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[From the U. S. Gazette.]

THE HON. LOUIS McLANE, AND THE BRITISH WEST INDIA TRADE.—No. III

The character of the late 'negotiation' with the British government, on the subject of the West India Trade, and the nature of the arrangement made by the present administration, may be perfectly understood; without the necessity of reviving the early proceedings of both governments in reference to the same questions.

It is requisite, however, to remember that there has been a constant effort, on the part of the United States, to maintain the principle of entire reciprocity; and an equally persevering endeavor on the part of the British to exempt that trade from the operation of such a principle, and to give to their shipping, engaged in it, an advantage over American shipping.

It must also be borne in mind, that this principle of reciprocity in trade is one of the pet systems of the United States,—an improvement in the laws of commerce, for which this country is to have immense credit with all commercial posterity.

This principle has been offered to the adoption of all nations, by our acts of Congress.—This is, we have enacted that if any nation will admit our vessels into her ports without discriminating duties, we will forthwith admit *her* vessels on like terms.

Several nations have acceded to this offer, and the principle has been incorporated into several treaties besides, so as to have become the fixed and settled policy and maxim of this nation.

England refused to agree to terms so equal until, in the year 1815, she was *forced* to adopt them. The expression of Mr. Huskisson was that 'after a long struggle to counteract the navigation system of America, without in any degree relaxing our own, this country (Great Britain) found it *necessary* to adopt the system of reciprocity."

But she expressly excepted her West India Islands from the operation of this principle; and has ever since been varying her schemes and contrivances, with one uniform object in view—

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the hands of British ship owners.

The United States, under all Administrations except the present, have steadily adhered to the rule of equality and reciprocity in this trade which they have desired in all branches of commerce. We have therefore opposed exclusion with counter-exclusion—restriction with restriction; and every advance towards freedom of trade has been met by us with corresponding indulgences.

The importance of protecting the *principle* for which we have contended, has been considered far greater than the mere value of its operation on this particular branch of trade.

In the language of Mr. McLane, it involved "consequences reaching far beyond the immediate subject in discussion, and of infinitely greater importance to the future intercourse of both countries, than any value which the trade affected by these regulations, may be supposed to possess."

In the summer of 1822, the British opened certain ports in the Islands, to American trade, but under a variety of restrictions and limitations. In consequence of this, our act of March 1, 1823, was passed, opening our ports to British vessels coming from the same West India ports, and under countervailing restrictions, being a counterpart to those of the British act. According to these laws, British and American—

1. Certain enumerated British colonial ports were opened for direct intercourse with the United States.

2. Produce of these colonies respectively (not otherwise prohibited) might be brought from these ports to the United States in British and American vessels, equally.

3. Whenever discriminating duties ceased to be levied on our vessels arriving in those ports, British vessels from the same ports should in like manner be exempted from such duty in our ports.

4. The same articles which British vessels coming from the *opened ports* might take back to them, American vessels might equally carry from the United States to the opened ports.

But British vessels must give bond to land their cargoes *there*.

5. Articles of the growth or produce of the colonial possessions respectively, and none other, to be brought by vessels of either nation from the opened ports to the United States, and only by the direct voyage.

6. No British vessel to carry goods from the United States to the opened ports, except vessels that had come from one of those ports. No American vessel to bring goods from those ports to the United States, unless she had gone direct from the United States. British vessels from those ports to the United States, to carry no goods away from the United States, unless *back* to those ports. And American vessels to carry nothing from the opened ports elsewhere than back to the United States.

All these restrictions and limitations on British navigation were imposed by the act of Congress, copying precisely the similar restrictions placed on American navigation by the act of *parliament*.

The principle of reciprocity was thus strictly guarded by our statute, which was limited to continue in force so long only as the British regulation should remain unaltered.

It is proper to observe with attention, the provisions of this act of Congress.

It was framed with great care, and past almost unanimously. It was a distinct declaration of the American notion of reciprocity; and was in effect, an offer to the British to open the doors wide, or hold them ajar, or close them entirely, just as the board of trade at London might prefer.

It comprises all the principles of trade which have since—"with so much decency and propriety," been termed American *pretensions*.

X. Y.

No. IV.

In my last communication, *I* brought my view of this national controversy, down to the act of Congress of 1828.

The effect of this measure was soon tested. The British Government, finding that acts of Parliament were not omnipotent; and, that they could not regulate our trade without our consent, resorted again to a renewed experiment of diplomacy.

Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Stratford Canning were appointed specially to conduct a negotiation with us on this subject.

They were met on our part by Mr. Rush and the instructions prepared for him by Mr. Adams, as Secretary of State, together with the correspondence of Mr. Rush with the British Commissioners, and also, with his own Government, are among the best specimens of enlightened statesmanship and acute logic that the history of our country affords.

It need scarcely be remarked, in passing, that the dignity and perfect equality of either country, never was lost sight of in this negotiation.

One great point was gained. The British Commissioners were brought to admit the correctness of the American principle, and to declare the readiness of their Government to make an arrangement on the basis of a just reciprocity.

But it was found as difficult to settle which is a just reciprocity, as it has been among ourselves to determine what is meant by a judicious tariff.

Some of the British notions of reciprocity were rather odd; and upon one point, perhaps, the American Government insisted on too much.

The act of Congress, of 1823, required of the British to admit American vessels into their colonial ports, on payment of no other or higher duties than British vessels from the United States, OR ELSEWHERE.

This word *elsewhere* was very comprehensive and included England, Nova Scotia, and all other British possessions. The British Commissioners objected to this requisition, and contended that the trade between England and her colonies, or between any two colonies, was to be considered a coasting trade; and therefore British vessels ought to be allowed to go as free, from London or Halifax to Jamaica, (for example) as American vessels could sail between New York and Philadelphia.

This was a novel idea—and Mr. Monroe, who was then President, did agree that Mr. Rush should admit its correctness. The negotiation was suspended, with an agreement to resume it after both Governments should have had time for further consideration.

In this posture the affair rested when Mr. Adams became President.

It was clear that, by admitting the fanciful notion of a coasting trade extending all round the Globe, the principle of reciprocity need not

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from British ports, into British ports, without duty would not require, by any reciprocity, the imposition of discriminating duties upon those vessels in our ports.

But the value of the trade would be seriously effected if British vessels might carry from Nova Scotia to the West India Islands, free of duty similar cargoes to those which we should send under the burthen of a heavy impost.

The new Secretary of State, Mr. Clay, wrote circular letters to many practical merchants—West India Traders, and others—asking their opinions and information on the subject of this trade.

Mr. King, who went to England a few weeks after the commencement of Mr. Adams' administration, was instructed to ascertain the disposition of the British statesmen towards an adjustment of the difference.

The answers of the merchants to Mr. Clay's enquiries are understood to have presented conflicting opinions.

Meantime, and before Mr. King's arrival in England, the British Parliament had enacted a law which changed their whole system of colonial trade.

This act, dated July 5, 1825, opened for the first time, the British West India Islands to the commerce of all nations. But the commerce, so to be permitted, was hampered with various restrictions, and fettered also with discrimination in favor of British shipping.

And it was to extend only to such nations as having colonies, admitted British commerce to their colonies; or to nations not having colonies who should place the commerce of Great Britain, and of all her foreign possessions, in their ports, upon the footing of the most favored nations.

This act consisted of ninety-six sections, and is a model of complexity and obscurity, & it was accompanied by a simultaneous act passed expressly for the encouragement of British navigation, bearing partially on the same subject, and equally difficult to understand.

The custom house officers, at different ports in the British colonies, gave these laws different constructions; and Mr. Vaughan, the British Minister at Washington, being officially called upon by Mr. Clay, to say whether discriminating duties would or would not be levied on American vessels, under these acts delivered in answer that he could not tell.

There was another difficulty. This country was required as a preliminary condition to the intended opening of the ports to our commerce to place the commerce of Great Britain, & all her possessions, on the footing of the most favored nation.

But we had treaties and commercial arrangements with several nations by which discriminating duties were reciprocally abolished; and treaties were in progress in which still greater freedom of intercourse was to be *mutually* allowed. To admit British vessels to such advantages without any mutuality would have been absurd.

Mr. Van Buren, in his instructions to Mr. McLane, has given a perfectly fair view of *this* part of the business. Mr. Clay had done it more forcibly, (as is his habit,) but Mr. Van Buren is quite intelligible.

"If," says he, "it is meant by this condition, that the commerce &c. of Great Britain shall be gratuitously and generally placed on the same footing with those of the most favored nation, by *granting* to them privileges, which we allow to other nations, for *equivalents* received it would be wholly inadmissible."

Mr. Van Buren illustrates this position at some length, but it is sufficiently plain; as was "the *necessity* of preliminary explanations on this head proceeding from the British government."

This view of the subject was not new, but unquestionably correct.

Mr. Clay, as we have seen, endeavored to obtain such "preliminary explanation" from the official representative of the British government, who was, however, not empowered to afford it. Mr. King was equally unable to obtain any explanation in England; for Mr. Canning, who was both Prime Minister and Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, was ill during the summer; and Mr. King became also disabled by disease, and returned home to close his honorable and useful life.

The first session of Congress, in the period of Mr. Adams' administration, opens a new chapter of this history with which I will begin my next communication.

X. Y.

From the Christian Advocate and Journal.

OUR ELVE —We have received information at different times, that some of our subscribers have taken exceptions at our noticing some facts in relation to the state of things among the Cherokee Indians, as they seem to think that this is an improper and officious meddling with the conflicting political opinions of the country. We know indeed how difficult it is to divest one's self of all partial bias; but that we have steered tolerably clear in this respect as we have always aimed to do seems quite evident to us from the fact, that, while some who are dissatisfied accuse us of being strong Jacksonians, others think that we are much opposed to the present administration; and so far as our official duties are concerned, as editor of this paper, we are determined that our readers shall remain in this uncertainty respecting our political principles.

This is not said because we are indifferent to the state and welfare of our beloved country, nor because we think its destinies have no connexion with its spiritual prosperity, nor yet because we have no opinions of our own respecting men and measures—not as it from a conviction that we have no duties of a political nature to perform. We might indeed as well undertake to neutralize all our feelings, and to blindfold our judgement so as to shut out every ray of truth, as so to insulate ourselves as not to feel interested in the civil and political as well as religious welfare of our country.—But the reasons of our silence will be found,

1. *In* the conviction that its permanent interests will be promoted in an exact ratio with the prevalence of that religion which draws in its train every civil and political virtue.

2. *In* the conviction equally clear and strong that that religion is to prevail by its being addressed to the understanding and conscience of mankind individually, by such motives and inducements as the Gospel unfolds—and not by an effort to make an impression upon the nation in a national capacity—having some faith in the maxim, 'that corporate bodies have no souls."

3. As conductors of this religion and [illegible] while acting [illegible] know no man after the flesh," to no political party but to leave every one to choose his own political creed for himself, and to act accordingly.

These are our views, and we have endeavoured to act under their influence. How far we have succeeded our unprejudiced readers must judge.

After having made these remarks, we have a few words to say to those whose scruples have given rise to them

Without pretending to decide at all on the justice or injustice, propriety or impropriety of the laws of Georgia in relation to the Indians or in the course pursued by the general government toward them or of expressing an opinion on the expediency of their removal west of the Mississippi, we do say without hesitation and most unqualifiedly, that the conduct of the authorities of the state of Georgia toward the missionaries stationed among the Cherokee Indians, and toward the Indians themselves, so far as they have come under a similar operation of these authorities is a barbarous outrage upon the civil and religious rights of the citizens of these United States We speak of course on the presumption that the facts have been truly detailed, and if not true, why are they not contradicted?

Has it come to this? *Is* a missionary, peaceably pursuing his calling, for no other crime alledged than a refusal, from conscientious motives to take an oath of allegiance to a particular state, to be suddenly apprehended bound with chains, and incarcerated in a prison? After being thus chained, is he to be driven like a wild beast through the streets? Are these inquisitorial transactions to be tolerated in a Christian land a land of boasted freedom in the nineteenth century! Then may we bid farewell to free institutions. Then may we sing a requiem over the grave of our constitutional rights and privileges,—and go home and wrap ourselves up in the mantle of deep mourning for the death of our ancestral inheritance—civil, political and religious. Our fathers fought, bled suffered and died in vain!

But the story must not be told at least *we* must not utter a complaint, for fear of giving offence! Indeed, we do not wish to give offence needlessly to any one But if we were to "hold our peace," on such an occasion, "the stones would cry out against us" and condemn us for our pusillanimity.

Neither let these remarks be construed into an opposition or prejudice against the south.—As far as we know our own hearts, in the discharge of our duty, we know neither the south, north, east or west. *If* such conduct as we are deprecating were witnessed in our own state, or even in our own city, if we are not totally blinded by partiality we would not be among the last to anathematize it. *If* such outrages are to be committed upon the rights of our citizens, and the press, because it is a religious press, must be muzzled in regard to them, then are we transported back into the ages of barbarism, or into the darker age of inquisitorial cruelty and civil despotism -so dark that not even the ray of truth is permitted to disclose the horrid deeds which may be perpetrated.

On reflection, we think that no unprejudiced mind can attempt to justify such a trespass upon the rights of man; and therefore we trust that its reprobation will be expressed in such universal, loud and unequivocal language, that it will not be repeated, although we allow that while such a law exists however oppressive its operation, the missionaries must of necessity either comply with its provisions or suffer its penalty.

Extract of a letter from the Rev. James J Trott, dated Connessauga circuit, Cherokee Nation June 26th 1831:

Dear Brother:—By giving the following brief account of my late arrest an insertion in the Advocate you will confer a favor upon your friend and brother in Christ Jesus.

The Tennessee Conference, not supposing its missionaries would be compelled to swear allegiance to the State of Georgia, or suffer confinement, at its last session appointed me to the Connessauga circuit in the Cherokee nation, which extends through a part of Tennessee as well as Georgia.

From the passage of the law requiring the oath, until some time after the first of March, when it went into effect, such was the situation of my family that it would have been very inconvenient, not to say impossible, to have removed them, provided I could have supported them at any other place, without forsaking my circuit altogether. which I did not feel disposed to do. After the acquittal of the missionaries of the American Board, the understanding with all the missionaries was, that there would be no farther interruptions, and we were confirmed in this opinion by the guards surrounding us at one of our quarterly meetings on the Lord's day, without arresting any of us, and afterwards stating that they had no orders to interrupt any of the missionaries

In this belief we remained, and attended to our several charges in peace, and with considerable success, until lately, to our great astonishment, some of the missionaries received written notifications from the governor to depart in ten days and I was, without having been notified, arrested in a warlike manner by a detachment of the guard!

Monday May 29th I was arrested, chained four nights in succession, and compelled to lie on the floor deprived of my horse, and had to walk until my feet became very sore; and such was my affliction otherwise that *I* was in great pain and was about to give out, when I was ordered into the baggage wagon and was afterwards carried most of the way to Camp Gilmer at which place we arrived on Saturday evening the 3d of June, after having travelled a circuitous route of about 110 miles.

When we had arrived within about a quarter of a mile of the encampment, a halt was called arrangements made, and they marched up in great military triumph, the drum roaring and the fife playing!

I was forthwith ordered into a filthy prison, & kept in close confinement until the Wednesday morning following, when I was brought forth, conducted to Laurenceville, Ga. arraigned before a magistrate as a criminal, and bound in a bond of $500 with sufficient security, to appear at the superior court on the second Monday in September next, at Lawrenceville.

I was set at liberty about sixty five miles from my circuit, without my horse, and unable to walk; but, thanks be to God, *I* had a Cherokee friend at hand, by whose kind arrangement I was soon conveyed to my spiritual charge.

[From the Philadelphia U. States Gazette.]

TO THE PUBLIC—LETTER I.

Having been singled out by the public journals in the pay of General Jackson, from the signers to the protocol of the original Jackson men, as one whose motives might be impeached with success; and upon whom abuse and vituperation might be lavished with most profit to the government, it becomes an act of justice to myself and friends, to give to the public a true exposition of the relations in which I have stood towards General Jackson, since his election to the Presidential chair; with such circumstances, having connection with the history of the times, as may promise to benefit the country or elucidate principles.

At the urgent solicitation of many personal and political friends, I was induced in the early part of February, 1829, to proceed to Washington, there to meet and congratulate the new President. This step I adopted with great reluctance, and remonstrated strongly with all my friends against its wisdom and expediency. *My forebodings of evil* had long preceded any suggestions of theirs, as to the policy of such an interview with the new President. These forebodings of a dereliction of principle on his part, had been grounded on the general declaration of his adherents, that he must be re-elected for a *second term* under the avowed object that *four* years of office would be too short a period to recompense his friends for their labors and sacrifices. I then perceived, and alluded to those around me, the *total change of system and of principles*, which such a course on the part of General Jackson must produce. *I* anticipated that he must abandon his principles against the appointment of members of Congress, and open the portal of expectation of office to all the leaders of the *adverse factions* that had combined and coalesced to secure his election. I anticipated, that under such a change of system, "corruption was to become the order of the day:"—that his integrity was prostrated by this single intention; and that every movement must correspond, in order to produce a concentrated action towards the success of a re-election; that the primary objects of his election, would be sacrificed to this ultimate consummation and that men, measures, and principles would equally be made to bend to this darling object of a powerful, ambitious, and mercenary combination.

It had already been hinted who were to compose the new Cabinet; & *every member* named was a *member of Congress*, and the leader of one of the factions *that at the eleventh hour*, had come into his support, after having exhausted the stores of abuse, ribaldry, and detraction, to keep him from interfering with the claims of their several candidates. He seemed to have made it a point, to heap the highest honors on his most active and malignant foes; as if to make sure of their adhesion for the great ulterior movement of a re-election; and to cement the green ties of mercenary friendship by the golden letters of a mutual interest, deep and protracted.

Rumour assigned M. Van Buren as Secretary of State. To me, the contrast of such a man to De Witt Clinton, was at once so mortifying—so humbling—so outrageous, that I cherished not the faintest hope of one gleam of honor resulting from the administration of General Jackson. Upon Mr. Van Buren I had ever looked as a mere demagogue—an empty pretender to the character of a statesman—an expert personal politician—a manager of men—adroit at deception, and restrained by no principle from the most atrocious acts of a reckless and ambitious aspirant, without talent to palliate profligacy, or knowledge and accomplishments to mitigate or excuse the evil means by which he sought to accomplish his ends. I had seen him track the illustrious Clinton through a long life, like a wily Indian, with a poisoned arrow—I had seen him shed feigned tears over his premature grave—& then snatched the reward of his labors, and wear laurels, won by hunting his great victim to the tomb, which he might well have wished to cover himself, out of sheer envy of its glory. As Governor of New York, Mr Van Buren had exposed his ignorance of the principles of its commercial prosperity, and his total want of knowledge of the science of the political economist and the financier. His insincerity of friendship towards General Jackson, had been made manifest, by the *long interval during which he kept open the avenue of approach* between himself and Mr. Adams; had that great and [permit me to add as an act of justice and atonement,] injured statesman, deemed him of sufficient importance, to court, conciliate, or win him over. But Mr. Adams disdained to surround himself by *purchased enemies*, to promote his re-election, by imposing the fetters of great patronage upon antagonist leaders—choosing to fall as he rose, by the weight of his integrity; and Mr Van Buren was left to make such contract and bargain with General Jackson, as circumstances might warrant, or Major Eaton suggest

It was also bruited, that John H. Eaton was to be appointed secretary of war; and here every anticipation of evil arose, which has been so abundantly realized, to his infinite, and to the shame of the country. His incompetency for the station was to me as well as to the public, manifest—but to me in a peculiar manner, as *I* had frequent occasion to discern the shallowness of his acquirements, the mediocrity of his talents, and the indolence of his disposition. As a writer, he was tame, bungling, and every way deficient—destitute of all beauty of style, harmony of arrangement and that last, most humble, but most useful quality of composition, perspicuity of expression. The Trouble and distress caused by his essays communicated to me for publication; the labor of revision, and after all the inefficiency of his productions, enable me to pronounce no dubious opinion on this point. It was impossible to conceive in what his statesmanship consisted. His career as a *Senator* had been a blank, dull and, monotonous progression from mute wisdom to an eloquent *aye*; and if he ever rose to the distinction of the *chair* of a committee, it was confined to that of the *district of his adoption*. We had no *reports* from his pen, and no speeches from his tongue. But his intimacy with General Jackson was well known to whom he stood in the triple light of friend, favorite and manager. To what extent this triple relation was carried, will appear in the course of these letters. Major Eaton arrived in Philadelphia during the month of January, and his presence was greeted by the announcement of his marriage in the New York newspapers, accompanied by the most offensive comments and a prediction of all the discord which his admission into the cabinet, would necessarily produce in the society at Washington. It was generally supposed by his friends, that he would immediately assume an attitude so belligerant as to silence all future attacks of so gross a character; but he remained passive, and returned to Washington, to listen to the echoes of the same strictures, modulated by court complaisance, or aggravated by indignant envy, offended morals, or insulted religion.

The name of Samuel D. Ingham was mentioned as secretary of the treasury The selection appeared to me too sinister and factious to secure general approbation To Mr. Ingham I had been politically opposed—sometimes from principle, and at others from peculiarity of position, or the force of party movements. His talents did not appear to me, *at that time*, to justify the appointment;—but, I have since seen ample cause to yield him praise for his ability, vigor, and industry. It was chiefly as a prominent leader of a party opposed to Gen. Jackson at first, that his appointment struck me as objectionable—being one of those alliances with a conflicting candidate, without which a re-election could not be secured, and which I have conclusive proof would never have been entered into if the single-minded intention of ONE TERM had been faithfully adhered to by the President: and if a cabinet had been chosen for the sole purpose of its ability to benefit the country, instead of its adaptation to the ulterior object of his re-election! Mr Ingham was represented as a warm partisan—a devoted friend and an unforgiving foe. *I* have since learned to appreciate him higher; and have proof, under the signature of the President, that he never misused his official power to the detriment or prejudice of his original friends. I now respect him as a statesman and a patriot. As a man, he has extorted my esteem; as a citizen, I yield him my applause. Every father and husband of the country must admire, though they may fail to extol him, from the force of prejudice or the rivalry of position.

The intention of General Jackson to appoint Mr. Baldwin to this station, is not only important, as it proves the change of his mind to stand for a second term to have been wrought after his arrival at Washington, upon a consultation with Major Eaton and the adoption of his evil and sinister counsel. The fact of this intention to appoint Mr Baldwin, I had from the lips of the President himself, as well as Major Lewis and since from letters from Mr. Baldwin, authorised by the President. At Pittsburgh, Gen. Jackson had resolved to appoint Mr Baldwin; and invited him to Washington for that purpose; and thither that gentleman went to reap disappointment and mortification to feel the warm friend transformed into the congealed President to meet the sneers of the herd—the triumph of enemies and the regret and condolence of friends The integrity of General Jackson had been shaken by his favorite Eaton. Mr. Van Buren and his friends, together with Eaton and Lewis had poured the poisonous distillation of their political chaldron, into his greedy ears—they tainted the once pure fountains of his heart, and awakened his ambition, whose throes silenced every throb of his patriotism, his honesty and his faith. Then came the era of broken vows, false promises violated principles unredeemed pledges, and the whole series of contradictions, inconsistencies and cross purposes, that show a derelict mind wavering and reluctant even in its aberrations, and forced from its natural rectitude to feverish deviations and complicated intrigues, too intricate for the penetration, and too unwieldly for the management of age. More of this in its appropriate place.

Louis McLane Esq. of Delaware, it was likewise rumoured, had been designated for the Treasury:—he also was a member of Congress & one of the private leaders of an adverse party who, after having voted in the House against Gen. Jackson, and given in his adhesion to Mr. Adams, until all hope of preferment from him had expired—came over at the last minute, at

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