

NULLIFICATION.

LETTER OF WM. H. CRAWFORD. To the Committee at Alfred's Cross Roads, on the 22nd ult.

Wood Lawn (Ga.) Sep. 13th. Gentlemen—Your invitation to a dinner at Alfred's Cross Roads, on the 22nd inst. was received by yesterday's mail.

My official duties have commenced, and will not terminate before the second week in November next: it will therefore be impossible for me to attend the proposed dinner. In compliance with your second request, viz: To lay before the people my views of the measure to be pursued in the present crisis, and in particular in relation to a Southern Convention. The ordinary limits of a letter will hardly admit of that development of my views on this important subject, which will render them distinctly intelligible. Without further preface or circumlocution, I will proceed to state them as far as they can be stated in a letter. I am then for the call of a Convention to revise the Federal Constitution. Let anti-Tariff states pass resolutions, in their State Legislatures requiring Congress in the terms of the Constitution to call a Convention to revise the Constitution. To this measure three objections have been made.—1st. That the Tariff states will not concur in the measure, which must therefore fail.—2d That if they should concur, they will have the majority in the Convention, and will prevent any change or modification in it desired by the south.—3d. That it will produce delay without the possibility of effecting any good. In my judgment, neither of these objections is valid. To the first, it may be replied, that if the anti-Tariff states pass resolutions for the said purpose, and the Tariff states refuse their concurrence, it will be considered by the anti-Tariff states as a declaration on their part that they are determined to perpetuate the abuses they have introduced in Federal Legislation. The anti-tariff states will then see the necessity of taking their ultimate measures; which they will then be in a situation to take understandingly: because they will have discovered, the strength of the new confederacy which can be formed. If the number and population of the States disposed to secede and form a new confederacy are not sufficient for self protection, I should deem it unwise to separate: for if the separatist will be compelled to form a connexion with some powerful Foreign state, to secure their protection, it would in my opinion be better to submit to the evils of the Tariff, and even the system of Internal Improvements, (which, in my opinion, are worse than the Tariff and more clearly unconstitutional) than to throw themselves into the arms of any foreign state, whose history and character is known to me.

2d. If the Tariff states should concur in the call of a Convention, it is by no means certain they would reject the amendment or modification desired by the south. The conduct of the same men, in Congress and in Convention, would probably be different. In Congress, the only subject of inquiry would be what power has been granted by the Constitution. This question has been so often abusively determined, that it in fact is no inquiry at all.—They have several times determined, that the power to pass a protective Tariff and to make Internal Improvements, has been granted. There is, therefore, no reasonable ground to hope for a change by Congress in that regard. In Convention, the question would be what powers shall be granted? The southern members would state candidly what powers they were willing to grant, and what they would not grant, and declare the continuance of the Union, depended upon the admission of the modification they had proposed. This declaration from the members of the south, would necessarily have great weight. The southern and eastern members would then deliberately determine whether Union with these were preferable to Disunion and the Tariff. If the proposition should be rejected, and a sufficient number of states would adhere to the south for self-defence, a separation would then take place, peaceably, I have no doubt. I am opposed to a southern Convention till after a General Convention has been tried and failed. In other words, I am opposed to any

unconstitutional or extra constitutional measure, until every measure of redress promised by the Constitution, shall have been fruitlessly exhausted. Let us keep ourselves in the right, and put our opponents in the wrong. 3dly. This objection appears to my mind rather a recommendation, than an objection.

Any measure of resistance, whether nullification or secession, is so fraught with awful consequences, too much caution and deliberation cannot be exercised. One of the most marked descriptions of the wicked, in the scriptures, is, "that their feet are swift to shed blood." Let us not in a manner of this kind, bring ourselves within the description of the wicked in the scripture. We know not to what consequences the measures now in embryo may lead. The decided advantage which the call of a convention has over Nullification, is, that it is calculated to obtain all information necessary on the ultimate decision of the question, in a peaceable constitutional mode, whereas, nullification can only obtain it, if at all, after the barriers of the Constitution shall be passed. It will be seen, that I reject nullification as a peaceable, constitutional measure.—For I verily believe that no man in his senses ever has believed it to be so.—I reject it as a revolutionary measure, because every constitutional measure of redress has not been tried, and because it will, in all human probability be ineffectual, and will injure none but those who will resort to it. Under this belief, I shall be sorry to see south Carolina, or any southern state resort to it. I would prefer a southern convention to Nullification.

I am sorry, gentlemen, that I cannot in this letter give greater development of my views. If they meet your concurrence, will you endeavor to have a resolution for the call of a Convention, passed at the next session of your Legislature? I am gentlemen, with great respect, Your most obedient servant, WM. H. CRAWFORD.

Extract from the Message of Governor Lumpkin, to the Legislature of Georgia.

It is only necessary, that these measures should emanate directly from the enlightened and deliberate will of the people founded upon their inherent and unalienable rights: admitted to be extraordinary, and intended to meet a most extraordinary crisis. No state can act efficiently, in sustaining her just right against a mighty power, unless her own population are united in the policy to be pursued. I cannot consider it advisable, for a single State, upon her separate action, to undertake to force a redress of grievances from the Federal Government, while her sister state, equally interested, are not even consulted, as to the policy to be pursued. Principles of common courtesy must concede to the members of the same confederacy, or copartnership, a right to participate in all councils, where the subject under consideration, and the policy to be adopted, are equally interesting to each member. Whenever a case however shall arise, wherein a single state shall be oppressed by the usurpations of Federal power, and that pressure shall be confined to her local interest alone, and consequently produce no identity of feeling and interest in the other states; then I would consider it the incumbent duty of the aggrieved state, to judge and act for herself, independently of the advice and opinions of others. It is due to the sovereign character of every state of the Union, to maintain its territorial rights & polity over its own population. These are rights which can never be surrendered by a free state or submitted to the arbitration of others. But upon the subject of the Tariff, shall Georgia undertake to redress the wrongs of the whole south? Shall we not harken to the voice and movements of our sister states, who agree with us in principle and feeling? Or shall we precipitately rush forward upon a novel and untried theory, which may disgust our sister states, end in abortion, and prove to be worse than submission itself. The states which agree in principle, must be brought to act in concert, before they can reasonably hope to produce the consummation desired by the opponents of the protective system, as well as every true patriot and friend of the Federal Union. Separate action, upon this subject, is calculated to engender strife and disunion, anarchy and confusion, among brethren of the same principle.

The mystical doctrine of nullification as contended for by its advocates, has only tended to bewilder the minds of the people, inflame their passions, and prepare them for anarchy and revolutions. Wherever it spreads, it engenders the most bitter strifes and animosities, and dissolves the most endearing relations of life. I believe nullification, to be unsoand, dangerous and delusive, in practice as well as theory.—Its advocates have with great ability, endeavored to make their theory harmonize with the principles and operations of our Federal and state systems of government. But in my opinion the very essence of their doctrine tends directly to destroy all harmony between the Federal and state governments and most inevitably produce the most direct and vexatious conflicts, whenever it may be attempted, by a

state, to enforce the theory of nullification. I am unable to comprehend, or conceive of the peaceable constitutional harmony, which would attend a measure emanating from one twenty-fourth part of the Sovereign power of the Union; which measure should stop the revenue operations of the Federal Government. Great ingenuity has been exercised, to blend this new theory with the admirable principles and doctrines of state rights, as set forth and successfully advocated by Thomas Jefferson. But after the most diligent research, I have not been able to find, where Mr. Jefferson ever attempted to delude the people into the belief, that when reason failed, and endurance becomes intolerable, a single state could by its act of nullification, force the Federal Government to retract from its measures of usurpation. Mr. Jefferson would have called such a measure, on the part of a State, by its plain, proper name—resistance to intolerable usurpation."



WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 14, 1832.

"A REPUBLICAN" shall appear in our next.

THE ELECTION.

'Tis over.—The victory has been lost & won. The contest which has so long engaged the attention of the politicians, and excited the hopes and fears of the partizan, and the citizen, is so far decided as to leave no doubt of the result. Still anxiety awaits a tiptoe to catch with certainty the issue. The great political contest, has been a Waterloo battle—and the result has been a Waterloo defeat. The American people roused into action, and animated by the purest patriotism and the warmest gratitude, have decided in favor of ANDREW JACKSON, to the discomfort of the selfish and calculating machinations of Henry Clay and his allies. The battle has been warmly and severely contested—but the Jackson flag once more floats in triumph. We give below the results of such elections as have taken place as far as heard from:

NORTH CAROLINA.

Table with 4 columns: Candidate, J. & V. B., J. & B., C. & S. Lists candidates like Wake, Warren, Edgecomb, Nash, Granville, Frank, Wayne, Robeson, Caswell, Cabarrus, Town of Newbern, Pitt, Beaufort, Pasquotank, Johnston, Washington, Hyde, Wilmington.

PENNSYLVANIA.

In this State, where for a time all the hopes of the opposition were centered, the Jackson Ticket has, beyond doubt, succeeded by an overwhelming vote. The returns give a majority for Jackson of 22,546!

NEW YORK.

We have only heard from the election in the city of New York, which gives the Jackson ticket a majority of 5,508!—from which, it appears that the hopes of the opposition are now completely frustrated.

OHIO.

Our accounts from this State are highly satisfactory. The returns so far, show a large increase to the Jackson party over the vote received by Lucas, the Jackson Governor.

VIRGINIA.

From the returns already received, there can be no doubt of the success of the Jackson and Van Buren ticket in Virginia, by a large majority.

GEORGIA.

We have but few returns from Georgia.—The contest appears to have been confined to the Vice Presidency, as there was no opposition ticket run for the Presidency; and the result seems to be favorable to Van Buren.

CONNECTICUT.

Forty-eight towns heard from, which gives Clay 8,147, Jackson 5,429, Wirt 1,440.

RHODE ISLAND.

The election of U. S. Senator, from this State, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the expiration of Mr. Robbins' term, has been deferred in the Legislature, by the casting vote of the Speaker until the ensuing session, which takes place we believe in January next.—U. S. Tel. This look ominous. In Maine, Holmes, a opposition Senator, will certainly be succeeded

by a friend of the administration, as will also be the case in Ohio.—Should little Rhode Island do likewise, it will indeed be cause for rejoicing. In Virginia too, the approaching session of the Legislature will have to elect a Senator in place of Mr. Tyler, and 'tho we have no particular objections to him—the public we are sure would be gratified in seeing Mr. Rives (late minister to France) returned in his place.

NORTH CAROLINA LEGISLATURE.

The General Assembly will convene in this city on Monday next. There will no doubt be a contest for the Speaker's chair in the II. of Commons—in the Senate, it seems probable a Speaker will be elected without opposition. We shall, in our next, apprise the public of the result, and we hope, if practicable to lay before our readers the Message of Gov. Stokes.

The Federal Court met on Monday last—present, the Hon. Chief Justice and Judge Potter. The Land cases, in which so many of our citizens in the western part of the State are interested, we understand, are expected to be tried.

The Hon. Littleton Waller Tazewell has resigned his seat in the Senate of the United States. He leaves (says the Richmond Enquirer) none superior in talents behind him.

Our readers will find in the preceding column, a letter from the Hon. Wm. H. Crawford, in relation to the doctrine of Nullification, also so much of Gov. Lumpkin's message to the Legislature of Georgia, as contains his views on this subject.

The foreign news received in New York by the Silas Richards, comes down to the 23rd of Sept. The death of Sir Walter Scott is said to have taken place at Edinburgh on the 22d. It is given only as a report, but there can be little doubt of the correctness of the statement. Ferdinand of Spain, whose health has been declining for some time past, is also reported to be dead. His demise, in a political point of view, will probably have a great effect upon the affairs of Spain, and hasten the crisis to which that country has been approaching. The Belgian question is yet unsettled, and it now seems probable that France and England will be forced to coerce his majesty of Holland, and bring him to terms by a resort to the last appeal. In that event, his backer, whether Russia or Prussia, will be compelled to enter the field.

There is nothing late from Portugal.—Large reinforcements are continually departing from England to the assistance of Don Pedro. The Wellington Indian has been purchased in London for him, and is now being altered into a sixty gun ship fit to compete with the largest man of war in the Miguelite service. Pennsylvanian.

FROM THE N. Y. JOURNAL OF COMMERCE. FIVE DAYS LATER FROM ENGLAND.

Importantly important.—About half past 3 o'clock this morning, our news schooner Evening Edition came up from below, with London papers to September 22d, and Liverpool to the 24th inst. They contain intelligence of the death of Sir Walter Scott, the death of the King of Spain, and the rejection by Belgium, of the ultimatum of the London Conference. The commercial advices are also interesting. Death of Sir Walter Scott.—We learn from Capt Bursley & passengers, that a letter was sent on board the ship the day she sailed, for the lady of Judge Sewel, of Quebec, with an endorsement on the back of it that Walter Scott died on the 22d. Letters have been received at Paris from Alexandria, dated 18th of July, which state that a telegraphic dispatch had been received at that place, announcing the capture of the Turkish camp at Hama by the Egyptians.

Death of Ferdinand of Spain.—Intelligence has been received through France to-day of the death of the King of Spain, which there is no reason or doubting, though some persons have declared themselves incredulous on the subject. His health has been declining for some time past, and he has lately had a severe attack of the gout. This news, if confirmed, is expected to hasten the approach of the crisis in Spain.

Change in the Belgian Ministry.

Sept. 21.—Despatches have been received by M. Van de Weyer, the Belgian Minister from General Goblet, announcing the retirement of M. de Meulinaire, the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the appointment of General Goblet to that post and interim. An entire change of the Belgian Ministry is announced, but it is not yet officially stated who are to replace them. M. Van Weyer has received from General Goblet full powers to treat with the Dutch Minister, Baron Von Zuylen, on the dispute between Holland and Belgium; but up to the present time, Baron Von Zuylen has received no powers from his court to treat with M. Van de Weyer on the subject; and it remains to be seen whether the King of Holland will consent to such a mode of proceeding, taking for the basis of it the recommendation of the Conference.

It is not true, as stated by some of our contemporaries, that Leopold has accepted certain propositions from the conference; he has been suggested nor rejected any thing that has been suggested to him from that quarter, and the conference have merely advised the course which they wish him to follow. The retirement of M. de Meulinaire, and other ministers, however, and the powers given to M. Van de Weyer to negotiate with the Baron Von Zuylen, are, we think, strong indications of a disposition, on the part of Leopold, to adopt most, if not all, the suggestions of the conference.

From the Sun, evening of Sept. 22.

The expectations which were entertained by the conference of a speedy and satisfactory arrangement of the Belgian question are at an end. On Tuesday evening a sealed note, from the King of Holland to the conference, was given to Lord Palmerston by the Dutch Ambassador, Baron Von Zuylen, and last night the members of the conference having all assembled, the note was read by them. Instead of finding, as they expected, an acknowledgment of the address of the King of Holland to treat with the King of Belgium, on the recommendations of the conference, and an appointment of Baron Von Zuylen with full powers to treat with M. Van de Weyer, the conference to their astonishment, and to the real indignation of some, as well as the avowed indignation of all, found a long note without the slightest allusion to the proposal of negotiations between M. Van de Weyer and Baron Von Zuylen, or to the suggestions of the conference.

The note is of great length. It is evidently intended only for farther delay; and, unless France and England should act a decisive and manly part, that object will be gained. Let us hope, however, that the two cabinets will see their interest, and unite in resolution to compel the King of Holland to conclude a treaty with Belgium, on terms which, without being disadvantageous to him, shall be fair and liberal towards his former subjects.

The position of Leopold is now one of great difficulty; but as regards his conduct in France, it is not to be faulted. By taking upon himself to accept the proposals of the Conference, contrary to the declared wishes of his Chambers, and to dismiss a minister acting in accordance with those bodies, he has shown his desire for peace, and has now a direct claim for support on the British and French cabinets. The King of Holland has rejected a proposition for peace, except on his own terms; and if it is necessary for him to do so, he has done so with a popularity with his people, the two cabinets will be guilty not only of great meanness, but of great injustice; and the next thing to be expected will be a dictation to England and France, on matters directly concerning their own honor and safety, by some petty State, acting as the puppet of Russia, Austria, or Prussia.

From the London Times, Sept. 22.

We have learned with regret, and unamixed with astonishment and indignation, that His Dutch Majesty has refused to treat on the reasonable modifications of the treaty of Nov. 15, which we mentioned yesterday, and which were lately transmitted to the Hague, by the President of the Conference, in accordance with the wishes of the British and French cabinets. His Majesty's answer is at once insulting and evasive—insulting to the Conference, and evasive of the question at issue—leaving no room for any proposition of his own, and taking no notice of the propositions made on the other side.

This extraordinary answer was yesterday delivered to the Conference, specially convened to deliberate upon its nature and contents. Of course it cannot be imagined that any final decision was adopted on so momentous a subject in the absence of the chief English Ministers. The Conference to meet again to-day, but every reasonable man must now see that all hope of bringing his Dutch Majesty to his senses by protocols and peaceful representations must be abandoned. He is evidently determined to come to no arrangement without being compelled by superior force. He is evidently resolved to employ every stratagem to practise every stratagem to gain time. His mind seems to be made up to take advantage of the chance of a war, to recover the whole of his former dominions, than to agree to terms of accommodation, by which he may enjoy a part of them in security and peace.

The Conference, which has been so grossly insulted, cannot permit this dishonouring game to be pursued any farther. It is evidently the interests of Russia and Prussia that the Belgic affair should be settled, and it is no less the interest than the duty of France and England to become the instruments of such a satisfactory work. His Dutch Majesty can place his only reliance on the infamous Government of Russia, which, desirous of embroiling Western Europe, that it may perpetrate unprovoked all its intended barbarities in Poland, has no doubt encouraged his Dutch Majesty in his present dangerous course.

The Conference can no longer do with the peace of Europe and the rights of Belgium. If they have appointed themselves umpires, they must enforce their award. After inducing the new King of Belgium to descend from the lofty position which he occupied on a treaty ratified by all their courts, and become the public law of Europe by their leading him to believe that the reserved difference between him and points of his neighbors might be arranged by mutual concessions—after thus extracting from him some reasonable proposals of modifications in the treaty—after making him thus break through the assurance which he gave with an enemy in his territory—they have exposed his Belgic Majesty to the dangerous chances of unpopularity, without securing any of the advantages of peace. He is now, perhaps, with a cabinet exposed to the attacks of the press, to the suspicions of the Legislature, and even to the suspicions of the more charitable and loyal portion of his subjects—this state he would have occupied had he not trusted to the assurances of that delusive arrangement, which, if obtained, would have constituted his best security for appearing to have succeeded in his designs.

DON PEDRO'S EXPEDITION.

There are no later accounts from Portugal. Reinforcements to aid the cause of Don Pedro were continually departing. London, Sept. 23.—The Lord Wellington, an East India man, a large ship of upwards of 1400 tons burthen, has been lately purchased by the agents of Don Pedro, after having made several voyages to the East Indies. The Echo steamer, Lieut. Otway, sailed from Falmouth on Tuesday, 18th, for Oporto. She had on board some 500 men, and was the arrival of a messenger with despatches.

Wholesale Emigration.—The Stuttgart Universal Gazette, of Sept. 2d, announces that a plan is in progress in the South West of Germany, to make up a State and ship it over to the United States, to become a twenty fifth member of the Confederacy. The following notice of the project appears in that publication.

According to accounts from the South West of Germany, a society of liberal men are organizing a grand plan for emigration to North America. The emigration has hitherto been precarious, because it did not rest on any solid foundation and because the means were not concentrated. But now it is different, as the object is to form a New Germany beyond the ocean, which is to receive all those whose hopes and claims to liberty and right are disappointed in Old Germany. In order to be admitted into the Confederation of the United States of America, the law requires the number of free inhabitants, above 25 years of age, to be 60,000 [40,000, without distinction of age], and this number is to be assembled before any further measures can be taken. Many of the Germans established in North America will join their countrymen, and the plan is so popular in Germany, that scarcely any doubts are entertained of its being successful.

Tennessee vs. Nullification.—A preamble and resolutions, on the subject of Nullification, were adopted by the Legislature of the State of Tennessee, a few days since, with scarcely any opposition. The vote in the Senate was unanimous, and in the House of Representatives there were but seven dissenting voices. The Nashville Banner states, that some, if not all of that majority, were influenced rather by a preference for other resolutions than any positive hostility to those offered.

The resolutions avow an adherence to the republican doctrine of 1793, as expounded by Mr. Madison, but deny that they sustain the South Carolina doctrines and declare that the assertion of a right in a single state, either by Legislature or in Convention, to declare unconstitutional and inoperative within its limits a law of Congress, is wholly unwarranted by the Constitution, dangerous to the existence of the Union, inconsistent with the preservation of the federal government, and tending directly, under the guise of peaceful remedy, to bring upon our country all the horrors of civil war. The Tennessee Legislature adjourned on the 22d ult. after a session of seven weeks.

Nullification.—The Paris correspondent of the New York Courier gives the following as the expressed sentiment of the French people, on the scheme of Nullification: Les Etats Unis sont une question de timbre; perennit les d'une question de douanes? That is, "The United States sprang from a question about stamp duties: Will they perish by a question concerning customhouse duties? Or, as a member of Congress expressed it last winter—Will they go to war about a doubtful point in the science of political economy?"

Strawberries in November.—We were presented yesterday with a parcel of fine ripe strawberries, which grew spontaneously in a field on the farm of Mr. Beckman, about two miles from the city, on the Piedmont road.—Balt. Amr.