From the Allexandria Gazette.

PANAMA MISSION.

It will be recollected that on the 2d of March the President of the United States transmitted to both houses of Congress, a message covering the *instructions* given by the executive to the ministers of the Congress at Panama, with a request that they might be so disposed of, as to give the people an opportunity of seeing and judging of the motives which induced the President to accept the invitation of the South American States, and the actual designs of the design. By a party manœuvre, and a party vote this request was refused—The President was denied an opportunity of vindicating his conduct in the usual and proper way, and to add injustice to insult, the *confidential* seal of the Senate was laid upon the documents, and their contents hidden from the public eye. The message and documents were, however, subsequently and at a very late date, retransferred from the Executive to the Legislative Journal of the Senate, but no order relative to their being printed was taken. They thus lie in the room of the Secretary of the Senate, and would have lain there, and the people been ignorant of their contents, but for the activity of conductors of the newspaper press.—The Editor of the National Journal by attending at the office of the Secretary and soliciting the courtesy of that gentleman, obtained permission to copy the instructions, and has published them. They are now before the people, who must judge of the rectitude of the intentions and the wisdom of those who planned them. We are sorry that our limits do not permit us to publish in *extenso* these much talked of and interesting documents. At considerable pains, however, we have condensed and extracted enough below to show their most prominent features, as well as the real objects of the Panama Congress as far as we were concerned. This subject has now become matter of history, impartial posterity will decide upon the actual merits of the case, and that decision must be favorable, we know to the *motives* of the Executive of the U. S.

The *Instructions* directed to Messrs. Anderson and Sergeant are long and ably drawn up—The subjects referred to are discussed in a masterly manner—the most perfect devotion is shown throughout to the interests and good of this country, and to the cause of freedom throughout the world. The instructions open with the reasons which induced the President to accept the invitation of the South American States.

"He could not, indeed, have declined an invitation proceeding from sources so highly respectable, and communicated in the most delicate and respectful manner, without subjecting the United States to the reproach of insensibility to the deepest concerns of the American hemisphere and perhaps, to a want of sincerity, in most important declarations, solemnly made by his predecessor, in the face of the Old and the New World. In yielding therefore, to the friendly wishes of those three Republics, communicated in the notes of their respective Ministers, at Washington, of which copies are herewith, the United States act in perfect consistency with all their previous conduct and professions, in respect to the New American States."

It has often been objected that this Mission was calculated to form "entangling alliances" and to draw this country into a federation with the new states of the South. This is sufficiently answered by the following.

"It is distinctly understood, by the President, that it is to be regarded, in all respects, as diplomatic, in contradistinction to a body clothed with power of ordinary legislation; that is to say, no one of the States represented to be considered bound by any treaty, convention, pact, or act, to which it does not subscribe, and expressly assent by its acting representative; and that in the instance of treaties conventions, and pacts, they are to be returned, for final ratification, to each contracting State, according to the provisions of its particular Constitution. All idea is, therefore, excluded, of binding a majority to agreements and acts contrary to its will by the mere circumstance of the concurrence of a majority of the States in these agreements and acts. Each State will, consequently, be governed and left free, according to its own sense of its particular interests. All notion is rejected of an Amphyctionic Council, invested with power finally to decide controversies between the American states, or to regulate, in any respect, their conduct."

What might have been the beneficial results of the mission, are stated as follows:—

"Such an assembly will afford great facilities for free and friendly conferences, for mutual & necessary explanations, and for discussing and establishing some general principles, applicable to peace and war, to commerce and navigation, with the sanction of all America. Treaties may be concluded, in the course of a few months at such a Congress, laying the foundations of lasting amity and good neighbourhood, which it would require many years to consummate if, indeed they would be at all practicable, by separate and successive negotiations, conducted between the several powers, at different times and places."

Farther on referring to the attitude of the United States with regard to the South American States, the instructions say:—

"In now proceeding to direct your attention particularly to the instructions of the President, by which after having settled the preliminary point to which, I have just adverted, you will govern yourselves the first observation to be made is, that in acceeding to the invitation which has been accepted, no intention has been entertained to change the present pacific and neutral policy of the United States. On the contrary, it has been distinctly understood by the three Republics who gave the invitation, and has been enforced on our part, in all our communication with them in regard to it, that the United States would strictly adhere to that policy, and mean faithfully to perform, all their neutral obligations. Whilst the existing *war is limited to the present parties it is as unnecessary, as it would be unwise in the U. States to become a belligerent.*"

The principal subjects that were expected to engage the deliberations of the Congress are then stated to be:—

"1st. Such as relate to the future prosecution of the present war with Spain, by the combined or separate operation of the American belligerents. And 2dly. Those in which all the nations of America, whether neutral or belligerent, may have an interest."

With regard to the first of these our Ministers are directed to take no part in its discussion; and a long argument is entered into, to show that any interference of ours, in such a subject, would be mischievous and dangerous. How completely does this put to rest the objections and fears of certain Senators?

In treating of those matters, in which ALL the nation of America are concerned our Ministers are instructed to inculcate the propriety of terminating the war between Spain and her late Colonies, and to devise means to preserve peace in future among the American nations themselves, and with the rest of the world.

Our Ministers are then instructed to bring forward several propositions, useful in their tendency to our own interests and the common good of mankind. They are:

1st. "You will bring forward, at the Contemplated Congress, the proposition to abolish war against private property and non-combatants upon the ocean.

2d. "You will also propose the adoption of the rule, that free ships shall make free goods, and its converse, that inimical ships shall make inimical goods. The one seems necessarily to follow from the other, and in their practical application there is a simplicity and certainty in both which strongly recommend them to general adoption.

3d. "You will propose a definition of blockade. The experience of the United States, and that of some of the new American nations, short as has been the term of their existence, alike indicate the utility of a plain and intelligible description of the facts which constitute a legitimate blockade. The want of such a definition has been the principal cause of any difficulties which have arisen between them and the United States."

Another object of great importance is thus introduced:

"Among the most important objects which are likely to engage the attention of the Congress, is that of endeavouring to fix some general principle of intercourse, applicable to all the powers of America, for the mutual regulation of their commerce and navigation. The United States, from the origin of the present war have, on all proper occasions, uniformly proclaimed that 'they entertained no desire to procure for themselves, from any of the new powers, peculiar commercial advantages. They continue to adhere to this disinterested doctrine. You will state in your conferences that, as they have not sought, in treating with the American States separately, neither will they seek, in joint negotiations with them for any privileges which are not equally extended to every one of them. Indeed, they are prepared themselves to extend to the powers of Europe the same liberal principles of commercial intercourse and navigation on which the United States are ready to treat. The President hopes that you will meet with corresponding dispositions in the other American States, and that you will have no difficulty in obtaining their ready concurrence to the equitable basis of perfect equality and reciprocity, which you are hereby empowered at once to propose for the commerce and navigation between all the American nations. The whole of what is very material to their commerce and navigation may be comprised under two general principles, both of which are founded on those basis. The first is, that no American nation shall grant any favours in commerce or navigation to any foreign power whatever, either upon this or any other continent, which shall not extend to every other American nation. And, secondly, that whatever may be imported from any foreign country into any one American nation, or exported from it, in its own vessels, may, in like manner, be imported into or exported from the same nation, in the vessels of every other American nation, the vessel whether national or foreign, and the cargo paying, in both instances, exactly the same duties and charges, and no more."

After alluding to the fact of European nations planting colonies in America, the instructions say:

"To prevent any such new European colonies, and to warn Europe before hand that they are not hereafter to be admitted the President wishes you to propose a joint declaration of the several American States, each however acting for and binding only itself, that, within the limits of their respective territories, no new European colony will hereafter be allowed to be established. It is not intended to commit the parties who may concur in that declaration to the support of the particular boundaries which may be claimed by any one of them; nor is it proposed to commit them to a joint resistance against any future attempt to plant a new European colony. It is believed that the moral effect alone of a joint declaration, emanating from the authority of all the American nations, will effectually serve to prevent the effort to establish any such new colony."

A subject of great importance to us, and particularly to the Southern States of our Union, is introduced:

"Among the subjects which must engage the consideration of the Congress, scarcely any has an interest so powerful and commanding as that which belongs to Cuba and Porto Rico, the former especially. Cuba, from its position, the present amount and the character of its population, that which it is capable of sustaining, its vast, though almost latent resources, is at present, the great object of attraction, both to Europe and America. No power, not even Spain itself, has in such a variety of forms, so deep an interest in its future fortunes, whatever they may happen to be, as the United States. Our policy in regard to it is fully & frankly disclosed in the before-mentioned note to Mr. Middleton. It is there stated, that for ourselves, we desire no change in the possession or political condition of that island; and that we could not, with indifference, see it transferred from Spain to any other European power.—We are unwilling to see its transfer or annexation to either of the new American States."

The canal across the Isthmus is recommended to the favorable consideration of our ministers---they are directed to avail themselves of all "suitable occasions to press upon the ministers of the other American States the propriety of a free toleration of religion within their respective limits"—and in case of controversies with regard to boundaries, to endeavour to settle the disputes.

"It will probably," say the instructions, "be proposed, as a fit subject of consideration for the powers represented at Panama, whether Hayti ought to be recognized by them as an independent State; and whether any decision taken in that respect, should be joint, or each power be left to pursue the dictates of its own policy. Under the actual circumstances of Hayti, the president does not think that it would be proper, at this time to recognise it as a New State. The acknowledgement, or declining to acknowledge, the Independence of Hayti, is not a measure of sufficient magnitude to require that, in either of the alternatives, it should be the result of a concern between all the American powers."

The document concludes with instructing our Ministers to "take advantage of every fit opportunity to strengthen the political faith of the New States, and to inculcate the solemn duty of every nation to reject all foreign dictation in its domestic concerns. You will also, at all proper times, manifest a readiness to satisfy inquiries as to the theory and practical operation of our Federal and State Constitutions of Government, and to illustrate and explain the manifold blessing which the people of the United States have enjoyed and are continuing to enjoy under them."

For the outline of his important document, here presented, we must beg the indulgence of our readers. It would be impossible for us to give it complete, and keep up with the current news of the day. The grounds taken are all supported with a cogency of reasoning which forces conviction. The subjects, it must be acknowledged, are all legitimate—the neutral position of the country enforced and solicitude alone expressed for its prosperity & the rights of man. We candidly confess we were doubtful of the policy of this mission, because we doubted the political stability of the South American States. Subsequent events have confirmed our fears. There is no question, however that had the Congress assembled and the instructions of the President been followed, highly important and beneficial results, to the United States, would have been the consequence.

And this is the document which the inquisitors of the Senate would have thrown in their vaults, and concealed from the public eye? Does not this very fact prove they were fearful of its effects? Does not it prove that they were unwilling that their acts and votes should be judged of by the side of facts, and does not it prove that Mr. Adams and his cabinet have been calumniated and slandered.

We trust the American people will read these documents, and do justice to a much injured, much abused administration.

Our Georgia friends are making themselves merry at public expense. We find the following jeu d'esprit in the Augusta Courier:

"The HICKORY TREE has at length began to drop its NUTS. The first five or six that have fallen, we are afraid are defective. It is said to be the same with *hickory nuts*, as with other fruit.

Some do not mature perfectly—others fall because the limbs have been eaten round by worms. In the present instance one BRANCH is thought to be defective—another, we know, is EATON. But from whatever cause, they may be now expected to fall very rapidly. It is March, and the winds which usually prevail, will bring down the expected fruit in showers. We are told there are multitudes in waiting to gather them up, as fast as they can be thrown down.---We wish those who may be successful in the scramble, all imaginable pleasure in cracking them."

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. ADAMS AND MR. HAMILTON.

According to our promise of yesterday, we give below the correspondence that has lately taken place at Washington between these gentlemen, relative to an insinuation contained in Mr. Adams' lately published letter, leading to the belief that he meant to include General Hamilton in the list of those to whom he imputed designs inimical to the Union.

WASHINGTON, March 6, 1829.

The Hon. JOHN Q. ADAMS, Washington.

Sir, A friend has placed in my hands a new edition of the correspondence between you and Mr. H. G. Otis and others published in this city with "additional papers," said to be 'illustrative of the subject' of that correspondence, among these papers is a letter written to you by William Plumer, of New Hampshire, dated 'Epping N. H. Dec 20, 1828' in which he says.—'During the long and eventual session of Congress of 1803 and 1804, I was a member of the Senate and was at the city of Washington every day of that session. In the course of that session, at different times and places, several of the Federalists, Senators and Representatives from the New England tates, informed me that they thought it necessary to establish a separate government in New England, and if it should be found practicable to extend it so far south as to include Pennsylvania; but in all events to establish one in New England,' &c. He adds 'Just before that session of Congress closed, one of the gentlemen to whom I have alluded informed me that arrangements had been made to have the next autumn in Boston a select meeting of the leading Federalists in New England to consider and recommend the measures necessary to form a system of government in the northern states. and that Alexander Hamilton, of New York, had consented to attend that meeting.'—He further adds 'The gentlemen who in the winter of 1803 and 1804 informed me there was to be a meeting of Federalists, in the autumn of 1804, at Boston, at the session of Congress in the winter of 1804 and 1805, observed to me that the death of Gen. Hamilton had prevented that meeting; but the project had not. and would not be abandoned."

In your letter, part of this correspondence, dated 'Washington, Dec. 30, 1828' you say, 'It was in these letters of 1808 and 1809 that I mentioned the design of CERTAIN LEADERS of the federal party to effect a dissolution of the Union and the establishment of a northern confederacy This design had been formed in the winter of 1803—4, immediately after, and as a consequence of, the acquisition of Louisiana. Its justifying causes to those who entertained it were, that the annexation of Louisiana to the Union transcended the constitutional powers of the Government of the United States.' 'This plan' you add 'was so far matured that the proposal had been made to an individual to permit himself at the proper time to be placed at the head of the military movements which it was foreseen would be necessary for carrying it into execution. In all this there was no overt act of treason."

Without permitting myself to believe that you will countenance any imputation against the honor or patriotism of my late venerable parent, it is too obvious that the publication of Governor Plumer's letter and your communication to H. G. Otis and others, not only tend to such imputation, but, moreover, add to it the sanction of your name.

Under these circumstances, deeming it a sacred duty to preserve the memory of my father from all stain, I must also consider it my right to ask, that you will inform me whether by the publication of Governor Plumer's letter, or in your communication to H. G. Otis and others an opinion is to be authorised that you are in possession of any evidence, or that you believe the late A. H. consented to attend the alleged meeting of the leading federalists of Boston, or that he was at any time concerned in a project to effect a dissolution of the Union, and the establishment of a northern confederacy, or in any manner whatsoever. I beg further to ask, sir, that if the indication in the paragraph of your letter last above quoted of the individual to whom a proposal had been made, to permit himself to be placed at the head of certain expected military movements, refers to my father, you will furnish me with the evidence upon which that indication and reference have been made.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your ob't. serv't,

JAMES A. HAMILTON.

WASHINGTON, 6th March, 1829.

JAMES A. HAMILTON, Esq. Washington.

Sir—In answer to your letter of this date, I take the liberty of referring you to Mr. Plumer himself for any explanation of the statement in his letter of the 20th December last.

The information which I received in the spring of 1804 at Washington, was entirely distinct from, and independent of that of Mr. Plumer. A part of it was not that your father *had consented* to be placed at the head of the project or to take a part in it, but that it had been communicated to him with a view to engage his co-operation in it and that in the event of a necessity for the employment of military force for its execution, it was contemplated that he should be placed at its head. My informant, to the best of my recollection, was Mr. Uriah Tracy, then a Senator from Connecticut—I say, to the best of my recollection, because, at one of my conversations with Mr. Tracy, on this subject, another member of Congress, also now deceased, was present, and I am not perfectly sure from which of them it was that I received this information After the close of that session of Congress, being at New York on or about the 7th April, 1804, Mr. Rufus King informed me that a person had been that day conversing with him and also with your father, as I understood Mr. King in favor of the project; but that he himself, and that he was happy to say, your father also entirely disapproved of it.

This is all the evidence I have that your father was made acquainted with the project; solicited by others to join in it; and intended by them to be placed at its head—That he was said to have consented to attend a meeting at Boston in the autumn of 1804, stands upon other testimony than mine. That he ever assented to the project of a separation, I do not know or believe, and from the information given me by Mr. King, had reason to believe the contrary.

With regard to my inferences or belief, from the testimony of Mr. Plumer, wishing to do all possible justice to the memory of your father, I cheerfully state them at your desire.

I believe then implicitly the statement of Mr. Plumer as made by him,—namely, that *he was informed* at the session of Congress in 1803—4, that your father had consented to attend the proposed meeting in the autumn of 1804 at Boston—and that in 1804-5 *he was informed* that the meeting had been prevented by your father's decease—I believe also the fact that *he had* consented to attend the meeting—But from information given me by Mr. King, I believe, that in consenting to attend the meeting, your father's purpose was to dissuade the parties concerned from the undertaking and to prevail upon them to abandon it. My belief is founded upon my entire confidence in the veracity of Mr. Plumer, upon the general coincidence of the information stated in his letter, with that which I had cotemporaneously received at Washington, & upon the remarkable fact mentioned by him, that he was told at the *subsequent* session of Congress, that the autumnal meeting at Boston had failed in consequence of the decease of your father—That the project was continued or resumed, notwithstanding your father's decease, until the Hartford Convention in 1814, I also believe.

I had further reason for believing that the project was disapproved by your father, because it had originated principally from dissatisfaction at the annexation of Louisiana to the Union, a measure, which from common report, I understood was approved by him.

I am, with respect, Sir, your very hm. serv't,

J. Q. ADAMS.

FOREIGN NEWS.

NEW YORK, March 23.

By the packet ship Brittania, we have received Liverpool papers to the 3rd of February, and London and Manchester papers.

Mr. S. Canning, and the Russian and French plenipotentiaries, were at Naples on the 17th January.

A London paper says, "the proposed connexion between the Ottoman Government and the United States, has suddenly come to an end.—The Americans proposed, as the basis of a treaty, the free passage of the Dardanelles to all nations, but this most republican proposition was instantly rejected; with the dignity befitting Turks."

The British Parliament were to meet on the 5th.—Some of the papers are of opinion that Mr. O'Connell will not be admitted to a seat.—Others affirm that an attempt will be made to carry the Catholic question—that the Duke of Northumberland has become a convert to the Irish claims, &c.

Forty two square rigged vessels arrived at Liverpool on the 30th Jan. which has been detained by a long prevalence of easterly winds.

A great meeting had been held at Liverpool to take measures, for opposing the monopolies exercised by the East India Company.

The Duke of Wellington acknowledged the receipt of the Irish protestant Memorial in favor of Catholic Emancipation, in the following laconic letter to the Duke of Leinster.

"My Lord Duke,—I received your letter, also a tin case, conveying the declaration of certain Protestants in favor of what is called Catholic Emancipation. I have the honor, &c.

WELLINGTON.

LONDON, Feb. 2.—We believe there is now but very little prospect that the King will be able to open the session of Parliament in person.

MADRID, Jan. 19.—It is with extreme displeasure that our government has learned that the Pope has made appointments of Bishops for the South American States, by which act, the Holy Father recognizes the independence of those states.

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

Extract to the editors of the United States Gazette, dated LONDON, January 31, 1829.

The Turkish armies have at length began to move, and the immense masses of troops from Asia, forwarded by the Sultan to the frontier, have so swelled the Turkish ranks, that the mighty torrent threatens to roll back the tide of invasion and devastate the dominions of the devastator. The reinforcements received by the commanders of the fortresses on the Danube, have been so large, that the number of troops at Widden, Nicopoli, Simandica and Kudschuk, amount to 90,000 men, and this increase of strength has caused the Danube to be passed by the Turks at every point. The Pacha of Widden with 30,000 men, at the last advices, was marching against the principality, and such was their force, that it was generally expected the Russian army would be compelled to re-pass the Pruth. The only means of averting this, was by the advance of the Grand Duke Constantine with the Polish Army, who had, it is said, received orders to this effect and was already on the advance. If the Emperor Nicholas is reduced to employ the army of Poland in active service, it may be regarded as a proof of the dangerous and weakened state of the Russian army, for it is notorious that the spirit of dissatisfaction exists to a great extent among the Poles, and that the Russian yoke becomes more and more galling. A large body of the Turkish cavalry had at the last advices entered Tonmoul, and Tehassan. Oglou, had sent notice to General Langaron announcing his intention of exterminating his troops and clearing the Principality of the Russian invader. Their curious mode of warning had caused great bustle in the Russian camp, and the troops were instantly concentrated to await the expected attack. Thus affairs remain at present in the east, and we learn in addition, that the Sultan had turned his attention to the war in Asia, having directed the various Pachas, to place themselves under the Pacha of Erzeroom, and assume offensive operations

It will be seen by the speech of the French King, that no danger exists at present of the peace of Europe being disturbed in any other quarter than Turkey. In fact the speech in question, is more decidedly pacific than usual, and has had the effect of causing a considerable advance in our funds, which have gone up to 87¼ for the 3 per cents.

Several vessels of the French expedition from the Morea, have arrived at Marseilles & Toulon.

The Russian ambassador extraordinary has arrived in London, and has had several long interviews, accompanied by the Russian resident ambassador, with the Duke of Wellington & the Earl of Aberdeen. The subject of these has not transpired; but it is generally current in the best informed circles, that the proposals for a pacification of which he is the barrier, are under the deliberation of his majesty's council.

The metropolis, as the opening of the parliament approaches, is beginning to fill; and considerable curiosity is excited as to what will be the result of Mr. O'Connell's appearance.

The weather here has become comparatively mild, and the frost has entirely disappeared.—The wheat crop proves to be worse than was expected, and our speculators continue to purchase largely in the continental markets, altho' the weather has prevented any importations of moment. Bonded Wheat is still admissable at 1s. per quarter duty. The harvest in Spain has been exceedingly productive, and large quantities of wheat have been exported from thence both for this country and France.

[7 o'clock in the Evening.]

We have nothing to communicate since the afternoon, if we except a confirmation of the passage of the Danube by the Russian troops. It appears that the first division of the Portuguees refugees had arrived at Terceira on the 9th inst. They are said to have been conveyed in American vessels, the commanders of which engaged to convey them to the Island, unless interrupted by a British vessel of war, in which case they would haul down their flag, and leave the two governments to settle the affair.

LIVERPOOL CORN MARKET, Feb. 2.

Last Tuesday, prices of wheat were noted 1d to 2d; barley 3d to 4d per bushel; Indian Corn 1s to 2s per quarter, and Flour and oatmeal each 1s per sack cheaper. The trade has continued exceedingly dull, and in the absence of all country demand, and extensive imports, our prices of most articles have further receded.

Tokeah, or the White Rose—Is Mr. Cooper to have a rival, or has a greater than Cooper arisen? is a question which will naturally occur to the admirers of the Prairie and the last of the Mohegans on reading the two volumns published by Carey, Lea & Carey, under the above title. Having read the first volumn, we feel that we are doing no injustice to the distinguished author of the works above mentioned in comparing Tokeah with them. The scene is laid in the province of Texas and the surrounding country. The historical characters introduced are calculated to give deep interest to the story; and the fiction is exceedingly well managed.—*N. Y. Amer.*

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