career, he told Mr. Smith, "you shan't out brag me" was calculated to make by standers suppose, that Mr. Clay forgot that he was in the Senate.

For the honor of the country we are happy to say, that no one of any party is found to defend the shameful part which Mr. Clay played on this occasion in the Senate. There was not, we believe, a single member of that body that did not feel its dignity humbled in the eyes of the crowd that surrounded it, by the conduct of an individual, who it had been pretended would lend dignity even to the Chief Magistracy of our country. The conduct of Gen. Smith was such as became him well. It suited his age and his history. He did not feel that it was necessary for one who had distinguished himself in some of the hottest conflicts of the revolutionary war; for one, who had met the British before Baltimore in the late war, and driven them from the spoils almost within their grasp, to prove his courage upon the floor of the Senate. He chose rather to evince his firmness there, by declining the indecent contest to which he was "dared," and by maintaining the decorum and dignity which belonged to the body of which he was a member. If he had thought fit to have taken a different course, what an occasion was presented to him. He might have contrasted his sturdy and green old age, with the premature decay of which Mr. Clay had complained in himself. He might have told him that the hand of time did not half so soon palsy and set the frame to tottering, as the poison of dissipation and the shock of intemperate passions; and he might have pointed to the particulars in which he had corrected certain lapses of Mr. Clay's memory, to show, that the weight of eighty winters on his head had not made him so forgetful, as a reckless temper had made the man who had assailed him.—[Globe.

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THE TARIFF.

We have frequently told our southern friends that the west, being the greatest sufferers by the tariff, the assumption that the people of the west were its advocates, was predicated on an erroneous impression of public sentiment. We offer the following extract of an address of the convention lately held at the seat of Government in Missouri, in proof of our remarks. The address says:

"Last, but most serious, in the history of the abuse of power by the federal Government is the present tariff. We believe with General Jackson, in the propriety of a judicious tariff. But we think, and so we believe does he, that to be judicious it must be a tariff of revenue, so arranged as to encourage the domestic industry of the country, and that, in imposing it, a due regard should be had to the distribution of its burdens, so as to make it do the least harm and the most good. We think, and so we believe does he, that a tariff of protection as such, and without reference to revenue, must be injudicious, because it is unequal, destructive of the very revenue which it pretends to raise, and because it is, and ever will be thought by many to be, the abuse and perversion of a constitutional power to a purpose not contemplated by the Constitution. We shall not here repeat the argument so commonly urged in favor of this doctrine. We choose rather to call your attention to the operation of this measure on yourselves.

We believe, fellow citizens, that there is no part of the Union so injuriously affected by the tariff as this State. The settlers of a new country have to supply themselves anew with every thing. They are not yet in a condition to manufacture at home, and have therefore much to buy. Are you aware of the amount of tax you pay in buying this? Let us tell you: On every dollar's worth of foreign manufacture, you pay about forty cents tax into the treasury? On every dollar's worth of northern manufacture you pay about forty cents more than the like articles would cost, but for the tariff, and this goes into the pockets of our loving friends in the north? When you think of these things, and look at the oppressive land system of the federal Government, you need not wonder that you are poor and in distress. Your fertile lands keep you from starving. It is all they can do. We can never have a foreign market for our surplus produce, as long as the tariff upon the articles we import in return, whatever they may be, is more than enough to eat up all the profits of the exchange."

The schoolmaster is abroad, and the manufacturing interest is blind indeed, if the present session is permitted to pass by without such a modification as will quiet the country. U. S. Telegraph.

WEST INDIA TRADE.

Mr. BROUGHTON: In your last paper you state, the Foreign Clearances to have been for 1829 84 1831 157

In 1829 the British West India Ports were closed—in 1831, they were opened, and of the 157 clearances of this last year, seventy-nine were to British West India Ports; if these ports had been closed there would not have been much difference between the two years. And yet Mr. Clayton, of Delaware calls the British West India Trade "a contemptible boon;" it may be so, as to the State of Delaware, but not to us.

The above, from the Norfolk Herald, (an opposition paper,) shows how little reliance is to be placed upon the assertions of the opposition orators in the Senate. These great men, the GULLIVERS, as the Whig calls them, seem to think that there is no difficulty in their taking any side of any question, and then moulding the intellect of the nation so to receive it, as they choose to have it received. Mr. Clay, while Secretary of State, sought the West India Trade through negotiation, in the hope to get great credit in the event of success. Had he succeeded, what a trophy he would have made of it! What honors would have been requital for such an acquisition! He failed—and Mr. Van Buren had the fortune to secure it under his auspices as Secretary of State. And now, the trade is become worthless—the commerce is nothing—and the man under whose instructions the "contemptible boon" was obtained, is condemned for having succeeded—and is recalled, lest he might succeed obtaining another "contemptible boon," in settling the great question which has heretofore involved us in the wars of Europe, and may do it again when they arise. But what is the security of peace to the country? What the great immunity of free seas to our commerce, when the ocean is agitated by European belligerents? What the exemption of our rising Republic from the rules and policy which the European nations enforce against each other amidst the violence of their conflicts? Nothing. The public good is nothing, among selfish politicians, if put in

competition with their ambitious hopes of personal aggrandizement.

We furnish from a Norfolk paper, one statement contradicting, by indubitable facts, the assertions now made by Mr. Clay and his partisans, to disparage the value of the West India trade. The following, from another quarter, will serve to strengthen the admission made by the Clay press at Norfolk. What will the National Republican Orators say, when they find all the records of the Custom Houses in all the various ports of the country contradicting them? Neither the Farming nor Commercial interests will give up this fine trade for a fine speech, and we apprehend they will, for the same reason, prefer the administration of a practical Patriot, to that of a pretending politician.

From the New York Courier and Enquirer.

WEST INDIA TRADE. A great deal has been said by the opposition in Congress and out of it, on the subject of the West India Trade, since the opening of the ports by the successful arrangement made by Mr. Van Buren and Mr. McLane, under the instructions of General Jackson. Driven from every position of attack, the new coalition faction have at last had the singular absurdity to come out before an intelligent people, and declare that the West India Trade is an injury to the country. On this ground they have placed their forlorn hope. A spirit of charity would willingly indulge them in such a childish invention, if their recent malevolent folly and faction in the Senate, in rejecting the minister by whose labors that trade was recovered, did not call for a plain statement of facts; not so much to enlighten them, as to satisfy the people. We have procured from the officers of the Custom House of this city, a statement of foreign arrivals for the year 1831, which will place the matter, as regards this port, in the clearest light. It is a fair specimen of the trade in other ports.

Number of Vessels arrived at New York from Foreign ports in 1831: Vesels from Europe 597 American Vessels from the West Indies 520 British Vessels from the West Indies 78 Arrivals from South America 259 Arrivals from British America 192 Asia 12 the South Seas 4 Africa 3 Total 1636

By this official statement it will be seen that since the opening of the Colonial Trade, the arrivals from the West Indies in this port, have swelled to within seven of the whole number of arrivals from Europe. Of the number of these arrivals, only seventy are British and five hundred and twenty American. This in a single port, and in the port of New York, where there is a greater proportion of arrivals of the vessels from foreign countries in Europe, than in any other city in the confederacy. In Maine, in New-Hampshire, Virginia, North and South Carolina, their trade to the West Indies, as compared with that to Europe, is much greater.

And yet in the face of these palpable facts, the opposition have the impudence—the novel audacity—the bare-faced posture to say that the treaty by which the ports of the West Indies have been opened to our shipping interests, has been a positive injury to the country. Here is the true source of the hostility of the new coalition to Mr. Van Buren. They never will forgive him for having been the successful negotiator of a valuable and important treaty, which is so useful to the trade and commerce of the country. The success of Mr. Van Buren was too severe a rebuke upon the blunders of Mr. Clay; the latter has unburthened himself of his malevolence, by voting against Mr. Van Buren's nomination; but the decision of the people is yet to be heard.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

From the London Times. The Message of the American President is a discourse of which, although the full credit belongs to the government of the United States, the wisdom, integrity, and conciliatory spirit may be turned to account by other nations, in their policy, both foreign and domestic. From the rapid but comprehensive sketch which General Jackson takes of the relations between his Republic and Foreign Powers, it is gratifying to observe what expressions of respect and cordiality he employs in speaking of the latter.

From the Morning Chronicle. The Message of the American President must appear a strange document to European Statesmen. He actually says that he has nothing to conceal from the people. What would statesmen in Europe be without concealment and trick?

From the Morning Post. The Message of the American President to the Congress, which is given in another part of our paper, is a very interesting document, as developing the present condition and future prospects of the United States. Both are spoken of in glowing terms; and even allowing for some partial exaggeration, it must be universally felt that the American nation has attained, and is promised, a continuance of a state of prosperity which may well excite the envy of every European power, England herself not excepted.

From the Manchester Guardian. Like the preceding Messages which have emanated from Gen. Jackson, it is a manly, frank, and perspicuous exposition of the state of the affairs of the Commonwealth.

From the Liverpool Chronicle. It contains a full and candid exposition of the affairs, both foreign and domestic, of the United States; and the facts which are disclosed afford the most convincing evidence of the great and rapid progress which that country is making in every branch of national and commercial prosperity. The most remarkable passage is that, in which the President alludes to the flourishing state of the finances.—The whole of the National Debt he observes may be expected to be extinguished, either by redemption or purchase, within 4 years of his administration, that is to say—in the course of the ensuing 12 months, 3 years having elapsed since Gen. Jackson was placed at the head of the government. When will an English monarch be able to come down to parliament with so gratifying an announcement?