

GOVERNOR TROUP'S LETTER.

This distinguished citizen, after having held the public mind in painful suspense for more than three years past, in regard to his opinions upon the great question which has excited and distracted the country during that period, has at length avowed them, by claiming identity with the Calhoun party of Georgia.

No one has more sincerely regretted the equivocal course of Governor Troup upon the subject of nullification, than we have done, because of the exalted opinion which we have long and uniformly entertained for his talents, his services, his candor and independence.

In 1831, when his letter, in reply to an invitation to a great meeting of the nullifiers in South Carolina, first appeared in the public prints, it was attacked with much severity by the then Clark party, as containing the principles of nullification; and the charge was as promptly and sternly denied by the very men, who have since espoused the same doctrine; and who are now, most distinctly identified with Calhoun and his party.

They denied, at that time, and so did we, that he was a nullifier, and the charge was not only considered unjust, but odious to his character and principles; and it was therefore settled amongst us all, who were then of the Troup party, that he was not a nullifier, and that there was nothing in his letter to Carolina, upon which such an assumption could fairly be predicated.

But it is proper here to remark, that up to the time above referred to, the doctrine of nullification had found no favor with the Troup party, but was denounced as the offspring of the mad ambition of John C. Calhoun.

In support of these assertions, we have only to direct the attention of our readers to the proceedings of our own legislature in 1831, by which it will be seen, that the Troup party not only then supported General Jackson's second election, but were bitterly opposed to Mr. Calhoun.

On the 24th November of that year, the following Resolution was unanimously passed by the Senate:

"Therefore be it resolved by both branches of the Legislature, That the great body of the people of this state, have no feelings in common with the pretensions, or with many of the principles of Mr. Calhoun, especially those contained in his late address to the people of the United States upon the subject of nullification."

Another resolution was also unanimously passed on the same day, nominating General Jackson for the presidency, at the then approaching election, expressive of "deep solicitude" for his success.

Upon the final vote on these Resolutions, we find in the affirmative, the names of several Gentlemen, who are now, in open hostility to General Jackson, and the decided advocates of nullification.

Thus the fact stands recorded, as late as November 1831, that the Troup party were not only, not nullifiers, but that they had no feelings in common with Mr. Calhoun, or with his principles as contained in his late address to the people of the United States, upon the subject of nullification; and the man who would have come forward on that day, and charged Governor Troup with entertaining the principles of Mr. Calhoun, would have been denounced by the whole Troup party as a reckless calumniator. It is therefore settled by the foregoing fact, that he was not a nullifier on the 24th day of November 1831.

Upon the subject of nullification, our state was permitted to remain at rest, from that time until the close of the Congress, in the

spring of 1832, when Judge Clayton and General Newnan, came out from Washington city, commissioned by the high priest of nullification, to preach and propagate the identical doctrine contained in the identical address of Mr. Calhoun to the people of the United States, which had but a few months before, received the condemnatory sentence of the whole Senate of Georgia; and to breathe out threatenings and maledictions of "dastards and damnation," against all those, who should "doubt," or "dally" for a moment, in giving in their adhesion to "the faith delivered unto them."

But before it was deemed safe to open the campaign in Georgia, the memorable Hamburg dinner was gotten up, with the view of enlisting recruits on this side of the Savannah, which was shortly afterwards followed by those of Athens and Lexington; at the latter of which, the standard of nullification was for the first time unfurled to the people of Georgia.

This movement produced at once, a schism in the ranks of the Troup party. One portion became the open advocates of the men and measures of South Carolina; the other remaining upon their original principles.

The latter portion, still entertained a deep rooted hostility to Calhoun and his principles, and conscientiously believed, that they foresaw in the practical results of nullification, the most disastrous consequences to their country.

They were likewise conscious, that nullification was an innovation upon the true principles of the Troup party, and we warned those who evinced a leaning to Calhoun, of the consequences of their course, and admonished them in good time, that the adoption of the Carolina heresy would prove the dismemberment of the party; and that painful as it would be, we should prefer a separation, to the profession and practice of doctrines, to which our sober judgment could never subscribe. Our apprehensions were but too soon realized,—they went over to nullification, and we remained as we were.

But here was a dilemma—General Newnan having failed to bring over a large body from the Clark party, the newborn nullifiers of Georgia, perceived, that without additional aid from some quarter, they would find themselves largely in the minority, and that their only hope of gaining the ascendancy, was by some master stroke of policy, to draw the entire Troup party after them; and their only remaining hope, was to devise some stratagem by which the whole weight of Governor Troup's name and popularity could be appropriated to the benefit of their cause.

From that time, he was held forth as a nullifier, and the whole party were called on to rally around their leader. The State Rights doctrines which he maintained in 1825, were construed into nullification, as it were by magic, and the most flattering expectations were entertained, that the Union Troup men would abandon their well settled opinions for a name. But so far from the Union men falling in at the word of command, they denied that Governor Troup had adopted the doctrine of nullification, and a vigorous contest was kept up upon that point, during the campaign of 1832.

The meeting of the Legislature of that year, presented a political anomaly, no less extraordinary, than three distinct parties in the same assembly; the Troup nullifiers forming the first, the Troup Union men the second, and the Clark men, the third, and most numerous body; but neither amounting to a majority of the whole.

It is well known to the writer, that the Troup Union men were averse to the dismemberment of the party, and that they came to the session of 1832 with the most anxious desire that a reconciliation should take place, and the schisms of the party be healed, by settling down upon its original principles.

But the Rubicon was passed—the nullifiers had gotten up a convention, and their leaders came prepared to act in concert with South Carolina; the consequence of which, was, a Union of all parties opposed to nullification, formed upon the constitutional basis of State Rights and Union, as adopted and promulgated by the meeting which took place in the State House in May 1833.

This union of the Democratic Republicans, threw the nullifiers into the minority, and from that time the party lines, under the new organization, became every day more distinct, and active preparations were made, for a great struggle at the October election thereafter.

In the midst of all this strife and intense anxiety to ascertain the views of Governor Troup; with the dissensions and dissolution of his party staring him in the face, not a whisper is heard from him; not a measure taken on his part, to heal the divisions of his own people, or to allay their heart burnings, which were every day becoming more fierce, until his letter from Washington city, dated 26th December 1832, appeared in the Georgia papers in the month of January following. But this letter was by no means satisfactory, for it contained so much of the doctrine of both the parties, and was upon the whole, so equivocal, that each found enough in it, upon which to claim him, but each at the same time regretting that he had not said a little more on their side; and both doubting to which side he actually belonged.

This oracular production, left the parties just where it found them, although it is our candid opinion, that the letter will bear the construction which we have uniformly placed upon it.

In that letter, he says, "There is no con-

stitutional remedy for unconstitutional laws, on the
but the Ballot Box." We believed, and still party
believe, and so we argued, that entertaining citize
the above sentiment, he could not be a nul- enem
lifier; and we feel confident, that if he is a ties o
nullifier now, he has abandoned the forego- it wil
ing principle. oppos

But he goes further and says, "There is W
no power given by the constitution to resist ernor
the laws of the United States;" and "as not r
states may do very imprudently and unwisely said
what they have a right to do, it becomes them draw
to act very deliberately and cautiously, be- and
cause it is lawful for other states to unite W
against them, to compel a fulfilment of their men
obligations under the public law. to hi

Again he says, "Fifty years of Union with- with
out convulsion, is no trifling evidence of in- Tro
telligence, of prudence, of subordination, of frier
contentment. How many guarantees besides, ing
are to be found against hasty and inconsiderate ing
action, by which great blessings are to be lost. V
An insulated state may, for a moment, rescue the
liberty: but liberty is not to be maintained from
without independence, and independence can- of o
not long be maintained by an insulated state. not
I would rather say upon the whole, that states but
would not secede for light and trivial causes— no
that grave and weighty considerations alone own
could influence them—that only some grievous triu
oppression, or frightful tyranny, driving them of t
to despair, could divide them from the Union." up

We have quoted the foregoing extracts, to cou
shew, that at the time this letter was written, T
Governor Troup had by no means imbibed nan
the principles of nullification, and so we have eng
contended. ple

It is also true, that there were certain por- hov
tions of the same letter, laid hold of by the to t
nullifiers as containing their doctrine, and a unt
long and animated contest ensued, upon the tric
construction of the oracular document, in the
which we are vain enough to think, we got the

the better of the argument. Sta

No more is heard of Governor Troup upon

the subject of politics, until the Columbia din- Sta

ner in September following, to which he sent

a toast in these words:

"The union of all the states, for the pre-

servation of the sovereignty and independence onl
of each—when it performs this office the Union fiti
is sacred: when it fails, it is worth the sup- cur
port of those only, who would have made it tio
at first, as they would now, a consolidated and of
arbitrary government." pro
sid

We appeal to the candor of every reason- de
able man, and ask him, if there is any thing me
contained in this sentiment, which could in fee
the slightest degree, justify the opinion that na
he was a nullifier? And yet the nullifiers va
affected to discover in it, the very essence of
their doctrine; and here as before, his old co
friends were left to wrangle over the true os
construction of his language. St

Scarcely had this discussion ceased, when

another letter was given to the public, in tic
January 1834, though bearing date in Feb- th
ruary 1833. ze

Of this letter, much has been said and writ- ac
ten; the Union men claiming the text and au
the nullifiers the argument. He says to his je
correspondent, "I am not certain that you je
are aware of my *early and uniform disrelish* tra
of the doctrine of nullification, as maintained be
by the ruling party in a sister State. My objec- hi
tions to that doctrine were unconnected with th
party of any kind, and were founded on the ur
difficulty of reconciling the *peacefulness* and in
and *constitutionality* which it asserted, with the ju
powerful remedial process, by which *the wheels* or
of the Federal Government would be stopped, th
as well as that resort to *construction* (the old w
Federal sin,) by which alone the doctrine ha
could be maintained, which has involved us "o
in all our troubles, and which is equally good
at any time to establish a veto against the
general government, a power to protect man- s
ufactures, or a power to do any thing a ma- o
jority in congress pleases. It was easy to p
perceive, that such a remedy might, by possi- s
bility be peaceful, but not *certainly* peaceful. v
It was more *difficult* to see how it could be o
constitutional, because as no power was given
by the constitution to the states to resist the laws
of the United States, none such could be derived
by implication or construction. The deriva- d
tion of remedies or powers by *construction* be- S
ing according to the republican doctrines in- t
admissible." l

Had we, or any other union man, written

down verbatim, what is contained in the above

extract from Governor Troup's letter, there

is not a nullifier in existence, who would have

found in it, any thing like his doctrine; and

if he is now a nullifier, he must have relin-

quished, since that time, his "*early and uni-*

form disrelish" of the doctrine, and violated

his principles by committing "the old Feder-

al sin" of construction. r

The general effect of this letter was, how-

ever, against them, and they found it a diffi-

cult task to reconcile his nullification, with

the "*early and uniform disrelish*" it contained,

all which, coupled with his resignation at a

time when the election of a union man to suc-

ceed him, was inevitable, induced them to

abandon his name, for what they considered

the more popular cognomen of State Rights;

and from that time he remained in a state of

silent equivocation, until his recent letter to

the Macon committee placed him along side

of the party, which is now fighting under the

flag of John C. Calhoun. t

Thus at the end of a three years contest,

in which his own party has been distracted

and divided, during which time, he has made

no effort to heal their dissensions—just giv-

ing out enough of his opinions to be claimed

by each, and doubted by both; he has at last

taken sides, by throwing himself into the scale

of nullification.

Governor Troup in his late letter, speaks

of a "vicious and corrupt government." In

what form does that vice and corruption ex-

ist? we answer, in that most putrid and con-

taminating engine, the United States Bank.

Who are its friends and supporters? We an-

swer, the federalists and nullifiers. Henry

Clay, John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster,

George McDuffie, John Q. Adams, Richard

H. Wilde, A. S. Clayton, &c. &c. &c.; while

on the other hand, the whole body of the Union party, from General Jackson to the humblest citizen, are its deadly and uncompromising enemies; and if unfortunately for the liberties of our country, the Bank should triumph, it will be against the most active and vindictive opposition of the whole Union party.

We have heretofore maintained, that Governor Troup was not a nullifier; but it has not rested upon naked assertion. We have said it upon his own authority—upon evidence drawn from his own writings, of his “early and uniform disrelish of the doctrine.”

We shall at present attempt no further comment, but leave him to reconcile his course to his conscience and his country; and close with these brief remarks, that if Governor Troup is a nullifier, he has deceived his union friends, and if he is a Union man, he is holding out false lights to the nullifiers, and acting in bad faith to his own principles.

We have supported Governor Troup from the commencement of his public career; not from personal considerations, but on account of our confidence in his talents and integrity—not blindly, without regard to his principles, but for his principles alone. We owe him no allegiance, and are as free to exercise our own opinions as he is. Between the doctrines maintained by the nullifiers, and those of the Union party, we have long since made up our minds and taken our course. That course we shall pursue regardless of men.

The Union men would be unworthy of their name, and the great cause in which they are engaged, were they to surrender their principles to the dictation of any man or set of men, however exalted.

They will perform their duty with fidelity to their country, by the most vigorous and untiring opposition to the disorganizing doctrine of nullification, be its advocates who they may.