

# LIBERTY ADVOCATE.

WHEN POWERS ARE ASSUMED WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN DELEGATED, A NULLIFICATION OF THE ACT IS THE RIGHTFUL REMEDY.—Jefferson.

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## POLITICAL.

From the Macon Star.  
JOHN A. GRIMBALL.

This gentleman has for some time been announced as a candidate for Governor of the State, and several of the newspapers of this State, though we believed that the announcement of his name was premature—that putting his name before the people, had not consulted either the wishes of the great body of the Whig party, or the interest of the party itself; yet supposing him identified with the party in principle, provided the Whig party should make no more eligible selection, we felt disposed to wish him all imaginable success, and to contribute as much as lay in our power to his elevation.

It is true that of his principles we were ignorant; but having seen his name on the White electoral ticket, we took it for granted that he entertained, in common with the great body of the Whig party at the South, an anxious desire to redeem the country from that state of deep distress into which ignorant and reckless legislation had plunged it; and likewise a determination manfully to assert the rights of the States, and firmly and fearlessly to enforce them against encroachments of the general Government, whether legislative, executive, or judicial. The Whig party are not now contending against the usurpations of the executive only. They are not laboring only for the purpose of healing the commercial diseases of the country. No. They have a higher, a holier aim. It is that of restoring the government to its pristine purity; and re-asserting the rights of the States, as contended for by Mr. Madison and Mr. Jefferson.

The individual whose name is at the head of this article, has published a circular in which he denounces the doctrine of nullification, but says that he belongs to the State's Right party.

There are different opinions, we are aware, entertained upon this subject by individuals who are now acting in concert; but they have hitherto left off warring against each other while directing their efforts against a common enemy. Mr. Grimball is the first candidate of the Whig party that has turned upon his political friends as though he had already vanquished his enemies. We cannot tell, certainly, what his motives were; we can only conjecture. It has been extremely fashionable when an individual—a candidate for office—had no merit of his own to mount upon the merits of General Jackson, or the demerits and dangerous tendency of Nullification. Did Mr. Grimball suppose, that by raising the hue and cry against this political scarecrow, he could seduce from his allegiance a solitary member of that party, whose party lies outweigh the obligations of justice, patriotism, and religion? If he did make such a calculation, he is most miserably deceived; and in addition to those pangs which conscience invariably inflicts upon those guilty of an unjust action, will come the reflection, that it was destitute of even temporary profit. Mr. Grimball is, we believe, a Kentuckian—he should have been a republican. He should have read the Kentucky Resolutions. If he has not read them, we ask him to turn to them, and we defy him to say, without the deep blush of shame dyeing his countenance, that he is opposed to Nullification, and is yet a friend to State Rights and a Republican. What does the 8th resolution drawn up by Mr. Jefferson say? That, for an abuse of the delegated powers, a change by the people is the rightful remedy; but that where powers are assumed which have not been delegated, a nullification of all unauthorized acts, done under color of that authority, is the rightful remedy. Mr. Jefferson draws a distinction between an abuse of the delegated powers, and an exercise by Congress of powers not delegated. This distinction is seldom attended to by those who attempt to argue against the remedy of Nullification. They say the true remedy is the ballot box. The ballot box is the remedy where the delegated powers are abused, and is expressly stated so by Mr. Jefferson. The reason of the distinction is obvious. Congress may sometimes abuse the delegated powers; and although the act is an abuse of the powers vested in them by the constitution, and of the confidence reposed in them by their constituents, it is still law, and must be respected as such, until changed by the people. But will any individual contend that an unconstitutional law is as valid as one passed by Congress in the exercise of their delegated powers? No individual has yet been found, of any party, who contended that unconstitutional laws were valid and effective. All have declared that they are void. If, then, they be void, any mode of resistance is authorized, whether it be nullification or any other name that gentleman choose to confer upon that resistance. The States, as Mr. Jefferson expressly says, have the right to judge, as well of infractions of the constitution, as of the mode and measure of redress. The South Carolinians and Mr. Jefferson contended for the doctrine

of nullification in preference to all other remedies. They preferred it to secession, because the constitution might be sometimes violated inadvertently, in which case the remedy would be too harsh. Even in cases of wilful and intentional violation, the State, by declaring the law inoperative within her limits, and assuming the attitude to enforce that declaration, might bring about an adjustment of the obnoxious laws, (as was actually done in the case of South Carolina, and in the case of the alien and seditious laws) and the Union still stand. A few words more, and we have done with Mr. Grimball. Why did he come out with his opposition to Nullification? Was it at all called for. Was the question in any manner before the people? He must see that it is not. It is at rest even in South Carolina; and Mr. Grimball cannot but see that every effort he makes to render that doctrine unpopular, is injuring the cause of his own political friends. All we have further to say in this matter is, that we believe Mr. Grimball, at the present crisis, possesses no claims upon the Whig party. A question may arise out of our federal relations, before the expiration of the next gubernatorial term, in which it may be necessary that we should have a Governor who is willing to acknowledge the States have rights, and a remedy by which those rights can be vindicated. Mr. Grimball, according to his own showing, is not that man. In conclusion we will add our conviction, that the doctrine of State interposition (not ballot-box petition and remonstrance interposition) is the only doctrine that can save the government in its downward progress to a consolidated despotism.

From the Clinton Gazette.  
MAJOR McNUTT.

Last Wednesday we visited Jackson for the purpose of hearing this individual address a people whose suffrages he now asks for the gubernatorial Chair. When we arrived we saw at every corner of the streets notices placed that at such an hour and such a place the Major would address the citizens of Jackson and its vicinity.—Expectation was on tip-toe, all were anxious to know the political opinions of this aspirant. But behold! whilst restless anxiety sat upon the brows of all, it was announced that Gen. Foote had arrived and intended to answer the Major, to refute certain allegations made against him by this would-be Governor, and of exposing his political doctrines. We most anxiously awaited the hour when we fondly hoped we should witness a conflict of talents.—How sadly mistaken—the bell tolled—the hour had arrived—the people assembled—and—and—what? It was whispered thro' the crowd that the Major had declined addressing the people. Freemen of Mississippi, can you believe that a candidate for Governor of our proud State should so quail before a private individual as not to re-assert charges which he had made against him in different parts of the State? yea, as not even to express his political opinions or vindicate his moral character? Such however are stubborn facts. The Major had direct notice that Gen. Foote being the assailed party would defend himself against the charges which had been preferred; under those circumstances, though the Major had thrown down the glove, and the challenge had been accepted, yet he disgracefully refused the combat. At the hour appointed, the General, at the request of all, addressed a large audience, and after a few preliminary remarks, made the pertinent enquiry, "Who is Major McNutt?" The General then traced him up from the time he arrived in Vicksburg to the present, stated that he had never risen at the bar above a common county court lawyer, that in 1835, he made a sacrifice of himself to the Whigs for the purpose of being elected to the Senate of the State. Though a pretended democrat, he voted for Poindexter to the Senate of the United States. The General boldly asserted, and defied contradiction, that the Major spent the most of his time, during his first term as Senator, not in watching over the interest of his people, but in drunken revelry, yea, that he had so far violated all parliamentary rules as even in the Senate Chamber, when dignity and a solemn gravity should characterize every member, to drain the mid-night bowl, and reeling, exclaim, "Come boys and let us drink." He then in a most humorous style described his personage, and if the description be not too highly colored, it must cause a smile to rest upon the face of all who look upon him. It also appears that this self-styled champion of the new counties was, when the contest for Governor between Runnels and Lynch, turned upon the question for or against the new counties, opposed to Gen. Runnels and in favor of Lynch, when it was known that the General was the bold advocate and defender of the new counties. How then is it possible for the friends of Runnels to be so galled as to vote for him who has always been opposed to his election? In fact the Major never was in favor of the new counties un-

til he found that the current of popular opinion was in their favor. Again, it was made evident that the Major in the peroration of one of his long harangues at Rodney, (for which he is so much celebrated) had the bold effrontery to declare the office merely nominal—all that is necessary, said he, is "to keep a plenty to drink and a plenty of girls, and that I'll judge myself to do!!!" Oh, most sapient Major, when did you learn that the intelligent freemen of Mississippi only demanded at the hands of their Governor "to keep a plenty to drink and a plenty of \* \* \* girls." It is true that he who is morally debased endeavors to console himself by bringing all others to the same level. But we can assure the Major that the people of Mississippi are not willing to elevate an individual to the highest office within their gift, merely for the purpose of dishonoring the State. We will not believe that they have so far lost sight of the dignity of a Governor, as to be willing to throw the robes around him who is destitute of talents, of morality; and of political honesty.

From the New York Courier & Enquirer,  
MARCH OF THE DEMOCRACY OF NUMBERS.

Ascertained facts.—We hope that Mr. Van Buren will not take offence if we should call his attention to a few "ascertained facts." Having his own high authority for the assertion that it is the "surest, because the only safe" course to eschew speculation, and devote ourselves to "ascertained facts," we are confident that he will read the record we have made up for him with patient consideration. Mr. Benton, too, will be pleased at its perusal. He is of opinion that the people want "facts, inexorable facts" and we believe that the facts we state below are quite as inexorable as he could desire.

In the year 1828, the State of Kentucky gave her 14 electoral votes for Andrew Jackson. In the year 1832 she gave Mr. Clay a majority of only about 7,000 votes for the Presidency. In the last Congress she had four Jackson Representatives. In the present Congress the entire delegation is whig; and the aggregate majority for the Whig candidates throughout the State is about TWENTY THOUSAND VOTES. Does General Jackson or Mr. Van Buren entertain any reasonable doubt as to the position of the DEMOCRACY OF NUMBERS in Kentucky?

In the year 1832, the State of Tennessee gave Gen. Jackson a majority of 27,304 votes. Here, no doubt, was an exhibition of vast political strength. The people of his State confided in Gen. Jackson—thought that they understood him—and were in a high degree devoted and attached to him. As long as he pretended to govern according to the constitution, and to regulate his course by the aid of constitutional advisers, the people of Tennessee continued to repose an implicit trust in him. But when it became known that the Cabinet proper was without the slightest influence in the administration—and that the government was really centered in the hands of Blair, Kendall and Whitney—no one of whom ever received any marks of popular favor—men of no constituencies—destitute of personal reputation—steeped in political profligacy—bankrupts in fame and fortune—vagabond adventurers—the People of Tennessee revolted against their old chief. When he attempted to dictate to them who they should elect as his successor, they openly rebelled; and the majority at the late gubernatorial election for the Whig candidate was upwards of TWENTY THOUSAND VOTES. This, we beg Mr. Van Buren to remember, is an "ascertained fact"—and we commend it to the consideration of General Jackson and Mr. Blair, in their calculations touching the DEMOCRACY OF NUMBERS.

In the year 1832 the State of Indiana gave General Jackson over 6,000 votes for the Presidency. At the late Congressional election the aggregate Whig majority in Indiana amounted to more than SEVENTEEN THOUSAND VOTES.

Here are three States in which alone the changes within the last two or three years have amounted to nearly SIXTY THOUSAND VOTES. It will be remembered too, that these changes have not been sudden and impulsive—but gradual, steady, regular, certain. The Whig majority has increased in all the States enumerated at every election. The march of Whig triumph has been slow, but steady and irresistible. A conviction of the profligacy and incompetence of the men in power—of their ruffian tyranny, their shameful ignorance, their miserable baseness, corruption and usurpation—the utter want of talent; honor and integrity too apparent in all departments of the executive government—forced itself reluctantly on the minds of a confiding and injured people. But thank Heaven! they have at length been disabused—and the popular revolution will be as strong as has been the popular delusion.

In connexion with the facts "ascertained and inexorable," set forth in the above paragraphs, there are two or three other

facts worthy of being called to the attention of Mr. Van Buren. One is the election to Congress of Mr. NOYES, Whig, in a district hitherto represented by a Tory. Another is the defeat of Charles J. Ingersoll, the most Loco Focoish of all Loco Focos, as a Distructives the most! destructive, in another Tory district.—Still a third is the rejection of DUTER J. PEARCE, member of Mr. Polk's Committee of Suppression—the tool in that Committee of Amos Kendall and Andrew Jackson, and for years the most supple and pliant slave in the bonds of the Administration; the sycophant first of John Quincy Adams, then of Andrew Jackson, and afterwards of Martin Van Buren, and now rejected by ONE THOUSAND of his old constituents. Still a fourth fact is the defeat of Edward A. Hannegan, of Indiana, also a member of Mr. Polk's Committee of Suppression, equally base, servile, and false to the people as his friend Pearce—and for this collar service rewarded with a *Land Agency* by Gen. Jackson. As the land sales fell off, and his position became less lucrative than was expected, Mr. Hannegan again aspired to his *salutatio* and *per diem* in Congress, but his former constituents visited him with the rebuke which his mercenary and miserable spirit so richly deserved, and, by a very decided expression of public opinion at the ballot box, Mr. Hannegan received permission to stay at home.

Another "ascertained fact" to which we would direct Mr. Van Buren's attention touches the state of the Senate and the Jackson creed of the right of instruction. We state our own opinions on this subject without reservation, considering the doctrines of the late dominant party subversive of the constitutional structure of our Government. We would not that that Whig legislatures should instruct Tory Senators out of their seats; but if Tory Senators are honest men, and willing, as they pretend, to abide by the popular judgment, some of them will have the decency to resign forthwith. We would allude to this subject with great delicacy, and merely as it was noticed by General Jackson in his *Protest*, "historically." "The facts now stated," said the General, in reference to the legislative instructions to Sprague, Southard, and other Whig Senators, in 1834, "belong to the history of these proceedings, and are important to the just development of the principles and interests involved in them; and with that view, and that view only, are they here made the topic of remark."

We take precisely the same view of the position of certain Tory Senators—a bird's eye view—an "historical" view. It is a matter of history, then, that New Jersey is a thoroughly Whig State, and that one of her Senators is a thorough going Tory; will he resign his seat, or accommodate his principles to those of the prevailing party among his constituents? It is a matter of history that the Whigs have a majority of 17,000 votes in Indiana, and that a Tory from that State sits in the Senate of the Union. Will he resign? The Whigs have a similar equal majority in Ohio—"and lo! too" Tories from Ohio disgrace and degrade the country in a body that some years ago was the most dignified and able legislative assembly that ever sat on the face of the earth. Will the two Tories resign?

In bringing these "ascertained and inexorable facts" to the attention of Mr. Van Buren, it has been our object merely to show that the PEOPLE have ceased to sustain the Administration; that the DEMOCRACY OF NUMBERS are in open and decided opposition. Mr. Van Buren never received a majority of the popular votes; he owes his election merely to the fortunate location of his majorities, and, in truth, by fortuitous circumstances, a MINORITY PRESIDENT. Under these circumstances, Congress can no doubt restore the constitutional balance of our departments; can restrain executive assumptions, cut down executive patronage, reform executive abuses, and prepare the way for a liberal, patriotic and constitutional administration of a WHIG PRESIDENT, TRIUMPHANTLY ELECTED BY THE DEMOCRACY OF NUMBERS.

From the Richmond Whig,  
SKETCHING.

Various individuals have attempted to strike off the likeness of the Hero. He has occupied a prominent station in the affairs of his country, and all have sought to understand his character. The patriot has endeavored to peep around the curtains and see him undisguised, that his example, if his character be found bad, might be stripped of its factitious importance; while the sycophant has studied his character to profit by his weaknesses and vices.

We believe the representations of the latter have influenced public opinion, and that the large majority of the people of both parties, whatever may be his other virtues or vices, consider him possessed of the frankness and boldness of the soldier. We have long entertained a different opinion, and have considered him the arch hypocrite of the age. We have been strengthened in this opinion by a

paragraph in a late letter of the Hon. Balie Peyton—a gentleman who has known the Hero long and intimately.

Mr. Peyton says: "There has, and very probably ever will prevail, a great error as to some of the leading traits of Andrew Jackson's character. I heard him once declare that 'NO MAN COULD PUT HIS FINGER ON ANY ACT OF HIS LIFE WHICH WAS RASH, UNLESS RASHNESS WAS POLICY.' I have been often reminded of this declaration. It is the key to his character. He owes his success in life to it: He is a much shrewder and more sagacious man than his successor. If a man was to be won by curiosity, or secured by favor, or taken by storm, he never failed to secure him. If all these failed, he would fly into a rage at the discovery of some treacherous design—denounce him in the highways—

"And where his frown of hatred darkly fell,  
Hope withering fell, and Mercy sighed farewell."

The venerable editor of the Richmond Enquirer has at different times presented the public with his likenesses of the Hero. As some of them vary somewhat from the rough draft of Mr. Peyton, it is but justice to all sides to give a group of them.

The Richmond Enquirer's Opinion of Andrew Jackson.

"We cannot consent to lend a hand towards the election of such a man as Andrew Jackson."—*Richmond Enquirer*.

"We would deprecate his election as a curse upon our country."—*Richmond Enquirer*.

"One who, on any great crisis, would convert the whole country into one great camp—and would reduce almost everything under martial law."—*Richmond Enquirer*.

"Do General Jackson's friends pretend to say that he is equal to Washington? When they modestly lay claim to such a pretension, it will be time enough to answer them."—*Rich. Enq.*

"Compare him with Adams and Crawford, and how inferior must he be."—*Rich. Enq.*

"We can recommend Gen. Jackson's modesty in retiring from the Senate and the bench, when he discovered the superior qualifications of other people. Can we say as much for his modesty when he is now aspiring to the highest office in this nation?"—*Rich. Enq.*

"He is a distinguished soldier—but is he a statesman? Where is the evidence of it? Where are his political speeches? His Despatches? His Essays? His measures? Where are the evidences of that skill and attainment in politics, to which a life of study and experience is so essentially necessary."—*Rich. Enq.*

"He is too little of a statesman—too rash—too violent in his temper; his measures too much inclined to arbitrary government to obtain the humble support of the Editor of this paper."—*Richmond Enq.*

"It has long been maintained as a maxim, that the man who cannot obey ought not to command—and the rule in the present case stands upon the sound reason that the man who makes his own will and pleasure the sole guide of his actions, ought not to be trusted with the large powers of the President of the United States."—*Rich. Enq.*

"Gen. Jackson, it seems, always thought Mr. Madison one of the best men, and a great civilian, but he did not prefer him as a President, because he always believed that the mind of a philosopher could not dwell on blood and carnage with any composure—of course that he was not well fitted for a stormy sea. The General, in this one stroke of the pencil, draws his own character. War is continually floating before his eyes. The man who can view blood and carnage with composure has higher qualifications for the Presidency, than he who is a civilian."—*Rich. Enq.*

"What kind of President would this great civilian make? A gentleman who cannot interpret the plain expression of one law—and yet would be called upon to administer all the laws of the land. One whose ideas are so purely military, that he would transmute a traitor into a spy, or would punish treason, not by civil courts, but a court Martial."—*Rich. Enq.*

It is but fair now to give the Hero's likeness of his linner:

Andrew Jackson's Opinion of the Richmond Enquirer.

"I have often heard him (Jackson) use these emphatic words, for he was fond of giving emphasis to his expressions: 'Ritchie is the greatest scoundrel in America.' And in one of his letters he uses the following language, which deserves to be engraved in letters of brass.

"I see that I am attacked in Congress by Cooke, Whitman and Williams, aided by that infamous press, the Richmond Enquirer. If such a corrupt press as the Richmond Enquirer were to approbate my conduct, I should think in some unguarded moment I had committed some great moral inpropriety."—*Judge Brackenridge's Letter*.