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ATHEMS, June 25, 1833. Messrs. A. B. Dale, Thomas M. Darnell, P. H. Echols. E. Y. Hill, W. Shaw, and J. Spear-

GENTLEMEN: I regret that it is not in my power to dine with a portion of the citizens of your county, at Shady Dule, on the 4th of July next, in accordance with their kind wishes, expressed

in the invitation of which you are the organ. Though I am compelled to deny myself this. pleasure, yet I hope I shall be excused, if I avail myself of this occasion, somewhat sanctioned by custom, to speak of the political evenis not unfitly associated with the cause of your assemblage, and which have pervaded with the deepest interest our common country.

I may be more readily indulged in this liber. ly, as a occupy a public trust to which you have not only a right to look for information, but From which is justly expected that strict ac-countability due to its faithful execution. I shall soon decline its further responsibility, and I mention the fact, that you may understand that the desire to retain it, enters into no part of the motive of this communication. If ever the liberties of this country are destroyed, it will be occasioned by an unprincipled desire of office, combined with the prostituted servility of a hireling press. If they are long to be preserved, it must be by the virtue and disinterestedness of the private station.

We have had many, but particularly one striking proof, that there is no where to be found a government so wanting in principle and consistency, as that of the American republic; and J do believe, for its age, it is as corrupt as any that ever did exist. I speak a plain, but I trust an honest language; at all events, as long as the freedom of speech remains in this country, I mean to exercise it. The American govennment holds out a greater variety of in erests to a greater diversity of character than uny other in the known world. And shall I, in this enlightened age, institute an inquiry into the nature and effect of that powerful agent, in'erest, upon the motives of human action? Shall I attempt to run a parall I in the face of so much expenience, between patriolism and patronage, in their influence over the affairs of this great government? It would be worse than useless. I will, however, call your attention to the history of the case referred to by me, as illustrative of the strong position so unhesitatingly advanced In the formation of the Federal Government,

it is unnecessary to disguise the fact, that there was a large party for organizing, if not a monarchy, at least such an institution as would by its force and strength overawe and control, as it was eaid, the ignorance, the passions, and the prejudices of the people. These were what they pretended to dread, and maintained that republicanism would soon degenerate into jacobinism. Of this party was Mr. Madison, as the journal of the convention will abundantly testify. They failed in their scheme of having the Government based upon such principles explicitly avowed in the constitution, but from that day down, they determined to obtain by artful construction what was denied to an open expression. And hence arose immediately the two great parties called federalists and republicans, the former contending for a strong and expensive government, to secure the privileges of the governors, under the pretence of their arduous labors-and the latter, for a plain and economical one, to protect the rights of the governed. The first believed that they could so elevate and remove the Federal Government from the immediate inspection of the people, as that by reason of its splendor and greatness, rulers and placemen could never be disturbed in their power and influence; and bence the States, as States, were to be excluded from all controlling agency in its affairs.--The latter believed, that the only method of keeping the Federal Government within its proper sphere, and making it a blessing instead of a curse, was to have it know its origin and feel its dependence, to understand its authority, and Tespect the source from which it flowed. The struggles of these parties between the years '88 and '98 were fierce, eage', and vio-

lent, till in the latter year, a case was made and put before the people for their verdict. The Federalists passed two well known acts, called the Alien and Sedition Laws, glaringly violative of certain express provisions of the Constitution; and this was done, as then and since alleged, under similar infractions, by virtue of the power to pass, as Congress in its discretion may think expedient, "all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the other powers of the Constitution." The issue was fairly made up between the contending parties upon the powers of the Federal Government, as claimed by the principles of these two laws. Mr. Madison, from the unbounded influence which Mr. Jefferson was known to exert over him, and perhaps from another cause, which need not now be mentioned, had eschewed his old sederal principles and taken a high station in the republican party, and whether from a good or bad motive, now altogether immaterial, certainly placed himself in the front rank of that ardent contest for liberty. Being the leader of the Virginia Legislature, he avowed and maintained, in the wery teeth of the obnoxious laws, the following mosition, expressed as strong as the powers of language can make it, and which the Legislasture unequivocally adopted, viz: "That it views the powers of the Federal Government, as resulting from the compact, to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and indention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no farther valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact, and that in case of a DELIBERATE, PALPABLE and DANGEROUS exercise of other powers not granted by the said compact, the STATES, who are parties thereto, have the right, and are in duity bound, to INTERPUSE for ARRESTING the progress of the evil, and for MAINTAIN-ING WITHIN their respective LIMITS, the outhorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them." Need I ask you to mark well this language? Can any thing be more full, explicit, and so wholly tree from a double meaning; and yet shall I tell you that its own author, since the death of his mentor, relapsing into his old affections, has returned to his first love, and diworced himself from this fairer object of regard? He has attempted to explain away its obvious meaning; but thanks to the energy of reason, and the holiness of truth, it is out of the reach of a satisfied ambition, or the still ruder assaults of a reckless inconsistency. This is not all which the Virginia Legislature declared through the mouth of Mr. Madison, anxious as that State is at this day, to have it all go for mothing. It expressed itself with "deep regret that a spirit has in sundry instances been manifested by the Federal Government, to enlarge its powers, by forced constructions of the constitutional charter which defines them; and that indications have appeared, of a design to expound certain general phrases, so as to de-troy the meaning and effect of the particular enumeration which necessarily explains and limits

the general phrases, so as to consolida'e the

States by degrees, into one severeign y, the obvi-

be, to transform the present republican system

hest, a mixed monarchy." This resolution, he-

sides the main object for which it is quoted,

proves conclusively the historical fact I have

already asserted, in reference to the designs of

the federal party, to change the character of

the Government, by the force and effect of mere

implication, and which is charged to modern

" Sive the people from themselves."

* Governor Morris, a leading Pederalist, said

palpable, and dangerous exercise of powers not granted," the "States (not the people of the to interpose, (how!) for arresting the progress of a law unconstitutional, and that the proper measures may be taken by each for maintaining unreserved respectively to them. All this-Mr. Madison, Mr. Ritchie, and Mr. any body else, who has an office to gain or a rival to destroy, I now maintain means nothing more than the right to resolve, to petition, to expostulate, and j finally to remonstrate, or in any otherwise obtain redress, provided it was at the mere mercy of the offending party. It is not actually, as they contend, to "interpose" for "arresting" an "unconstitutional" law, and prevent its operation "within the limits" of a "State," but [merely to effect, by its "moral influence" a " change of public opinion," so as to bring about a repeal of the unconstitutional and oppressive law. Wonderful! If the law is a "deliberate" violation of the Constitution, the people may "petition"—if it is "deliberate and | palpable" they may "resolve and expostulate"--if it is " deliberate, palpable, and dan- | gerous" they may " remonstrate" -- and if public opinion should choose to continue obstinute, and not happen to change for the purposes of relief, by virtue of all these knee-bending "mo- | ral influences," why, for sooth, we must fold our arms, hang our heals, hug our chain, and measure and manifest our loyalty by the profound | similar resolution. ness of our most lowly aubmission! Think you this was all the Virginia resolutions meant? If it was, their authors deserve the contempt of cvery honest man, and the hearty detestation of an intelligent posterity. To make such a vaunting parade about a right that belongs to every slave, much less a freemin, to make such a wordy display about a matter that no one would deny, to contend that the right to petition and remons rate could not be exercised but in a case of a " deliberate, palpable, and dangerous" violation of the Constitution, argues such a monstrous destitution of common sense and intellectual forecast, as well as so degrading a p-rversion of political liberty, as must forever

subject them to the unmitigated scorn of all fu-

ture time. But let us examine into the man-

ner these resolutions were received by the oth-

er States; let us see the sense- in which they

were taken by the very person, to whom they

were addressed. Cotemporaneous interpreta-

tion is of the highest authority. What said the

State of Delaware, then and now under the do-

a very unjustifiable interference with the Gen-

eral Government, and of dangerous tendency,

and therefore not a fit subject for the further

consideration of this General Assembly."

What! The right to petition, to remonstrate,

for the purpose of effecting, by its moral influ-

ence, a change of public opinion, an 44 unjusti-

fiable interference with the General Govern-

nent!" Of dangero .stendency! Who so abuses

hat enlightened, though little State of Delaware,

is to believe that this w. s her meaning?

Next in order is the State of Rhode Island another Federal State. How did she understand the Virginia resolutions? That in the opinion of her Legislature, the second section of the third article of the Constitution of the U. States, in these words to wit: "the judicial nower shall extend to all cases arising under the laws of the U. States," vests in the Federal Court exclusivily, and in the Supreme Court ullimately, the authority of deciding on the constitutionality of any act or law of the Congress of the U. States. That for any State Legislature to assume that authority would be, first, blending together legislative and judicial powers, and 2nd— hazarding an interruption of the peace of the States by civil discord, in case of in the last resurt, such questions as may be of a diversity of opinions among the State Ligis- sufficient magnitude to require their INTERPOlatures; each State having in that cale, no resort for vindicating its own opinions, but to the strength of its own arm." the reasonings of the Proclamation-did Vir-

ginia then acknowledge their force? If she meant nothing more than the right to petition, how shamelessly insincere did she act towards Rhode Island? Why did she not undeceive her, and tell her nothing was farther from her intention, than that of "deciding on the constisutionality of any act or law of Congress?" Did she do this? We will see hereafter. Now for the State of Massachusetts, the very hot-bed of federalism-the State that refused to fight, during the list war, out of her own limits, that is, off her own dung hill, and yet maintains that other States have no right to declare a federal law unconstitutional—A State that has declared a treaty unconstitutional and will not be bound by its obligations, and yet denies the right of any other State to nullify. - A State that declared, before hand, she would not respect a law of Congress, if it repealed the tariff; let us see what such a State said to the Virginia resolutions. She declared "that the decisions of all cases in law and equity, arising | lief from usurped power, and a direct subverunder the Constitution of the United States. and the construction of all laws made in pursuance thereof, are exclusively vested by the denial of the fundamental principle on which people in the judicial courts of the United | our independence itself was declared." Will States. That the people in the solemn compact, which is declared to be the supreme law] of the land, have not constituted the State Legislatures the judges of the acts or measures of the Federal Government. - But should the State of Virginia percist in the assumption of I thing but an act of war relieve a people from the right to declare the ocls of the National Go- | what is acknowledged to be NO LAW? To vernment unconstitutional, and should she op. I withhold this power from the States, Mr. Madpose successfully her force and will to those of ison declares, would " put an end to all relief the nation, the constitution would be reduced I from usurped power," Would be "a direct subto a mere cypher, to the firm and pagentry of authority, without the energy of power. --Every act of the Federal Government which I a plain denial of the fundamental principle on thwarted the views or checked the ambitious | which our independence itself was declared. projects of a particular State (precisely the ar- [Can it be possible, I repeat, that a remedy calgument of the present day against nullification) or of its leading and influential members, (this, I one " recognized under all the State Constitulike the modern attacks upon Mr. Calhoun, was I tions," which if refused, would be "a denial intended for Mr. Jefferson, who was then op. I of a fundamental principle," and which, at best posing JohnAdams, the favorite son of Massa- I can be no other than the exercise of a reserved chusetts) would be the object of opposition I right, since the right of self-preservation belongs and remonstrance; while the people convulsed and confused by the conflict between two hos- | not possibly have been grarted away, is autho-

self on the rum of both." aus tendency and inevitable result of which would these, by the adversaries of State interposition? by this doctrine, would be in a worse condition of the United States, into an absolute, or at Are not these croaking forebodings in the than foreign nations. These latter, in the mouth of every hare-hearted and winte-livered | event of war, would have their prisoners prosubmissionist, who, under the canting and | tected by the rights of war, whereas the citihypocritical whine of "Union" disgorges his | zens of the States would be hung as traiters for spleen and venom upon the advocates of State | obeying a solemn act of their primary G vernnights? And are not these same arguments ment, to which they owe their first allegiance. bandied about, and used by the time-serving | So did not Mr. Madison believe, in the life time presses, in that identical State, against whose of Mr. Jefferson, when his eye was steadily diown resolution, they were most unsuccessfully | rected to the highest distinctions of his country, employed thirty-four years ago? Why did which could only be reached by the support of Virginia wait till this period to undeceive Mas- the people's caule, the cause of liberty.

State rights men as altogether a chimers of seachusetts, if she meant nothing more than the their own brain. Portunately for them, Mr. | right to sue by supplication, for the reparation. Madison has not applied his presto wand to this I due to a violated Constitution? Why did she precious truth. The Legislature then formally I not then tell that State, that she did not intend protested against the Alien and Sedition laws, to back her "assumption" by "force," neither and in conclusion, "solemnly appealed to the I did she intend to "persist" in making the "Na other States, in confidence, that they will concur | tional Government" submit to her "will?" with Virginia in declaring, as it does hereby | The thing is increditable. But we will see predeclare, that the acts aforesaid are unconstri- | sently, that instead of Virginia's insisting upon TUTIONAL, and that the necessary and proper | being misconceived by her sister States, she mensures will be taken BY EACH for co-ope- | reiterated her doctrines, and expressed an inrating with (Virginia) in maintaining unimpair- | creased determination to support them at every ed, the authorities, right, and liberties assenv. I hazard. She erected an armory and passes ED to the States respectively, or to the people." | laws to organize and arm her militia, for the These resolutions were sent to the other avowed purpose of meeting the crisis. She States for concurrence. Now, observe what also passed an act to protect the members of they roundly affirm: That the Federal Consti- | her Legislature from prosecution under the setution is a "compact"—the "States are pir- dition law.—The State of New York received ties"-its " powers no further valid than they | the Virginia doctrines under like impressions, are authorized by the grants contained in the and was absolutely insulting to that State, for compact." And that "in case of a deliberate, I having advanced them. She affirmed that "the judicial power extend expressly to all cases of law and equity, arising under the Constitution whole U. States,) have the right (to do what?) | and laws of the United States, whereby the interference of the particular States in those cases, the evil, (is that all ') and for maintaining is manifestly excluded," and concluded by say-(where!) within their respective limits, the au- | ing "the sentiments and doctrines contained thorities, rights, and liberties, belonging (to | in the resolutions were inflammatory and perwhom?) to them," the States. Further, they | nicious, no less repugnant to the Constitution openly assert the right of the States to declare of the United States, and the principles of their Union, than destructive to the federal Government." Can any man believe that such strong impaired, the authorities, rights, and liberties | language would be used against such a State as Virginia, if she meant nothing more than what her Senator, Mr. Rives, asserted on the fluor of Congress? And if that was her meaning, is it possible to conceive a motive for resting quiet under such a bitter aspersion, without affording to New York the opportunity of retracting it, as doubtless she would, under the plea of misconception? No one believes it.

Connecticut explicitly disavowed the prin ciples contained in the resolutions, and decidedly refused to concur with the Legislature of New Hampshire felt so indignant at the re-

solutions, that, like some of the valorous States who were lately for whipping South Carolina into submission, she was full of fight against Virginia. She declared it to be her firm resolution, to maintain and defend the Constitu-'tion of the United States against every agaression, foreign or domestic-that the State Legislatures are not the proper tribunals to determine the constitutionality of the laws of the General Government—that the duty of such decision is properly and exclusively confilled to the judicial department." And Vermont adopted a Now, here are the answers of seven Stites, predicted upon the belief, that the resolutions

assumed the right to declare a law of Congress

unconstitutional, and being unconstitutional,

"each" State could "take measures" to "in-

terpose" for "arresting the progress of the law

within their respective limits." What is the

conduct of Virginia upon the receipt of these

answers? Dars she say to these Sates, you

have entirely mistaken me; I mean nothing more, than that I had the right to petition, beg, entreat, expostulate, and if this would not do, I could enter into bullying resolutions, full of threat and pretended fight, designed to frighten the General Government into measures, and this failing, perhaps the united force of all these "moral agencies" would bring about a change of public opinion, and thereby effect a repeal of the obnoxious laws. Merciful Heaven! how contemptible—and how ought Virginia to blush to have such a construction placed upon so grave a proceeding, as her far famed resolutions! But this is not the legitiminion of Federalism? "That they consider- | mate character of those resolutions. Mr. Madied the resolutions from the State of Virginia as | gon, by one of the ablest productions ever penned in America, vindicated them upon the issue formed by the answers of the opposing States, and in contradiction to their principles. I regret I cannot place the whole of it before you, it is so complete a justification of the doctrine of nullification. A few extracts must be submitted. In answer to the assertion that Congress and the Federal Court have the right evelusively to decide upon the constitut onality of laws, Mr. Madison affirms, that "it appears to be a plain principle, founded in common sense, illustrated by common practice, and essential to the nature of compacts, that where resort can be had to no tribunal superior to the authority of the parties themselves must be the rightful judges, in the last resort, whether the bargain made has been pursued or violated. The Constitution was formed by the sanction of the States, given by Eacu, in its sovereign capacity. The States, then, being the parties to the constitutional compact, and in their sovereign capacity, it follo us of necessity, that there can be no tribunal above their authority to decide in the last resort, whether the compact made by them be violated, and consequently that as the parties to it, they must themselves decide SITION." Can language be plainer in favor of State interposition? And if States may interpose, how may they do it? Are they restricted in These are the doctrines of Mr. Webster, and I the means of interposition? Are they precluded from a choice of means in the exercise of the right? May they not, as in the use of means to execute any other acknowledged power, select such as they, in their best judgment may deem competent, to produce an effectual interposition? Surely, no one can deny this, especially the advocates of constitutional supremacy; for precisely this right they claim for themselves in the interpretation of that instrument. The right to judge and de-

necessary to effect the object. Butto place this matter beyond doubt, listen again to Mr. Madison. "If, says he, the deliberate exercise of dangerous powers, palpably withheld by the Constitution, could not justify the parties to it in interposing even so far as to arrest the progress of the evil, and thereby to PRESERVE THE CONSTITUTION IT-SELF, as well as to provide for the safety of the parties to it, there would be an end to all resion of the rights specified or recognized under all the State Constitutions, as well as a plain it be said after this, that it is unconstitutional to attempt to " preserve the Constitution" by preventing the operation of a law that confessedly violates it? Can nothing but revolution rid a community of an unconstitutional act? Can noversion of the rights specified or recognized under all the State Constitutions," and amount to culated to "preserve the Constitution itself," as well to Governments as individual, and cantile jurisdictions, enjoying the protection of rized by the Constitution, and becomes an act neither, would be wearied into submissio to of war, which, if unsuccessful, subjects all consome bold leader, who would establish him | cerned to the pains and penalties of treason, notwithstanding it is a governmental act of a Were ever arguments so faithfully copied as | sovereign State? The States, though sovereign,

cide, say they, implies the right to enforce and

to execute, and this draws after it all the means

We have now seen Mr. Madison's opinions, leral Government, the Federal Court was the I and however they may be questioned from their proper and only tribunal for the decision of the versatile character, yet they come recommend. same, if the case could be drawn within that

that a NULLIFICATION* by those sorereignties | now or hereafter, to day or forever. of all unauthorised acts done under color of that instrument, is the RIGHTFUL REMEDY." Here then we arrive at the very odious word | treacherous to principle. Nullification cannot itself, the one that has produced so many pale | be werse than treason; and even under that faced politicians—that has created such un- name would I embrace the doctrines '98, and necessary dread. We find it under the seal, | glory in whatever consequence it might involve. signiture and sanction of Thomas Jefferson, the | Sidney died for liberty under the title of a traigreat leader of democracy, the founder of re- | tor. Despots may give what character they publicanism, and the father of the faith. He | please to human actions, and inflict upon its laid down his doctrines, and this is the name, | authors the worst of human suffering; but the the very name he gave to them, and when in | final award of faithful history will rescue their power, had these doctrines hailed with acclama- reputation from its unmerited obloquy, and tion from the centre to the circumference of damn to the most enduring infamy, their bruthe Union by those very men who are now tal tyrants. Let these principles be once ashamed to raise their head or lift their voice in | abandoned by the south, and from thenceforth their support. These were the sentiments that | they are slaves, and what is worse, they will brought Jefferson into power, that triumphant- | deserve their fate. A. S. CLAYTON. ly overthrew the federalists, and gave a signal victory to the republicans. As I stated before, the case was made up upon the principles of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, and the answers of the seven States, as already mentioned. The verdict of the people was, " We find in favor of the former, and we further find that Thomas Jefferson | evening and on casting around me a glance of shall rule over us, and after him James Madison, curiosity on the rows of boxes graced by all the authors and finishers of the faith of STATE | the beauty and fashion of Stockholm, I per-RIGHTS, as contained in their respective reso- | ceived a lady whose costume, physiognomy, lutions." Here was a triumph well worthy of [and whole external appearance struck me as the battle; it prostrated the federalists and all very extraordinary. Picture to yourself a their golden dreams of monarchy in disguise. clumsy figure-broad shoulders-nothing deli-Democracy, pure and undefiled democracy, was cate or greeful-bold features, checks inflam.

hopes of liberty, merely to retain office for We Swedes are so accustomed to the modesty of Troup's writings, and I affirm that his letters | marked passage. I observed her attentively, own writings, that labored to support him, and | eyes were not irradiated with that pure exaltareceived, breathe no other doctrine. And now, have seen in the intuitive looks of a German what is the condition of the Troup party? From | woman, whose aspect alone electrified me and the mere dread of a word in some, and the jea- | elevated my mind. You perceive what were the doctrines of those pense.

that answered the Virginia resolutions. Mark well the principles which they assert, viz. that the chimney fire, she did not relinquish this Congress and the Federal Court were the sole | favorite habit before our stoves, the doors of judges of the extent of the powers of the Gen- | which are not very low, and it appeared to us eral Government. Now compare this with the to form an occasion for showing her foot. I doctrine of Mr. Webster, often repeated, but | was several times invited to meet her at dinner urged at the last session of Congress with pe- lat the Prince Royal's. The play of her hands culiar force and under circums:ances of extra. and arms seemed to me to be quite studied. ordinary animation, because of the co-operation | She would sometimes lean both her elbows on of the proclimation and the strong current | the table, and declaim and gesticulate with so heretofore opposed to him, which it directed much fire, that her neighbors were obliged to in his favor. He boldly maintained "hat in be upon their guard. Her conversation sparkall questions relative to the powers of the Gen- | led with wit, but nevertheless became mono-* in Mr. Jefferson's original draft, he express- | she would speak alone, and the most frivolous ed himself in these stronger words, but the Ken- topic became the subject of a profound dissertucky Legislature altered them to the above, Itation. There was but one opinion throughout "But where powers are assumed which have our salous, on the vast powers of her mind; not been delegated, a nullification of the act is but, at the same tim , there was not one of us

judgment for them."

ed by such a depth of political science, such a department, but if it could not, then Congress reach of thought, such clearness of truth, such | was the exclusive judge. Is not this the Feda force of reasoning, that they are entitled to eral doctrine contained in the resolutions of the great weight, particularly when it is recall cited, | seven States before referred to, and put down they went forth under the canction of the then by the success of Mr. Jefferson? Are we to great State of Virginia. But powerful as is the | understand that those who oppose the doctrine argument, founded upon the foregoing impreg- of nullification espouse the principles of Mr. nable battery, it is not our strongest. We have | Webster? If so, let them come out, be manly, the authority of a much higher name, one open and decided. Do not let tuem, under against which no change of opinion or change the slang and deceitful cant of unionists, intendof tergiversation can come. It is no other led to play upon the passions and feelings of than the name of Mr. Jefferson himself, who the ignorant, keep their doctrines to themhas been truly called the great Apostle of Liber- | selves and live by reviling others, because they ty. The State of Kentucky passed similar re- | think their tenets are united with an unpopular solutions to those of Virginia, and at the same name. If they are for Webster and the doctime. These were drawn by Mr. Jefferson, | trines of his State, let them say so. If they If any thing, they were stronger and more ex- | are not, let us know their principles. How plicit; such, for instance as this declaration, do they propose to get rid of an unconstituthat the several States composing the United | tional law, an act of usurpation on the part of States, are not united on the principle of un- the General Government? If they admit the limited submission to their General Govern | right of State "interposition," let us know how ment; but that by compact under the style and a State is to interpose. It is a limited method, title of a Constitution for the United States, and | point it out. If there is but one way, if a State of amendments thereto, they constituted a Gen- has no choice of means, let us know what that cral Government for special purposes, delegated way is. Whatever it is, I pronounce even that to that Government c-rtain definite powers, re- | way an act of nullification. As to myself, I serving each State to itself, the residuary muss take this occusion to own that I embrace the of right to their own self-Government, and, | doctrines of the Virginia and Kentucky resoluthat whensoever the General Government assu- | tions, name and all, and I speak advisedly mes undelegated powers, its acts are unauth rita | when I say, upon the truth of which you may tive, VOID and of NOFORCE—that to this com- | rest fully assured, that the leading federalists pact, each State acceded as a State, and is an of the north, and all the politicians of that order intigral party-that this Government, created | now in Congress, consider Mr. Jefferson as the by this compact, was not made the exclusive or | father of nullification, and openly acknowledge Jinal judge of the extent of the powers delegate | that the resolutions of '98 clearly go to avow ed to itself-since that would have made its and maintain that doctrine; while we of the discretion, and not the Constitution, the bouth are trying to show they mean no such measure of its powers—but, that as in all other | thing—by which there necessarily results an cases of compact, among parties having no com- | implied admission, that their success was mon judge, EACH PARTY HAS AN EQUAL | wholly undeserved; that they put down very RIGHT TO JUDGE FOR ITSELF AS WELL | unjustifiably the answers of the eastern States, AS OF INFRACTIONS, AS OF THE MODE and with them the alien and sedition laws. AND MEASURE OF REDRESS." Mr. Jel- | not only go for these principles, but I prefer ferson's resolutions affirmed in three distinct | the name they bear, because it is the christenplaces, that the Alien and Sedition Laws were ling of Mr. Jefferson, and under that title he "NOT LAW, but altogether void and of NO | achieved for the republicans his great victory FORCE," and concluded by declaring that the lover the federalists. Because it is the name, "co S'alcorecurcing to their natural rights in cases | under which our much abused sister State, not made federal, will concur in deciating them | South Carolina, brought the General Govern-VOID and of NO FORCE." What is this ment to a sense of justice, while fighting the but nullification? Does any one believe that | battles of the whole south, and while the States Kentucky intended to s. ffer an act which it around her, who were equally oppressed, had pronounced as NOT LAW, and altogether complained as much and threatened more, stood VOID and of NO FORCE, to operate upon her | trembling at her noble daring. Because under people? Who thinks so meanly of that firm | that name the tariff question has been settled, and decided State? Did she mean nothing but and its proud advocates have been forced to an idle parade, or to play off the rediculous | yield acknowledged compliance with its debraggart? It (cannot be believed. She also mands. Because under this name, and these prinsent her resolutions to the other States, and | ciples, Georgia obtained her lands in '25 as well | they shared a common fate with those from [as '33. Because under these she enforced obe-Virginia. When they returned, Mr. Jefferson | dience to her laws, from a set of fanatics backhad prepared an able answer for the Kentucky | ed by a powerful combination of religious and Legislature which that body unanimously adopt- | political intermeddlers. Because under these ed, and in which, among other strong and de- | she maintained her criminal jurisdiction over cided resolves, they advanced the following | the Indian tribes within her limits, against the opinion: That the principles and constructions | authority of the Federal Court. And because contended for by sundry of the State Legisla. It is these principles and this name that will tures, that the General G vernment is the exclu- protect us from the gathering and coming storm sive judge of the extent of the powers delegated | designed to overwhelm our slave property, and to it, stop nothing short of DESPOTISM—since to wrest from our citizens the landed estate the discretion of those who administer the Go | with which they have recently been invested by vernment, and not the CONSTITUTION, the Legislature of Georgia. The question has would be the measure of their powers-that the | been made up a second time between the reseveral States who formed that instrument be- | publicans and federalists upon this mame, and ing sovereign and independent, have the unques. | therefore upon this name I am willing to risk tionable right to judge of the infraction—and every thing I have, at present or in prospect, Names are nothing-principle is every thing; and the man that trembles at a name will be

FROM THE LONDON COURT JOURNAL. MEMOIRS OF A DIPLOMATIST. A Fragment from an Unpublished Work. MADAME DE STABL.

On entering the theatre on the following completely in the ascendant, down to the fatal | ed with roug-a dross of the most glaring co-Proclamation of Andrew Jackson. Now Fe- | lour-eyes sparkling with wit and vivacityderalism rears its head, and the war is all to be but every look of which might be taken for a fought over again. Why is this? It comes of provocation-black hair, regularly frises by the corrupt desire of office, and the still more | force of art, and loaded with jewels. An enorobsequious surveillance of the press. And mous garland of variegated flowers encircled when the leaders of a people will set up one | her head, surmounted by a plume of drooping set of principles to-day, which they will pull feathers. Represent to yourself, by the side down to-morrow, for the accomplishment of a of this person, a young creature, tall and graceselfish purpose,—when men in power will level, | ful, with a mild expression of countenance, at a single blow, the long settled doctrines of dressed entirely in white, and whose golden a political party, reared with so much toil, hair fell in natural curls down her back, her anxiety, and difficulty, by the purest patriots only ornament her native simplicity and innoof the world, designed to protect and secure | cence, and you will form a perfect idea of the the best interests of the people and the last striking contrast between mother and daughter. themselves, produce it for their friends, or to of our own women, that the attitude of Madame destroy the political prospects of an enemy, it is | de Stael appeared to us most singular. She not too much to say, we live in the most corrupt | had taken off her gloves—her body, half out government of the age. It was upon the moral | of the box-animated by the most exalted en justness, the stern virtue, and solid truth of thusiasm, she gave with her hands, which were these principles, that the Troup party came into | of the most dazzling whiteness and the most power in this State. It shines upon every page | perfect shape, the signal of applause, at every and messages are pregnant with them. My and her enthusiasm was not assumed; still her which, I tatter myself, were at that time well tion which, under similar circumstances, I

lousy of others, it is distracted and divided, At a subsequent period, I repeatedly heard and, in a very short time, unless there is a re- | Madame de Stael read, speak, and declaim; turn to the republican doctrines of 498, will be but in all that she said and did, I felt that she bound hand and foot, and delivered over to the | never forgot herself, and that she calculated tender mercies of the federalists. And I in | beforehand the effect she was to produce. I voke the republicans of all parties; and there | was introduced to her the next day, and from are many in that which has been opposed to the that period I was in the habit of seeing her Troup party, to no longer attach themselves to almost daily. Her deportment did not corresmen, merely to minister to their lust of office, pond with our Swedish ideas of propriety: but rally round the doctrines of Mr. Jesserson, shohad a very pretty foot, but she was not and preserve the rights of the south from im- satisfied with showing it alone, but exhibited, pending dangers and prospective invasions. likewise, a well proportioned leg, with an I have but a few reflections more to add. - | 'abandon' that elicted many a joke at her ex-

Accustomed in Prance to warm herself at

tonous, because the greater part of the time

the rightful remedy; that every State has a na | who would have wished to have such a mother, tural right, in cases not within the compact wife, or sister, as she. We looked upon her [casus non læderis,] to nullify of their own au- | with astonishment; we admired her as a wonthority, all assumptions of power by others within | der, as a rare and unequalled phenomenon in their limits—that without this right, they would I the fema'e world. Her vanity, however, rebe under the dominion, absolute and unlimit d, ceived several severe checks at Stockholm. of whomsoever might exercise this right of Our friend L-, for instance, obstinately refused to call on her, in spite of her reiterated