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CORRESPONDENCE.

From the Albany Argus.

Letter of the Republican Members of the New York Legislature, to the President.

ALBANY, FEBRUARY 9, 1832.

To His Excellency ANDREW JACKSON,

President of the United States:

Sir: The undersigned in the performance of the duty with which they have been charged by the republican members of the Legislature of the state of New York, have the honor to transmit herewith, the proceedings of a meeting held by them in the capitol of this State, on the 3d instant. In doing so, they cannot restrain the expression of the strong feelings of indignation with which they view the act to which those proceedings refer.

A great majority of the citizens of this State have given repeated evidences of the high estimation in which they have held your administration of the affairs of the nation. The inflexible integrity which has marked every act of your public life—the more than military courage, with which the responsibilities of your high station have been assumed, and the constant regard manifested by you to the purity of the Constitution, have strengthened their attachment to your person and your government; and they have not been regardless of the manner in which the splendid career of a military life, has been followed by the many signal blessings which your civil administration, has bestowed upon our country.

This State witnessed with pride, the selection of Mr. Van Buren by your Excellency as your Secretary of State: Our citizens had given repeated evidences of their confidence in him.—With the watchfulness becoming a free people, they had regarded his conduct in the various stations to which he had been called, by the constituted authorities of the State. They had witnessed his attachment under all circumstances, to the principles of the democracy of the country, and they had then recently evinced the extent of their confidence, by elevating him to the highest office within their gift. They felt that your Excellency's removal of him to a wider sphere was an act of justice due to his capacity, honesty and fidelity to the constitution, and to the character of this State and the feelings of its people. They cheerfully acquiesced in that removal and freely surrendered their most distinguished fellow-citizen to your call, because they recognised in it additional confirmation of the high hopes they had imbibed of the character of your administration. They saw with undissembled pleasure, his efforts to aid your Excellency in your successful attempt to restore the government to its purity; and when his withdrawal from his high station to which your partiality had exalted him, became necessary for the preservation of your peace against the attacks of those who were alike enemies to your person and principles, they beheld in your continued confidence in him irrefragable proof, that no combination could close the eyes of your Excellency to the cause of your country, and no personal considerations, arrest your efforts for the common welfare. They saw, that amid the assaults made upon your principles by unfaithful servants, the honor of our country was not lost to your view, and they felt, that the same ardent patriotism, which had manifested on the walls of New Orleans, had been brought into the administration of the government. They saw and felt this, in the effort made by your Excellency, to acquire by frank and honest negotiation, that for which we had warred with Great Britain; which had been abandoned if not surrendered by subtle diplomacy; and upon which your Excellency, at least, had not been silent.

The people of this whole country, felt indeed that their confidence in your Excellency was not misplaced, for they saw and knew that no considerations of a private nature could for a moment affect your ardent desire to promote the common weal.

It is true they were aware that there were citizens in this Union, who could justify and participate in this surrender of "free trade and sailor's rights," who could "calculate the value of the Union," and who could laugh at our calamities in a period of war and general distress. But they could not believe that such feelings could sway any branch of our hitherto unsullied government, and least of all, that they would ever dare combine to impede the attempt of your Excellency, to secure that for our country, for which we had expended millions of our moneys and for which thousands of our citizens had laid down their lives.

Your Excellency has ever appreciated the feelings of the people of this country, and it will not now be difficult for you to judge of those which pervade this whole community, against an act unprecedented in the annals of our country; which has impaired the hitherto exalted character of our National Senate—which has insulted a State that yields to none in attachment to the Union; and which has directly attacked an administration that is founded deep in the affections of the people.

The State of New York, Sir, is capable in itself, of avenging the indignity thus offered to its character, in the person of its favorite son. But we should be unmindful of our duty, if we failed in the expression of our sympathy with your Excellency's feelings of mortification, at this degradation of the country you have loved so well. Yet be assured, Sir, that there is a redeeming spirit in the people, and that those whom we have the honor to represent, ardently desire an opportunity of expressing their undiminished confidence in an

administration, which has exalted the character of our country, which has restored the purity of the government, and has shed abroad upon the whole nation the continued blessings of peace and prosperity.

In the fervent hope, that your Excellency may yet be spared many years to bless and adorn the only free nation upon earth, we remain Your sincere friends, and Very humble servants,

N. P. TALLMADGE,
THOMAS ARMSTRONG,
LEVI BEARDSLEY,
JOHN F. HUBBARD,
J. W. EDMONDS,
CHAS. L. LIVINGSTON,
G. OSTRANDER,
J. W. WILLIAMSON,
PETER WOOD,
ED. HOWELL,
E. LITCHFIELD,
WM. SEYMOUR,
AARON REMER,
JAS. HUGHSTON,
WM. H. ANGEL,

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

WASHINGTON, February 23, 1832.

GENTLEMEN: I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 9th inst. inclosing the resolutions passed "at a meeting of the republican members of the Legislature of New York" on the rejection by the Senate of the United States of the nomination of Martin Van Buren, as Minister to England.

I am profoundly grateful for the approbation which that distinguished body of my republican fellow citizens of New York have, on that occasion, been pleased to express of the passed administration of the affairs placed in my charge by the people of the United States, and for their generous offers of continued confidence and support. Conscious of the rectitude of my intentions, my reliance in all the vicissitudes of my public life has been upon the virtue and patriotism of an enlightened people. Their generous support has been my shield and my stay, in times past: the zealous performance of the arduous military duties allotted to me, though crowned with success, was sought to be made a ground of reproach; and this manifestation on the part of my fellow citizens of the great State of New York, assures me that services not less faithful in the civil administration will not be less successfully defended.

When such reliance falls the public servant, public liberty will be in danger, for if the people become insensible to indignities offered to those, who, with pure intentions, devote themselves to the advancement of the safety and happiness of the country, public virtue will cease to be respected, and public trusts will be sought for other rewards than those of patriotism.

I cannot withhold my entire concurrence with the republican members of the legislature in their high estimation of their eminent fellow citizen, whom they have so generously come forward to sustain. To this I will add the assurance of my undiminished respect for his great public and private worth, and my full confidence in the integrity of his character.

In calling him to the Department of State from the exalted station he then occupied by the suffrages of the people of his native State, I was not influenced more by his acknowledged talents and public services, than by the general wish and expectation of the Republican Party throughout the Union. The signal ability and success which distinguished his administration of the duties of that Department, have fully justified the selection.

I owe it to the late Secretary of State, myself, and to the American people, on this occasion to state, that as far as is known to me, he had no participation whatever in the occurrences relative to myself and the second officer of the government, or in the dissolution of the late Cabinet; and that there is no ground for imputing to him the having advised those removals from office which, in the discharge of my constitutional functions, it was deemed proper to make. During his continuance in the Cabinet, his exertions were directed to produce harmony among its members; and he uniformly endeavored to sustain his colleagues. His final resignation was a sacrifice of official station to what he deemed the best interests of the country.

Mr. McLane, our then Minister at London, having previously asked permission to return, it was my own anxious desire to commit the important points remaining open in our relations with Great Britain, to a successor in whose peculiar fitness and capacity I had equal confidence: and to my selection, Mr. Van Buren yielded a reluctant assent. In urging upon him that sacrifice, I did not doubt that I was doing the best for the country, and acting in coincidence with the public wish; and it certainly could not have been anticipated that, in the manner of successfully conducting and terminating an important and complex negotiation, which had previously received the sanction of both Houses of Congress, there would have been found motives for embarrassing the executive action and for interrupting an important foreign negotiation.

I can never be led to doubt, that in the instructions under which that negotiation relative to the trade with the British West Indies was conducted and successfully concluded, the people of the United States will find nothing either derogatory to the national dignity and honor, or improper for such an occasion.

Those parts of the instructions which have been used to justify the rejection of Mr. Van Buren's nomination by the Senate of the United States, proceeded from my own suggestion: were the result of my own deliberate investigation and reflection; and now, as when they were dictated, appear to me to be entirely proper and consonant to my public duty.

I fell, gentlemen, that I am incapable of tarnishing the pride or dignity of that country, whose glory, both in the field and in the civil

administration, it has been my object to elevate: and I feel assured that the exalted attitude which the American people maintain abroad, and the prosperity with which they are blessed at home, fully attest that their honor and happiness have been unsullied in my hands.

A participation in the trade with the British West India Islands, upon terms mutually satisfactory to the United States and Great Britain, had been an object of constant solicitude with our government from its origin. During the long and vexatious history of this subject, various propositions had been made with but partial success; and in the administration of my immediate predecessor, more than one attempt to adjust it had ended in a total interruption of the trade.

The acknowledged importance of this branch of trade; the influence it was believed to have had in the elections which terminated in the change of the administration, and the general expectation on the part of the people, that renewed efforts, on frank and decisive grounds, might be successfully made to recover it, imposed upon me the duty of undertaking the task.

Recently, however, Great Britain had more than once declined renewing the negotiation, and placed her refusal upon objections which she thought proper to take to the manner of our previous negotiation, and to claims which had at various times been made upon the part of our government.

The American Government, notwithstanding, continued its efforts to obtain a participation in the trade. It waived the claims at first insisted upon, as well as the objection to the imposition by Great Britain of higher duties upon the produce of the United States, when imported into the West Indies, than upon the produce of her own possessions, which objection had been taken in 1819 in a despatch of the then Secretary of State.

A participation in the trade with the British West India Islands could not have been, at any time, demanded as a right; any more than in that to the British European Ports. In the posture of affairs already adverted to, therefore, the Executive could ask nothing more than to be permitted to engage in it upon the terms assented to by his predecessor, and which were the same as those previously offered by Great Britain herself. Even these had been denied to the late administration, and for reasons arising from the views entertained by the British Government of our conduct in the past negotiations.

It was foreseen that this refusal might be repeated, and on the same grounds. When it became the duty of the Executive, rather than disappoint the expectations of the people, and wholly abandon the trade, to continue the application, it was proper to meet the objection to the past acts of the American administration, which objection, as had been foreseen, was actually made, and for some time insisted upon.

It is undoubtedly the duty of all to sustain, by an undivided and patriotic front, the action of the constituted authorities towards foreign nations; and this duty, requires, that during the continuance of an administration in office, nothing should be done to embarrass the Executive intercourse in its foreign policy, unless upon a conviction that it is erroneous. A thorough change in the administration, however, raises up other authorities of equal dignity, and equally entitled to respect; and an open adoption of a different course implies no separation of the different parts of the government; nor does an admission of the incompetency or impracticability of previous demands imply any want of respect for those who may have maintained them.

To defend the claims or pretensions, as they had been indiscriminately called, on either side, in the previous correspondence, which had been for a time urged by the late administration, would have been to defend what that administration, by waiving them, had admitted to be untenable; and if that which had been by them conceded to be inexpedient, could not be sustained as proper, I perceive nothing derogatory, and surely nothing wrong, in conducting the negotiation upon the common and established principle, that in a change of administration there may be a corresponding change in the policy and counsels of the government. This principle exists, and is acted upon, in the diplomatic and public transactions of all nations. The fact of its existence in the recent change of the administration of the American government, was as notorious as the circulation of the American press could make it; and while its influence upon the policy of foreign nations was both natural and reasonable, it was proper, according to my sense of duty, frankly to avow it, if the interests of the people of the United States should so require.

Such was the motive, and such nothing more, is the true import of the instructions taken as a whole, which I directed to be given to our minister at London, and which neither expressed nor implied condemnation of the government of the United States, nor of the late administration, further than had been implied by their own acts and admissions.

I could not reconcile it to my sense of public duty, or of national dignity, that the United States should suffer continued injury or injustice, because, a former administration had insisted upon terms which it had subsequently waived, or had failed seasonably to accept an offer which it had afterwards been willing to embrace. The conduct of previous administrations was not to be discussed either for censure or defence; and only in case "the omission of this government to accept of the terms proposed when heretofore offered," should "be urged as an objection." Now, it was made the duty of the minister "to make the British government sensible of the injustice and inexpediency of such a course."

Both the right and the propriety of setting up the past acts of previous administrations to justify the exclusion of the United States

from a trade allowed to all other nations, was distinctly denied; and the instructions authorized the minister to state that such a course towards the United States "under existing circumstances, would be unjust in itself, and could not fail to excite the deepest sensibility—the tone of feeling which a course so unwise and untenable is calculated to produce, would doubtless be greatly aggravated by the consciousness that Great Britain has, by orders in council, opened her colonial ports to Russia and France, notwithstanding a similar omission on their part to accept the terms offered by the act of the 5th July, 1825;"—he was told that "he could not press this view of the subject too earnestly upon the consideration of the British ministry;" and the prejudicial influence of a course on the part of the British government so unwise and unjust upon the future relations of the two countries, were clearly announced in the declaration that "it has bearings and relation that reach beyond the immediate question under discussion."

If the British government should decline an arrangement "on the ground of a change of opinion, or in order to promote her own interests," a prompt avowal of that purpose was demanded; but if they should not be prepared to take that ground, "but suffer themselves to desire that the United States should, in expiation of supposed past encroachments, be driven to the necessity of retracing their legislative steps without knowledge of its effect and wholly dependent upon the indulgence of Great Britain," they were to be made sensible of the impracticability of that course, and to be taught to expect such measures on our part as would vindicate our national interest and honor. To announce distinctly to Great Britain that we would not submit to a continued injustice, on the ground of any objection to the past conduct of the American government, whether it were right or wrong; was the obvious import of the whole instructions.

If the Executive had caused it to be stated to Great Britain, that finding his predecessors to have been in error, as was implied by subsequently waiving the terms they had advocated, and had, in expiation of those errors, abandoned the trade to the pleasure of the British government, the interests of the United States would have suffered, and their honor been reproached; but in excluding such considerations, as inappropriate and unjust, and in clearly avowing his purpose not to submit to such treatment, he hoped to promote the interests of his fellow citizens, and sustain the honor and dignity of his country.

In all this, gentlemen, I have the approbation of my judgment and conscience. Acting upon the principle, early announced, of asking nothing but what is right, and submitting to nothing that is wrong, I asked that only of which the justice could not be denied. I asked a participation in the trade, upon terms just to the United States, and mutually advantageous to both countries. I directed a simple and distinct proposition, in conformity with these principles, to be submitted to the British government; and resolving to be content with nothing less, I ultimately arranged the trade upon the basis of that proposition, without retraction, or modification or change. If the national honor had not been thought tarnished by retracing our steps, by claiming more and ultimately consenting to take less, and in fact obtaining nothing; I feel assured, that in requiring that which my predecessors had conceded to be enough, and obtaining all that was demanded, my countrymen will see no stain upon their dignity, their pride or their honor.

If I required greater satisfaction than I derive from a review of this subject, I should find it in the gratitude I feel for the success which has crowned my efforts. I shall always possess the gratifying recollection, that I have not disappointed the expectations of my countrymen, who, under an arrangement depending for its performance upon our own wisdom, are participating in a valuable trade upon terms more advantageous than those which the illustrious Father of his Country was willing to accept; upon terms as favorable as those which regulate the trade under our conventions with Great Britain, and which have been sought without success from the earliest periods of our history.

I pray you, gentlemen, to present to the republican members of the legislature of New York, and to accept for yourselves individually, the assurance of my highest regard and consideration.

ANDREW JACKSON.

The admirable reply of the President to the Republican Members of the New York Legislature, has filled his enemies with consternation. Its plain truths and fearless tone have swept away their last hope of deceiving the people into a belief, that the "new coalition" in the Senate, were actuated in the rejection of Mr. Van Buren, by any just or patriotic motive. In their desperation, they seized upon the expedient of representing the letter as an attack on the Senate, and an electioneering defence of Mr. Van Buren!

What! has it come to this, that the Chief Magistrate of this Republic must maintain silence under every injustice, and not even reply, with candor and dignity, to the respectful address of the people whom he serves? Must he be precluded from assuming the responsibility of his own act; from declaring how far that responsibility has been unjustly cast upon others; from giving a brief detail of the reasons on which those acts were predicated? Must he be deprived a right sacredly reserved by our institutions to the humblest citizen—that of being heard in his own defence? The Senators who voted against the nomination, have not maintained that silence which it is now called a crime in the President to break, lest they should be considered as making disrespectful charges against a co-ordinate branch of the

government. Their speeches, uttered in secret session, have been written out, copied over, printed and sent out in newspapers and pamphlets, into every corner of the Union. None of these sensitive gentlemen then raised their voices against the Senators for attacking a co-ordinate branch of the government.

All this was, in their estimation, right and proper; but no sooner does the Chief Magistrate whom those speeches attack, write to a committee of his fellow-citizens, a letter about as long as the shortest of them in his defence, plain and dignified in its language and tone, than he is charged with an attack on the Senate!

What was the charge against the President promulgated in the Senators' speeches? It was that he had appointed as minister to Great Britain, a man who had sought to destroy the morality of society at home and degraded his country abroad. Does he retort any charge upon them? No, he contents himself with assuring his countrymen, that the charges against his minister and consequently against himself, are totally unfounded. He repels; but he does not attack. He shows that the attack on himself has no basis in truth or in the public good; but he does not impeach those who have made it. If any man of that class in the Senate or out, are wounded by the simple truths which that letter contains, let them writhe, and scowl and wither under its power. It is their own guilty consciences which make them feel it as an attack; it is "the fiery looking for" of public indignation which makes them cry out.

But have these men forgotten, that President Washington when assailed on account of Jay's Treaty, in his replies to the addresses of his fellow-citizens, did not hesitate to expose his motives and indicate his policy?

Have they forgotten the numberless cases in which the elder Adams, under similar circumstances, justified the policy of his administration, in letters written for publication.

Have they forgotten, that Mr. Jefferson went even so far as to justify, in a similar letter of letters, the policy of removals from office, which is now one ground of attack upon President Jackson? Probably there has not been a President of the United States from Washington to Jackson, who has not, in some shape, before his fellow citizens, justified particular acts on the general policy of his administration. None can forget the numerous and voluminous pamphlets which the Secretary of State, under the last administration, sent, under the franks of public officers, into every neighborhood of the Union.

But it is charged, that the President's letter is a defence of Mr. Van Buren and an electioneering weapon to make him Vice President! It is a defence of the President himself. He has been assailed as vitally as Mr. Van Buren. If his own defence cover also his minister and friend, we are sure that so far from giving him pain, it will increase the pleasure he will feel in its success. The time was when he had an arm for his invaded country, and for the injured and oppressed, and he has a voice for them still. It is the apprehension that his countrymen will hear it—that they will listen to it—that they will vindicate and avenge their honest and injured public servants,—which is filling the managers of the "new coalition" with terror and dismay. They fear, that the people will identify the insulted President and the injured Minister—that Mordecai may be exalted to the seat of Haman. It is their fears which give this character to the letter, not its words.

The President never wrote an electioneering letter for himself. The gold of Peru could not tempt him to do it now. But he is not likely to be restrained from replying to the addresses of his countrymen on this or any other subject, with dignity and candor, lest the truths he utters, may benefit his friends, or exasperate his enemies. Erect in the consciousness of his own integrity, he gives facts to the world, and leaves the consequences to God and the people.—Globe.

We lay before our readers the Correspondence between the Republican Members of the New York Legislature, and the President of the U. States.—The reply of General Jackson will produce a deep impression upon the public mind. With frankness and boldness which are worthy of his character, he meets the charges that were made against Mr. Van Buren in the Senate of the U. States. He overthrows them at once. He assumes upon himself the responsibility of the instructions. He clears Mr. V. B. of the aspersions which have been thrown upon his integrity. We say, he clears him—because General Jackson speaks of those circumstances, which fell within his own knowledge. No one who is acquainted with him, but must believe, that he never would have gone before his country, and solemnly pledged his own honor to the truth of his statement, if he had not from the best information been sincerely convinced of the uprightness of Mr. V. B.'s conduct.

I. He meets the allegations of Mr. Clay and his friends, with respect to the instructions, by the solemn declaration, that those parts of them which "have been used to justify the rejection of Mr. Van Buren's nomination," proceeded from his own suggestions, and the result of his own deliberate investigation and reflection.—And more than this—He enters into the reasons which induced him to direct such instructions to be given—and his arguments are sufficient to show that they were "entirely proper and consonant to his public duty."

11. He meets the charges which were made against Mr. V. B. by the friends of Mr. Calhoun, respecting Mr. V. Buren's conduct in the cabinet, and his mission to London. He declares it openly, in the presence of the American People, that so far as is known to him, Martin Van Buren "had no participation whatever in the occurrences" relative to himself and Mr. Calhoun.

"Or in the dissolution of the late Cabinet." He positively affirms, that "there is no