

NORTH CAROLINA SENTINEL.

MR. VAN BUREN'S REPLY.

Owasco, Cayuga Co. Oct. 4. 1832.

Gentlemen: Your letter of the 25th August found me at this place. I regret extremely that the delay in its reception, occasioned by my absence, has prevented an earlier attention to its contents.

By the resolutions which you have been appointed to communicate to me, I am advised that those by whom they were adopted, desire to be informed of my sentiments "on the subjects of the Protective System and its proper adjustment, Internal Improvement, the Bank of the United States, and Nullification."

The right of those you represent, to be informed of my opinions upon these interesting subjects, as derived from the position in which the favor of our fellow citizens has placed me, is undoubted; and in cheerfully complying with their request, I have only to regret, that the inconvenience of the situation in which it finds me, consequent upon the hurry and confusion attending the further prosecution of my journey, and the importance, to the fulfilment of the objects of our constituents, of as little delay as possible in transmission of the communication, preclude anything like an elaborate discussion of the subjects under consideration, if indeed such a course would, under more favorable circumstances, be desirable to you. The regret however, which I might otherwise experience on this account, is relieved by the hope, that my fellow citizens of North Carolina, preferring with characteristic good sense, results to speculations, will be as well satisfied, and as effectually aided in the intelligent bestowment of their suffrages, by a brief but explicit avowal of my opinions, as they would be by an elaborate dissertation upon subjects which have been so thoroughly and diffusively debated.

Although my official acts in relation to the Protective System, might well be regarded as rendering the avowal unnecessary, I think it, nevertheless proper to say, that I believe the establishment of commercial regulations, with a view to the encouragement of domestic products, to be within the constitutional power of Congress. Whilst, however, I have entertained this opinion, it has never been my wish to see the power in question exercised with an oppressive inequality upon any portion of our citizens, or for the advantage of one section of the Union at the expense of another. On the contrary, I have at all times believed it to be the sacred duty of those who are entrusted with the administration of the federal government, to direct its operations in the manner best calculated to distribute as equally as possible its burthens and blessings amongst the several States and the people. My views upon this subject were several years ago spread before the people of this State, and have since been widely diffused through the medium of the public press. My object at that time was to invite the attention of my immediate constituents to a dispassionate consideration of the subject in its various bearings, being well assured, that such an investigation would bring them to a standard, which from its moderation and justice, would furnish the best guarantee for the true interests of all. It, as has been supposed, those views have contributed in any degree to produce a state of feeling so much to be desired, I have reason to be gratified with the result.

The approaching, and if the policy of the present Executive is allowed to prevail, the certain and speedy extinguishment of the national debt, has presented an opportunity for a more equitable adjustment of the tariff, which has been already embraced by the adoption of a conciliatory measure, the spirit of which will I doubt not, continue to be cherished by all who are not desirous of advancing their private interests at the sacrifice of those of the public, and who place a just value upon the peace and harmony of the Union.

The Protective System and its proper adjustment, became a subject of frequent and necessary consideration, whilst I formed a part of the cabinet, and the manner in which the President proposed to carry into effect the policy in relation to imports, recommended in his previous messages, has since been avowed with that frankness which belongs to his character. To this end, he recommended "a modification of the tariff, which should produce a reduction of the revenue to the wants of the government, and an adjustment of the duty upon imports, with a view to equal justice in relation to all our national interests, and to the counteraction of foreign policy, so far as it may be injurious to those interests."

In these sentiments I fully concur; and I have been thus explicit in the statement of them, that there may be no room for misapprehensions as to my own views upon the subject. A sincere and faithful application of these principles to our legislation, unwarped by private interest or political design; a restriction of the wants of the government to a simple and economical administration of its affairs—the only administration which is consistent with the purity and stability of the republican system;—a preference in encouragement given, to such manufactures as are essential to the national defence, and its extension to others in proportion as they are adapted to our country, and of which the raw material is produced by ourselves; with a proper respect for the rule which demands that all taxes should be imposed in proportion to the ability and condition of the contributors;—would, I am convinced, give ultimate satisfaction to a vast majority of the people of the United States, and arrest that spirit of discontent which is now unhappily so prevalent, and which threatens such extensive injury to the institutions of our country.

Internal improvements are so diversified in their nature, and the possible agency of the federal government in their construction, so variable in its character and degree, as to render it not a little difficult to lay down any precise rule that will embrace the whole subject. The broadest and the best defined division, is that which distinguishes between the direct construction of works of internal improvements by the general government, and pecuniary assistance given by it to such as are undertaken by others. In the former are included what to make and establish roads and ca-

nals within the states, and the assumption of as much jurisdiction over the territory they may occupy, as is necessary to their preservation and use; the latter is reduced to simple grants of money, in aid of such works, when made under State authority.

The federal government does not, in my opinion, possess the power first specified; nor can it derive it from the assent of the State in which such works are to be constructed. The money power, as it is called, is not so free from difficulty. Various rules have from time to time, been suggested by those who properly appreciate the importance of precision and certainty in the operations of the federal power; but they have been so frequently infringed upon by the apparently unavoidable action of the government, that a final and satisfactory settlement of the question has been prevented. The wide difference between a definition of the power in question upon paper, and its practical application to the operations of government, has been sensibly felt by all who have been entrusted with the management of public affairs.—The whole subject was reviewed in the President's Maysville message. Sincerely believing that the best interests of the whole country, the quiet, not to say the stability, of the Union, and the preservation of that moral force which perhaps as much as any other holds it together, imperiously required that the destructive course of legislation upon that subject, then prevalent, should, in some proper and constitutional way, be arrested, I throughout gave to the measure of which that document was an exposition, my active, zealous and anxious support.

The opinions declared by the President in the Maysville, and his succeeding annual message, as I understand them, are as follows: 1st. That congress does not possess the power to make and establish a road or canal within a State with a right of jurisdiction to the extent I have stated; and that if it is the wish of the people that the construction of such works should be undertaken by the federal government, a previous amendment of the constitution, conferring that power, and defining and restricting its exercise, with reference to the sovereignty of the States is indispensable. 2d. An intimation of his belief that the right to make appropriations in aid of such internal improvements as are of a national character, has been so generally acted upon, and so long acquiesced in by the federal and state governments, and the constituents of each as to justify its exercise; but that it is nevertheless highly expedient that even such appropriations should, with the exception of such as relate to light-houses, beacons, buoys, public piers and other improvements, in the harbors and navigable rivers of the United States, for the security and facility of our foreign commerce, be deferred at least until the national debt is paid. 3d. That if it is the wish of the people that the agency of the federal government should be restricted to the appropriation of money, and extended in that form, in aid of such undertakings, when carried on by State authority, then the occasion, the manner and the extent of the appropriation, should be made the subject of constitutional regulation.

In these views I concurred; and I likewise participated in the difficulties which were encountered, and expressed by the President, in adopting the principle which concedes the federal government the right to make appropriations in aid of works which might be regarded as of a national character—difficulties which arose as well from the danger of considering mere usage the foundation of the right, as from the extreme uncertainty and consequent insecurity of the best rule that had ever been adopted, or that could, in the absence of a positive constitutional provision, be established. The reason on which these objections were founded, are so fully stated in the document referred to, and have been so extensively promulgated, that it is unnecessary for me to repeat them here. Subsequent reflections and experience have confirmed my apprehensions of the injurious consequences which would probably flow from the usurpation of appropriations for internal improvements, with no better rule for the government of congress than that of which I have spoken; and I do not hesitate to express it as my opinion, that the general & true interest of this country would be best consulted by withholding them, with the exceptions which I have already referred to, until some constitutional regulation upon the subject has been made.

In this avowal, I am certainly not influenced by feelings of indifference, much less of hostility, to internal improvements. As such, they can have no enemies. I have never omitted to give them all the proper aid in my power; for which, by the way, I claim no particular merit, as I do not believe there is an honest and sane man in the country who does not wish to see them prosper.

But their construction, and the manner in which and the means by which they are to be effected, are quite different questions. Rather than again expose our legislation to all the corrupting influences of those scrambles and combinations in congress, which have been heretofore witnessed, and the other affairs of the country to the injurious effect unavoidably resulting from them, it would in my opinion, be infinitely preferable to leave works of the character spoken of, and not embraced in the exception which has been pointed out, for the present, to the support upon which they reposed with so much success for the last two years, viz: state efforts and private enterprise. If the great body of the people become convinced that the progress of these works should be accelerated by the federal arm, they will not refuse to come to some proper constitutional arrangements upon the subject. The supposition that an equal rule, which pays a proper respect to the interest and condition of the different States, could fail to receive, ultimately, the constitutional sanction, would be doing injustice to the intelligence of the country. By such a settlement of the question, our political system, in addition to the other advantages derived from it, would, in relation to this subject at least, be relieved from those dangerous shocks which spring from diversities of opinion upon constitutional points of deep interest; and, in the mean time, the resources of the country would be best husbanded by being left in the hands of those by whose labour they are produced.

I am unreservedly opposed to a renewal of the charter of the United States' Bank, and approved of the refusal of the President to sign the bill, passed for the purpose, at the last session of Congress, as well on account of the unconstitutionality, as the impolicy of its provisions.

I am equally opposed to the principle of Nullification, as it is called. With whatever sincerity that doctrine may be entertained by others, I believe that it is entirely destitute of constitutional authority, and that it could not be adopted, without drawing after it the ultimate but certain destruction of the confederation.

That these views will be universally acceptable to those who have called them forth, I do not allow myself to expect. He who thinks in a country, the interests of which are so diversified as ours, and in respect to the constitution of which, construction is made to perform so great a part, that the purest intentions, and the most profound reflections, can enable him so to shape his political tenets as to meet the approbation of all; or who is so unreasonable as to require that those of the public servants should, in all respects, correspond with his own, must expect to make up his account with disappointment or deception. For myself, I cherish no such hope. All I ask, is a fair confidence in the sincerity of the principles I have avowed, and in the fidelity with which they will be maintained. It is not possible that any nomination could have been more entirely unsolicited, by word or deed, than that which has been bestowed upon me. Had it not been for the event to which, as I have before said, I feel myself principally indebted for it, I should not have hesitated to decline, however highly distinguished the honor intended for me is felt to be. And I beg my fellow citizens of North Carolina to believe, that, notwithstanding the deep sense which, in common with the people of the Union, I entertain of their unwavering though unprejudiced patriotism and unsullied political faith, and the high gratification I should derive from being thought worthy of their confidence, I shall feel it a duty to be content with whatever disposition of the question they, in the honest exercise of their opinions, shall see fit to make.

With sentiments of high consideration, I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

M. VAN BUREN.
To Joseph H. Bryan, Josiah T. Granberry,
and Memucan Hunt, Esq. committee, &c.

From the *Globe*.
THE MONSTER REELING.

New Hampshire warned the Bank Monster in March last, not to attack the Hero and Patriot, which the people had placed at the head of our government.

heedless of the warning, he reared his twenty-six heads, and armed his hundred hands to pursue, and awe, and alarm the American people into submission to his power and ingratitude to their benefactor.

Missouri, Illinois, and Indiana, rebuked him with a loud voice; and Kentucky gave him a blow which roused all his forces.

Maine came up from the north, nobly sustained the attack, made the Monster shake his giant limbs and prepare for a desperate conflict.

He broke loose upon Philadelphia, outraged patriotism, trampled upon virtue, perverted religion, bought the venal, frightened the weak, and with a crown upon his tallest head inscribed with "Terror and Corruption," marched in triumph through the streets of a conquered city. But in his hour of exultation, Pennsylvania comes up, and with the club of Democracy, gives him a blow, which makes him bellow.

And here comes the young giant, Ohio with her Herculean club, and repeats the blow of her elder sister, making the Monster reel with death-like dizziness.

From these Democratic states he has his death-wound. His struggles will be terrible but they will be the agonies of dissolution.—On every side the states and the people are rallying to be in at the death. In November Pennsylvania and Ohio will repeat their blows with increased vigor. And here will come Maine and New Hampshire, and the full grown giant, New York. Maryland is restrained only by the fetters in which the enemy of the people have bound her majority.—But from the south, here come Virginia, and North Carolina, and Georgia, and Alabama, and Louisiana.—From the west, come Mississippi, and Tennessee, and Missouri, and Illinois, and Indiana, and noble disinterested Kentucky, the Brutus of the age. Each shall strike her blow,—each share in the honor,—each partake of the glory,—which shall spring from the victory over a Monster more fatal to virtue, and more dangerous to liberty, than the Bohemian Upas to human life.

But who will merit the highest honors of this conflict, and in the coming victory reap the richest reward of undying fame?

Who was it, that at the head of a few volunteers and militia, conquered a powerful Indian tribe, and placed the star, Alabama, in the firmament of our Union?

Who was it, that met and slew the British Dragon coming up from the ocean, and prevented the star, Louisiana, from being struck from the glorious constellation?

It is the same fearless leader who heads the bold array against the Bank Monster. It was he who raised the standard and struck the first blow. It was he who rallied the Democracy of the Nation, gave them confidence and vigor, and zeal, in an attack at which timid friends trembled and the enemy mocked. Behold, how public opinion responds to the call of one honest, brave and dauntless man! It gathers like the tide of many streams which follow the thunder upon our mountains. It swells into a resistless flood, and levels those dykes and walls, and ramparts which a young Aristocracy have exerted to defend them against the will of the people. It brings the haughty low, and teaches proud men, that they shall not make this Government the instrument of avarice or ambition.

Yes, it is ANDREW JACKSON who leads in this war—a chieftain always for his country and always victorious. The most glorious of his victories awaits him now. Who will not share it with him? The soldier who fired a ball at New Orleans, glories in the act, and

transmits it in tradition to his children. Equally may he boast and glory, who now gives a vote to overthrow the British Bank and the slavery of his country from a conquest more frightful than that of arms.

Rouse then, all ye sons of virtue and of glory! A single day—a day without toil or danger—will make you partakers in the fame of our immortal chief—will secure to you and your children those rights and privileges which your fathers spent months and years of suffering and toil to transmit to you.

The statement below, from the Kentucky Argus, shows that the Claymen have made an open resort to money, to secure success.

But, we know those Kentucky aristocrats too well to believe, that it is their own money, which they have thrown into their country Treasuries in the shape of contributions, to carry the election in that State. They would not lavish on the few counties given below seventeen thousand dollars and upwards, out of their own pocket. It is the Bank which collects it in the shape of taxes on its immense western issues, and that uses the names of individuals to distribute, and at the same time to conceal its own hand in distributing the largesses. Before we left Kentucky large sums were expended in Franklin county, where we lived, to make converts to Clay. The immediate object then was to obtain the Kentucky Senator, by securing a majority in the Legislature. Loans, in sums of \$40 \$50 and \$60, were made to men who would disdain to take a bribe—gifts of horses, guns and furniture, were made to others—and all those liberalities were scattered by men, who were themselves too poor to spare time to hunt up the objects of the benevolences, without being paid for it themselves. No man doubted at the time, but that these persons were the distributors of the Bank's bounty.

From the *Frankfort (Ky.) Argus*.

From the best accounts obtained of the Grand Levy of cash on the cities, towns, and villages in this State, to aid the cause of Mr. Clay at the Nov. election, the following is the result :

Maysville; at last date,	\$1,125
Paris; still collecting, one man set down	8100
Mayslick; collections suspended.	936
Flemingsburg; the last dollar paid,	142
Mt. Sterling; including one man at \$200	720
Winchester; collection still progressing,	675
Athens; accounts closed, cash reported,	850
Chilesburg; Fayette county,	46
Lexington; a part still in hands of collectors,	10
Frankfort; only two collectors reported,	2,575
Shelbyville; collection clos'd & paid over,	470
Middleton in hands of Treasurer	765
Louisville; paid into hands of Treasurer, if calls in Bank delayed 60 days as much more promised,	3,500
Bardstown; no treasury report (<i>suppose</i>), Danville; except from contribution,	3,500
Harrisburgh; from a few hands only,	000
Lancaster; this county safe, take care of yourselves,	95
Richmond; danger increasing, a grand effort,	40
	1,200

TO Mr.— Treasurer of Lyon's District,	\$2,500
do. do. Tompkins',	1,750
do. do. Hawes',	500
do. do. Wickliffe's, (<i>more hereafter</i> .)	500
do. do. Gaiher's	50
do. do. Letcher's, (<i>to hold our own</i>)	700
do. do. Adair's, Lecompt's and Johnson's,	500
do. do. Marshall's,	500
do. do. Daniel's, (<i>when called</i>)	2,000
	500
To the Observer and Reporter,	89,500
" Paris Citizen, Maysville Eagle and papers in Daniel's district,	500
" Covington Herald and Olive Branch of Danville, \$25 each	250
" Lancaster paper and Bardstown, each \$10,	50
" Kentuckian,	20
" For Focus, blowing out,	150
" Louisville Herald, for type and extra paper, &c.	10
" Bolinggreen Advertiser, for type, press and all,	500
	800

The following to be divided among the travelling electors, as follows:	82,280
To Lyon's and Hawes' District,	1,000
" Johnston's and Lecompt's, 50 each	300
" Agent in Daniel's,	750
	85,130

The balance and sums hereafter to be collected in Louisville and Lexington to be disbursed as may be required.

These if not the exact amounts, will be found to be substantially true. LOOK OUT.

In addition to the intelligence contained in "Look-out," we are informed by a gentleman from Fayette county, that \$5,000 are kept as a fund for that county, \$13,000 for Louisville, and that the collections made by the Clay party for electioneering purposes, greatly exceed the estimate of "Look-out." A more insulting and corrupt project was never attempted by any men in our government and it should and must be met by the determined, indignation of the country.

The opposition have now given Pennsylvania up—they have backed out from their own bets, and appear to feel as much debased as they were excited when they had some small hopes. It is the misfortune of the opposition party in this city, that the least success gives them the excitement of a champagne supper, and the day after they labor under the same depression; their nerves become disordered, their dispepsia worse, and they invariably labor under a most excruciating headache: we fear that at present they likewise feel a pocket collapse. We pity them but cannot cure them.—N. Y. Standard.

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