

*A Review of Mr. Clayton's Address to the State Rights' Association of Clark County.*

N O. I.

This "Address" obviously spoken and published for the bare purpose of effecting a political influence, might be very fairly objected to on the ground that its delivery on the fourth day of July, was a prostitution of that hallowed and memorable day. Ere nullification spread its political doctrines among us, that day was dedicated to recollections dear and holy to the heart of every freeman.

Political differences were banished from the heart, when freemen met around the altar of Liberty to yield their homage, and their gratitude on that memorable day. But now, even while peace, prosperity, and happiness at home, and respectability abroad are numbered amongst our political blessings, we are taught to assemble for political purposes, and seek to aggrandize a party. In the enthusiasm of national pride and patriotism, orators on that day have been heard to exclaim in the thrilling tones of fervid eloquence, that "This day, at this hour, ten millions of freemen in the western hemisphere meet to hear the story of their fathers gallantry, and their country's glory." But Alas! for us of these times; the American eagle is struck from its post to give place to the palmetto flag; and the soul stirring history of our early struggles, is forgotten for the more exciting topic of Nullification. This, even this, is enough to create the most serious reflections; especially in the minds of those few venerable sires of the revolution, who look upon each anniversary of our independence, as the last which, in all human probability, they will live to see. And when they come up to the usual place of commemoration, and instead of hearing from the lips of the orator, a history of their own sufferings, and their own glory, hear abstract propositions in politics, and theories of resistance to a government which they have sealed with the warm blood of their youth, they feel an involuntary foreboding chill their hearts, and their last cry for the "Union" remains locked in the breast, or dies upon their aged lips! But enough of this; we know the cause, and we trust the people know the remedy.

In a pamphlet of ten pages, little better than one of them is dedicated to the history of our separation from Great Britain, and the final establishment of our independence.

The sum and substance of this part of the "Address" is, that the colonies were oppressed by an unjust tax—that they tried every pacifick method which could tend to remove that oppression, but without effect—and finally when the argument was exhausted, they "*stood to their arms.*" A most unfortunate basis on which to erect the visionary, and mystical fabric of "Nullification." The Union party at least, do not differ from our fathers in *this* mode of resisting oppression.

On the fourth page and the left hand column, we find this paragraph; "We find ourselves, fellow citizens, living under two separate forms of government, which we shall define, Republican and Federative. The first designed by our forefathers, for our internal government, and municipal regulations; *the last for our mutual defence against foreign nations.*" This is indeed placing the General Government in a very circumscribed sphere; and as we have *written Constitutions* defining the powers to be exercised by our rulers, beyond which it is declared they shall not go, it follows as a necessary induction from this premises, that the General Government can do nothing but "defend us against foreign nations." What an expanded field is here exhibited on which the eye of Nullification may gloat to very satiety! What handles for "State interposition" and the application of "Rightful remedy," is here held to view.

We are happy to find, however, that the opinion of Mr. Clayton as to the design to be accomplished by the Federal Government, differs very materially from that held forth in the preamble to the constitution. Let us put them together for the sake of contrast. Mr. Clayton says, that our Federal Government was designed "by our forefathers for our *mutual defence against foreign nations.*" The preamble to the constitution setting forth the design of its adoption, says, "We the people of the United States, in order, 1st to form a more perfect union, 2d to establish justice, 3d to insure domestic tranquility, 4th to provide for the common defence, 5thly to promote the general welfare, 6thly to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America."

Here we see that the General Government, instead of being restricted to the performance of the isolated duty of defending us against foreign nations, as Mr. Clayton would have it, is intended according to the above preamble to fulfil six different and distinct indications; "Our mutual defence against foreign nations," constituting only *one* of them.

We have bestowed this somewhat lengthy notice on this apparently unimportant item, contained in the "Address," because we have most certainly seen a disposition evinced universally among the nullifiers, to pare down the powers of the Federal Government to the smallest possible limits.

It should be remembered that there are two ways in which a people may become dissatisfied with their Government; 1st a dread of its power, and 2d a contempt for its weakness. The one is a Scylla, the other a Charybdis; and while expatiating on the powers of the General Government, we should seek equally to avoid both.

We feel perfectly willing to attribute this sentence to mistake; but it is one among many similar ones in the Address, which calls for prompt correction. Let the people know, not only a part of the truth, but the *whole* truth.

FRANKLIN.