

JUDGE CLAYTON'S LETTER.

WASHINGTON City, Jan. 12th, 1833.

DEAR SIR— I have received your esteemed favor of the 9th ult. and take great pleasure in answering it without delay, so that you and the rest of my fellow citizens may know what is passing at this eventful crisis. I only wish I had it in my power to write to every man in Georgia, and I would endeavor to wake him up to the danger that threatens every thing he holds most dear. The affairs at this place present this moment wonderful and unexpected aspects that has never occurred since the world began, and I will venture to say, never will occur again as long as it lasts, and so the Government, in which it should have fallen into the hands of a horde of harpers. And what is this singular circumstance? It is this. In a republican representative government, professing to be regulated by just and equal laws, asserting and boasting of the principle to the world, that TAXES just up to the necessities of the government are levied, and no more, and to last as long as wanted, and no longer; and yet, now, when the President of the United States, backed by the Secretary of the Treasury, who ought to know better than any one else, declares they have more money than they know what to do with, and that the taxes of the people may be lightened at least six millions, behold, Congress is about to say it shall not be done! The representatives of the people dare to say their burthens shall continue, not because the government wants the money, but because it is necessary to keep up the factories of a few privileged orders of men! But this is not the worst of this peculiar state of things. Eight Southern and two Northern States, as States, and a very large minority of the people in all the other States, have petitioned, remonstrated, clamored and protested against this injustice. One State has declared that she will no longer submit to it, and that if it is enforced, she will leave the Union, and this declaration is shaking the confederacy down to its deepest foundations, and will finally, if the unwise and violent threats of the President are carried into effect, drench this fair country in blood, and fill it with widows and orphans; and yet our slave masters are willing to see all this, rather than give up six millions of dollars of their profits from manufacturing—six millions too, which the government says it does not want, and which it also says is most cruelly and oppressively wrong from the Southern Planters, and ought to be taken off! Now, who is it calculates the value of the Union? Who is it thinks most of the Union? The man who had rather see it dissolve and go to pieces than give up six millions of dollars; or he who has fought for the Union, bled for the Union, paid enormous taxes for the Union till it was out of debt, and is yet willing to stick to the Union if you will only put him upon equal terms with the rich man of the North? Is it not abominable to tax us with disaffection for the Union, lecture us upon the benefits of Union, quote GENERAL WASHINGTON'S farewell address to us upon the value of the Union, when they themselves value it at six millions of dollars and would rather give it up than lose that sum? Wonderful Union men! Well may they school and lecture and discipline us upon the immense advantages of the Union when they make that very Union a stock jobbing machine by which they draw all those immense advantages to themselves.—And is it possible the Southern people will not see this? Besides being hewers of wood and drawers of water to Northern taskmasters, will they suffer such an imputation upon their people, that while they are picking their pockets before their faces, they are guiled with the soft cry of Union whispered in their ears.

"Union, my dear fellow, Union," (they cry,) while they are boring and twisting the very entrails of our people out of their carcasses. For shame—let us rouse up and shake off this most infamous oppression, as becomes men of sense, possessing a proper respect for themselves as well as for the rights and the future prosperity of their children. The Federalists are extremely anxious to make Jackson execute the threats of his Proclamation, and they have two objects in making him do it. First, to whip us into the Protective System, and second, if that fails, to disgrace old Jackson. The former promotes their avarice, the latter gratifies their revenge, two most powerful passions, in the gratification of which, it is difficult to say, which affords the most satisfaction. The inconsistency of Gen. Jackson passeth all understanding. His best friends cannot unravel the mystery. That his Message and Proclamation should have come from the same mind in the short space of six days, beggars all speculation. There is no accounting for it; but the latter has blasted all our hopes, it strikes at our very existence, and will defeat all relief from Congress, as I now verily believe, and may involve our beloved country in all the horrors of civil war—this, at least, is what the manufacturers will bring about, if they possibly can, under the strong hope that it will revolutionize the government, and restore it to the principles of old John Adams, when the majority of Congress passed the Alien and Sedition Law, and maintained they had a right to do as they pleased. Old Jackson will have the consolation of being the author of all this unspeakable mischief. He will fall under the curse of Tom Paine's malediction, when he told Gen. Howe, "that the King, his master, would receive the execration of all posterity for his unholy war upon the Colonies," and concluded by saying that "he who is the author of a war, loses the whole contagion of hell, and opens a vein that bleeds a nation to death." May this sink deep into Gen. Jackson's bosom. There is another expression of this same writer to the same person, that I wish Gen. Jackson could read, or those at least who wrote his proclamation. Paine said to Howe, before you let loose your Myrmidons upon the Colonies, it would be well for you to remember, that "death is not the monarch of the dead, but of the dying; at every conquest he loses a subject, and, like the British King you serve, will in the end war himself out of all dominion." The General Government undertakes a dangerous experiment when it attempts to force a state to be free and united.

Union must be voluntary not forced. In trying this project it may "war itself out of dominion." Two or three United States and one subjected State will sound very well, under our Constitution, professing to be a free and voluntary compact, intended "to form a more perfect union establish justice, insure domestic tranquility." If one State can be forced to remain in the Union, two can, and so on, as long as there is power in the past to compel obedience.

Now I can point out seven States, (but to make the thing plain to every capacity, I will say ten) That can make the other 14th in any Union they may choose to remain direct. For instance, there is New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky and Ohio, all in a circle, having 8 millions out of the twelve United States population, that can compel all the other states to live with them in just such a loving Union as they might impose. These are the inevitable consequences of the Proclamation, and yet there are men, who for the sake of worshipping Gen. Jackson will approve these doctrines and seal the fate of their own and their children's liberties to the end of time. Cannot the brave and intelligent Georgians, who have hereofore so nobly distinguished themselves in the vindication of State Rights, be brought to make one more effort to save the Constitution of their beloved country, and keep us from passing into the chains of bondage? I hope they can.

In answer to the inquiry about Governor Troup, I have the satisfaction to inform you that he has written a long letter to _____ Esq. of _____, in which he fully sustains his former doctrines and essentially our doctrines, the right of resistance and finally of secession.—If it is published it will clearly go to establish free trade and State interposition to protect our reserved rights. You will be satisfied with it. With regard to Webster, he goes fully with the Proclamation, intends to use it as an instrument to fix down upon us the Protective System, if he can, and therefore goes strongly against all reduction.—Clay has been heard to say he is under no obligation to the manufacturers, for he considers that they deserted him in the late election, and therefore, it is thought, he is keeping back with his friends to come in as a mediator, in the way he settled the Missouri question. Strong expectations are entertained that he will, at a proper time, throw in a project that will harmonize the conflicts of time. All this however is mere conjecture, for he keeps himself very much reserved indeed. Upon the whole great uncertainty prevails as to the issue of all the difficulties now hanging over the country; let us hope for the best and put our trust in that Great Ruler whose councils never deceive because they never err.

I am very sincerely your friend.
A. S. CLAYTON.

From the New York Courier and Enquirer.
Things worthy of remark and Remembrance.

1st. That Mr. Benton, Mr. Forsyth, Mr. Grundy, and the Democratic Senators from the State of New York, are voting on a great Constitutional question which involves all, or nearly all, the fundamental principles upon which the separation of parties took place on the adoption of the Constitution with Messrs. Webster, Robbins, Chambers, Clayton, &c, who represent the ancient Federal doctrines in the Senate.

2d. That in the House of Representatives, at a moment big with the fate of the Union, and while debating a question acknowledged by all to be of the most vital consequence to its preservation, it is difficult to keep a quorum together, and that decisions materially affecting its final result are frequently made while nearly one third of the members are not in their places.

3d. That in order it would seem, still further to embarrass and delay the decision of this question, the House of Representatives has made an order to admit ladies and strangers on the floor, by which improper attention to their duties; many others inspired to make long prosing speeches, involving nothing but repetitions, and the whole House embarrassed and impeded in its legislation, by the presence of crowds of visitors passing in and out at pleasure. It is said that a most edifying scene of gallantry and flirtation is going on there every day. *Nero fiddled while Rome was burning.*

4th. That Mr. Webster, who is now the great bulwark of the Constitution and Manufacturer—which indeed seems to be synonymous at present,—did on the second of October, in the year 1820, at Faneuil Hall, in the city of Boston make a speech, containing the following declaration:—

"There is a power in names; and these who had pressed the Tariff on Congress and the country, had represented it as immediately and almost exclusively connected with domestic industry and national independence. In his opinion, no measure could prove more injurious to the industry of the country and nothing more fanciful, than his opinion, that national independence rendered a measure necessary. He certainly such thought it might be doubted whether Congress would not be acting somewhat against the spirit and intention of the Constitution in exercising power to control essentially the pursuits and occupations of individuals in their private concerns."

What Mr. Webster doubted, South Carolina then maintained; what South Carolina then maintained, she now denounces as unconstitutional; and what Mr. Webster then doubted, he now maintains without reservation. Has South Carolina lost her wits, or has Mr. Webster recovered his?

5th. That Mr. Jefferson's authority has been quoted by the advocates of unlimited protection, as sanctioning their most extravagant assumptions; and that the same high name has been made use of in support of the Federal doctrine, that no State under any circumstances whatever, has a right to secede from the Union. Strange as it may seem, the manufacturers have drawn their conclusions from certain vague and general declarations in Mr. Jefferson's messages, in which, as a matter of course, all the great interests of the nation are recommended to the attention of Congress, and in the very teeth of the authority we are about to quote; and the Federalists theirs, from the same source! Let us see what Mr. Jefferson thought and wrote, at the time these subjects were directly before him, and in the maturity of his wisdom and experience. The following sentiments are derived from a confidential letter of this great man to a friend:—"Under the power to regulate commerce they assumed indefinitely that over agriculture and Manufactures; and called it regulation, to take the earnings of one of those branches of industry, and that, too, the most depressed, and put them into the pockets of the others, the most flourishing of all."—After remarking on a similar exercise of constructive power, in regard to roads and canals, Mr. Jefferson proceeds:—"And what is our resource for the preservation of the Constitution? Reason and argument. The representatives chosen by ourselves, are joined in the combination—"