

blance to a black building having a high spiral chimney, such as we often see in our manufacturing towns. On the coast to the westward of the temple, and at the distance of six miles, is the Narsingapatam Pagoda; it is very small, and its white top is just visible above a cluster of trees. Still farther to the westward is the Manikpatam Pagoda.

#### ATTACK ON JUDGE BERMUDEZ.

The following are the particulars of the horrible affair in New Orleans, alluded to in the last "REGISTER."

On Monday the 5th of September, judge Bermudez, let to bail a Mr. Giquel, who was imprisoned under a charge of having murdered a Mr. Brux in an affray which occurred, a short time previous, in one of the streets of New Orleans. It was apparent, says the New Orleans Bulletin, that public opinion was against the decision of the judge, and that some excitement was occasioned by it. Little, however, did we imagine that it would extend so far as to produce the lamentable results of Monday night. On this night it appears that some personal friend of Mr. Brux, who had been killed by Giquel, in company with several other individuals, feeling exasperated at the release of Giquel, and the judge who had been the author of it, proceeded to the residence of judge BERMUDEZ, with a view to *lynch him*, or to inflict some severe punishment upon his person.

"They knocked at the door of his house, which upon being opened by him, some individuals demanded if he were judge BERMUDEZ, and, if he were, that he must go along or march with them. One of the individuals, Mr. Bailey, we are informed, put his hands on the judge, using some force, with a view to get him along, in consequence of which a scuffle ensued, which resulted in the death of Mr. Bailey, he being stabbed with a sword. A Mr. EAGAN was at the same engaged in an attack on the judge, and was killed by the discharge of a double barreled gun, by a young man passing the night in the house of the judge. Upon the death of these individuals, the others in front immediately left. These are in substance the particulars of this lamentable business, so far as we have heard. That two young men of fine prospects, and holding a highly respectable standing in society, with a large circle of relatives and friends, to lament with bitterness their death, should have lent themselves in an evil hour to those most unfortunate and illegal measures, is to us a source of unaffected grief.

The New Orleans American of the 8th ult. says: "MERIDA, who was wounded on Monday night at the house of judge BERMUDEZ, has since died [making three killed on the occasion]. Woodlief, who was taken prisoner on the same night, has been liberated on bail."

The coroner's inquest which was held on the bodies of the killed, returned a verdict of "justifiable homicide."

It appears from further facts developed, connected with the death of the individuals who attempted to lynch judge Bermudez, that his wife performed a principal part in the scene, having with her own hand slain one of the deceased.

"Had it not been for her timely interference the assailants would have succeeded in their nefarious purpose. Four of them had seized the judge, and whilst he was struggling, she rushed into the room with his sword, with which he killed one, when he was almost down, by a back-handed stroke. She herself grappled another. A negro is also stated to have fought most furiously for his master and mistress. Bailey, one of the slain, was from Boston, and Eagan, the other, from St. Thomas. The judge is described as a very active man, somewhat above the middle size, and about 35 years old."

#### NEW GRANADA.

The following is an extract from a letter written at Bogota the first day of July last:

"The congress of New Granada adjourned the 29th of May, and in the course of their session took up the subject of internal improvements upon a grand scale, having passed an act making large appropriations of land for a rail or Macadamized road across the isthmus of Panama, with the exclusive privilege for forty-five years. This contract was obtained by col. Charles Biddle, a citizen of the United States, in conjunction with a few capitalists here, and promises, if completed, to be of immense importance to our commerce, and indeed to that of the whole world, as it must become, in a few years, the highway of nations to the Pacific ocean, and will enable our whaling ships to make their return every six months, instead of three years, as well as save a dangerous voyage around Cape Horn. In this matter the charge of the United States (gen. McAfee) gave all the aid in his power.

"A company has also been organized to make a road from Popayan to the Pacific, a distance of about thirty-three leagues; and, also, another company to construct a similar road from Buena Ventura, on the Pacific, to Cali, on the Cauca river, thirty leagues distant, which will open that rich valley (of Cauca) to our trade across the isthmus. Exertions are also making to open the canal from Barranca to Carthagena, which will connect all this part of the country, and that watered by the Magdalena, with Carthagena. If these projects succeed, this country will be open to our commerce in every direction.

"The congress also have passed a new decree, admitting our barrels, hogsheads, staves and hoops free of duty. This passed at the session of 1835, but was unfortunately encumbered with the *alcabala* duty on the last day of the session, which defeated the intention of congress. This is now removed, and will, of course, open the way for the exportation of sugar and molasses.

"A decree to sustain the public credit passed, which provides for the payment of the third part of the interest on the whole public debt. This decree sets apart the tobacco and public lands, as well as an eighth part of the customs.

"The payment of our claims on Colombia are deferred until the three states (Venezuela, New Granada and Quito) settle their proportions, which will not take place very soon, unless a mediator or arbitrator is called upon to decide, and the United States are the only nation likely to be called on.

"An attack was made upon one of our merchant vessels, called the Tuscara, near Porto Bello.—Satisfaction has been given in consequence of the interference of our charge. The offenders have been punished, and an order given that the goods which had been taken shall be restored. The representation of the charge was promptly attended to, and is a proof that this government intends to act with decision in relation to outrages committed on friendly nations within its borders." [Globe.

#### REFORM OR REVOLUTION IN MARYLAND.

##### TO THE PEOPLE OF MARYLAND.

The present momentous crisis evidently demands of the undersigned, twenty-one of the electors chosen by you on the first Monday of the current month, to elect, under the provisions of the constitution, a senate for the state of Maryland, that they should submit to your calm consideration the causes which have thus far prevented them from discharging their solemn trust, and the principles and views by which they have been governed in their endeavors to accomplish it.

Sincerely desirous of performing with scrupulous fidelity the duty devolved upon them, the undersigned, in conformity with the practice of every prior college of electors since the 14th day of August, 1776, determined to take for their sole and exclusive guide the constitution under which alone the office was created, its duties prescribed and themselves elected. Recurring to that instrument they found the 15th section to be in these words—"That the said electors of senate shall meet at the city of Annapolis or such other place as shall be appointed for convening the legislature, on the 3d Monday of September, 1781, and on the same day in every fifth year forever thereafter; and they, or any twenty-four of them, so met, shall proceed to elect, and by ballot, either out of their own body or the people at large, fifteen senators, (nine of whom to be residents of the Western, and six to be residents on the Eastern Shore) men of the most wisdom, experience and virtue, above twenty-five years of age, residents of the state above three whole years next preceding the election."

They also found that by an amendment of the constitution proposed by the act of 1822, ch. 204, and confirmed by the act of 1823, ch. 116, each elector of the senate, before he could act as such, was bound to take the following oath of office—"I do swear (or affirm as the case may be) that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the state of Maryland, and that I will, support the constitution and laws thereof; and that I will to the best of my skill and judgment diligently and faithfully, without partiality or prejudice, execute the office of elector according to the constitution and laws of this state." And by the 18th section of the original instrument which is so far unrepealed, that such oath was to be taken by the electors immediately on their meeting. These provisions were too plain to be misunderstood—They are obvious as every organic law especially should be, to the dullest capacity; with our duty so clearly and specifically defined, we assembled in compliance with universal usage in the senate chamber at Annapolis, on Monday last, the third Monday in September, at 12 o'clock, and immediately qualified by taking the oaths of of-

fice—as however only twenty-one (the undersigned) did so assemble and qualify, as the constitution by its letter seemed to require that twenty-four should be present at the election of a senate, we waited patiently for the other nineteen members elect to join us.—We knew that they were in the city and confidently anticipated that they would take the oaths of office in the course of the day and organize the college.—A report however soon reached us that they had resolved not to unite with us, in the performance of a common manifest duty, except upon conditions, to be previously prescribed by them.

At first we did not credit the rumor. We did not believe it possible that any mere agents of the people of Maryland, selected for a specific purpose, the performance of a single and well defined duty, would gravely determine to make it depend upon any thing else than a fair construction of the constitution and the laws. We could not suppose that we, who were known to be under the most sacred and solemn obligation to execute a trust faithfully and conscientiously, could be approached with a proposition of bargain touching the performance of our duty. We never for a moment entertained the idea of trafficking upon such a subject; and a proper self-respect, together with the palpable obligations of duty, precluded all of us from listening to such a proposition coming from any quarter, however respectful in its language; and still less could we receive it from any other than a member of the college, duly qualified as such. Our duties were most clearly pointed out by the constitution, and we were not only bound as good citizens to support it, but our very oath of office made it our particular and sacred duty to uphold it in all its integrity.—The votes we were to cast for senators were not to be given as our votes, but as those of the people of Maryland. They had by their constitution laid down the rules, and the only rules, which were to govern us; and we should have been false to them, and false to our oaths, if we had permitted any other to be prescribed to us.

We soon ascertained that there was too much truth in the rumor to which we have referred, and that a misguided partizan feeling was threatening the state with anarchy and its terrible results. Hoping for a returning sense of duty, we continued in session nearly the whole of each day, until Wednesday last, the third day of our session, when, without taking the oaths of office, the whole of the nineteen electors left the city of Annapolis, and the state without a senate. Whether they are to return or not, depends upon you. It becomes you to act promptly and decidedly. Be not deceived by the cry of reform. Many of the undersigned, and those by whom they were immediately elected, are in favor of reform to a certain extent and by constitutional means. Revolution is not reform. The history of the world reads us awful lessons of the former. Nothing can justify it, except, in the language of your bill of rights, "the ends of government are perverted and the public liberty endangered, and all other means of redress are inefficient." Can these things be predicated of Maryland, of a constitution adopted by men as pure, free and patriotic as ever lived? Time may have rendered some of its provisions unsuitable to the present condition of the state. Some changes are proper and necessary, but who can say that liberty is manifestly endangered, and that all other means of redress are ineffectual, but revolution.

It is for you, freemen of Maryland, to decide upon the destiny of your state, whether she is to continue the pride and boast of her sons, or be involved in all the horrors of revolution. Do not deceive yourselves; the moment an effort is made, unauthorised by the constitution, to organize a different government—the moment it is understood that we are resolved into the original elements of society—the moment it is attempted to force upon the people a new constitution, in any other mode than that provided by the existing instrument. Maryland ceases to exist. Once gone, she will be no more, forever.

We now propose briefly to examine the grounds upon which your nineteen agents seek to justify their conduct. They are found in an address for the first time published in the city of Baltimore, after they had abandoned their trust at Annapolis. You are there told that it is not the purpose of these gentlemen to meet us in college, and that the power which was delegated to them is surrendered into your hands, and that no senate, because of their absenting themselves, can be constitutionally chosen, or will hereafter exist in Maryland under the present constitution.

Waving, for the present, all question as to the right of such agents to surrender their office, what are the reasons given for their conduct? we have a right to examine them, because they are designed to cast upon us the responsibility of the present

alarming crisis of affairs. We are told that they would have been willing to have gone into the election, to have made a senate whose powers would have been necessarily limited by the constitution as it is, if before doing so the undersigned should have given them a pledge to vote for eight persons as senators to be named by them, and this pledge they assert they had a right to exact, because they received a majority of all the votes taken at the electoral election, and desired some radical changes in the constitution and form of government. Passing by, for the present, the question whether electors of the senate could, consistently with their oaths, and the nature of the trust confided to them, give any such pledge, let us see the results to which the principle of the nineteen would lead.

In the first place it involves a subversion of the very constitution we had sworn to support by the virtual substitution of numerical for constitutional majorities. It requires of the majority of the college to surrender their judgments and their oaths to the will of a minority. It destroys the only ground upon which a representative republic can be maintained, and consequently aims a fatal blow at all our forms of government, state and general. This might be shown by a variety of illustrations. One will be sufficient. A candidate for the presidency (Mr. Van Buren for instance), might be elected by a very large majority of the electoral votes, a constitutional majority, and his right to office would be clear beyond all doubt. By recurring, however, to the votes given in the different states, at the same election, it might be that an overwhelming numerical majority was against him. For example—Suppose the following states to vote for Mr. Van Buren, in the order, and by the majorities given, to wit:

New York	40	electors by 500	majority.
Pennsylvania	30	500	
Virginia	23	500	
Kentucky	15	500	
Ohio	21	500	
Tennessee	15	500	
Massachusetts	15	500	
	158	3,500	

Here would be 158 electors, a considerable majority of the whole number, elected by a majority of only 3,500 votes. Now suppose all the other states, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Vermont, Louisiana, Indiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Illinois, Maine and Missouri, were to elect their 139 electors, all opposed to Mr. Van Buren, by majorities in each of 5,000 votes, or in all 85,000, there would be a numerical majority against him of 81,500 votes. Now what would be thought of the one hundred and thirty minority electors, if they were to require of the president elected by a constitutional majority to resign in favor of the candidate of their choice, because they had been elected by a large numerical majority of all the votes given in the union, and that to such majority he was decidedly obnoxious.

What would the nineteen, who, as they proclaim to you, now refuse to unite with us upon such a ground alone, say to such a proposition and above all what would be said by every good citizen, every lover of his country, if, failing in the election of their own candidate, the states electing the minority electors should refuse to perpetuate the constitution of the United States, by refusing to send senators or delegates to congress? Can any man doubt that such a course of conduct would receive, as it would deserve, the indignant reprobation of every freeman in the land? It is unnecessary to give any other example of the dangerous tendency of such a doctrine. Give it full force and the government of the union and of every state composing it, is destroyed. It is at war with the theory and practice of all representative republican governments. They cannot exist an instant under its influence, and we solemnly warn you against giving it a momentary sanction.

But, in this particular case what becomes of the principle of the nineteen, as applied to themselves. Which of the undersigned was elected by so small a popular vote as the elector from Annapolis, and yet he is one of those claiming the right to dictate to a majority of the college, because he and his associates, as they say, represent the larger part of the white population of the state. Now which of the counties has not more than double the population of that city? They maintain that the undersigned do not represent the people of their respective counties, and should not therefore, select senators from such counties, except at their nomination. If this doctrine be sound, what reason can be assigned why any elector has the right to vote upon his own judgment and conscience for any other senator of the whole fifteen than the one who may

be selected from his own particular county? Why is it that we are not as much the representatives of the people of Baltimore, as are the electors, from Caroline county, or as much entitled to choose a senator for Frederick county as are the electors from Queen Anne's. We find these four gentlemen, a part of THE NINETEEN, representing the smaller counties and elected by fewer popular votes than many of the undersigned, and yet they are of the number who claim to dictate terms to us, upon the gratuitous assumption that they represent the larger portion of the population of the state. It is impossible, not to perceive the gross injustice of such pretensions. What public reason can exist, why greater power should be allowed to them than to the majority of the college? Or what propriety is there in considering them the especial representatives of the more populous part of the state? Is it because there is some magic influence in being an advocate for the election of Mr. Van Buren to the presidency of the United States. Will a mere party name invest electors, chosen under their own state constitution, with powers utterly subversive of the very constitution, which, if they qualify, they swear to support? Have his partisans the uncontrolled right to violate clearly defined constitutional duties, to destroy long established forms of government, if it is believed his election will be thereby promoted? The honest friends of that candidate, and doubtless he has many such, may hereafter deeply deplore the excesses into which, in times of high political excitement, some partisans seek to involve them. The question now in Maryland is infinitely above all mere questions of presidential preference. It is a question of constitutional freedom. If the state government is to fall by the means now taken to overthrow it, the calamity will be felt long after the names of Harrison, White and Van Buren shall have been forgotten. We never can acquiesce in the demands of the nineteen unqualified electors. Our rights and powers are known to and derived from the constitution alone. The whole body of electors represent the people of the whole state, elected from separate districts, on a particular day, and in a prescribed form.

They are not elected to subvert the views of any political division of the people of any county or city from which they may respectively come, but bound by the most solemn obligations to their country and their God, to be faithful, and true allegiance bear to the state of Maryland, by supporting her constitution—as it is, they are not invested, nor was it designed that they should be invested with any power to render negative a single one of its provisions.

If they have a right to disregard any one article, they may with equal propriety refuse to acknowledge the whole. If any nineteen of them refuse to elect a senate because the majority will not violate their own plain and palpable duties, by permitting them to select a majority of the senate, they may, with like reason, hereafter, upon a similar plea of numerical majority, deny to the Eastern Shore her constitutional right to six members of the body. In a word, there is not a single wholesome provision by which the territorial rights of the two great sections of the state are secured by the present constitution, which may not, and in all probability will not, be subverted by this heresy of the absolute and controlling power of a numerical majority, and the mere agents of such a majority may disregard the plain written words of the constitution, to accomplish their immediate purpose—ruin, inevitable ruin, must be the consequence.

But if the nineteen had no other object in view, and as yet they have avowed none other, than the election of a senate favorable to a reform of the constitution, why did they not come into the college, take the oaths of office and vote for such a senate? Who can say that a senate of that description would not have been elected? It was perfectly well known that there were amongst the undersigned many favorable to reform, and if nothing more was desired by the nineteen than the selection of a reform senate, their plain course was to have met the college and united their votes with those of the undersigned who are constitutional reformers. Many of us desired to see material changes in the constitution, and are not now for the first time expressing that opinion, as will appear by our recorded votes as members of your house of delegates. Indeed there is not one of us who is not willing that such amendments of the constitution should be made as are just and necessary; but we desire to see them accomplished in a peaceful and constitutional mode, without a gross usurpation of power on our part, or a violent disruption of the bonds, which for upwards of sixty years, have so happily united the people of Maryland in peace and security. All that we can do to ensure your safety, we are solicitous and de-

termined to perform. It is our business to elect fifteen men of the most wisdom and experience and virtue in the state to constitute one branch of your legislature. It is not our province to blot a letter from the constitution. Our power is in no sense a legislative one. It is the senate, together with the co-ordinate branch of the legislature, the house of delegates, acting under a proper sense of duty, guided by an enlightened public opinion who can, alone, constitutionally legislate for your wishes or your wants. All that we are selected to accomplish is the choice of as capable and virtuous a senate as we can make—that done, our functions are at an end, and in our opinion not until then. We assert no right to resign the trust you have imposed upon us—it is a duty we have assumed for the public good under the sanction, of the constitution which no elector can, in our opinion cast off at pleasure, more especially when he has sought the office at the hands of the people. Should we decline its exercise, we have no doubt that the laws might be appealed to against us—it is impossible that the mere agents of the people—trustees appointed to do an act necessary to the continuance of their government, can with impunity decline the trust and thereby possibly involve the state in all the horrors of anarchy.

PEOPLE OF MARYLAND, the crisis is an awful one—the times are big with the fate of freedom—If the revolutionary spirit, now stalking abroad amongst us, is not promptly subdued by the majesty of your power, upon you will rest the fearful responsibility of being the first in the country of Washington, to give to liberty a mortal wound.—We shall to the last endeavor faithfully to perform our duty to you, and to ourselves—we have remained patiently at the seat of government, keeping the college open from day to day to the present time, and here we are resolved to continue until all hope is lost of the return of the absent electors. We are determined that, if confusion, anarchy and ruin are to come upon us, if all the bright hopes of the people of Maryland are to be forever blasted, and our once fair and happy land is to become a scene of desolation and terror, we will have the consolation of reflecting, in the midst of our afflictions, that we have faithfully performed our duty.

GEORGE S. LEIGH,  
BENEDECT I. HEARD,  
GEORGE VICKERS,  
JAMES P. GALE,  
JAMES KENT,  
JAMES A. D. DALRYMPLE,  
HENRY BRAVNER,  
WILLIAM D. MERRICK,  
SOLOMON DICKINSON,  
GEORGE DUDLEY,  
WILLIAM WILLIAMS, jr.  
SAMUEL J. K. HANDY,  
WILLIAM W. LAKE,  
THOMAS H. HICKS,  
GEORGE W. DUVAL,  
THOMAS G. PRATT,  
THOMAS A. SPENCE,  
HENRY FRANKLIN,  
EPHRAIM GAITHER,  
RICHARD BEALL,  
ANDREW BRUCE.

Annapolis, September 24, 1846.

#### GREAT PUBLIC MEETING.

From the *Baltimore American* of Tuesday last. One of the largest and most respectable meetings ever convened in the city of Baltimore, was held at Monument Square on Monday, the 26th instant, at 3-1-2 o'clock, P. M. On motion of Columbus O'Donnell, esq. the meeting was organized by the appointment of general William McDonald as president.

On motion of Daniel Cobb, esq. the following gentlemen were appointed vice presidents—John McKim, jr. Solomon Etting, John Dushane, Luke Tiernan, Robert D. Millholland, William H. Conkling, Jacob Wolfe, Solomon Betts, Samuel Hoffman, John Gibson, Joshua Wall and Joseph W. Patterson, esqs.

On motion of S. Owings Hoffman, esq. the following gentlemen were appointed secretaries—Thomas W. Hall, William Crawford, jr. Osmond C. Tiffany and William G. Harrison, esqs.

The object of the meeting having been stated by the president, John V. L. McMahon, esq. offered the following address and resolutions, which he sustained in a strain of unsurpassed eloquence and force.

He was followed by David Stewart, esq. who moved their adoption in a speech fraught with noble and republican sentiments.

They were thereupon unanimously adopted: We, the citizens of Baltimore, opposed to revolution and anarchy, and the supporters of law, or-

der and constitutional reform, have in town meeting assembled, to consider the recent attempts of some of our public agents to break up all the foundations of our government, to cut society loose from all its moorings, and to put us, our wives, our children, our institutions and all we hold dear, afloat upon the troubled sea of revolution. We are here assembled to lift up our voices in denunciation of these attempts, and to call upon our fellow citizens here, and throughout the state, to come up with us to the rescue, to rally around the banner of peace and order, and by the instant and energetic adoption of the constitutional and peaceful measures which yet remain to us, to snatch our hitherto happy and favored state from the horrors of anarchy.

The crisis to which we have arrived, forces upon us the most painful and revolting contrasts. Placed by the hand of a bountiful Providence in a central and commanding position on the Atlantic border of our country—the untiring energy and enterprise of the inhabitants of our beloved city in past times, have conducted it in the lapse of little more than half a century, from the humble station of a fishing village, to the third city of the union. They accomplished this under many difficulties and in the face of much opposition—with rival cities on either side, who had started far ahead of her in the contest for the prize of the great and hourly growing commerce of the great west, Baltimore had not lagged behind in the race, but with gigantic strides continued to approach her competitors. Each day of the contest only made more manifest her advantages in position over all her rivals, and gave her the promise of assured victory, if the state of Maryland, whose proud emporium she was, would but follow and sustain her in the race. For years sectional jealousies, fomented by many of those who now stand prominent in urging her to the measures of revolution, continued to retard her progress. Local interests which were natural allies in the cause of state improvement, were artfully arrayed against each other by adversaries, who rejoiced in thus effecting the overthrow of all. The seeds of mutual distrust between city and county, were thus sown: Baltimore was represented as the self-aggrandizing capital, who sought to centre all the power, influence and wealth of the state in herself, and the counties were, in turn, denounced as so many petty communities clothed with undue political power and wielding it all to the injury of Baltimore. Many of us well remember the results of those causeless distrusts and jealousies, and the recollection of them forces us all to hope they may never return. A few years since state pride, aroused from her long sleep, and touched by her impulses, from that period to this, our local jealousies have been disappearing; the demagogues who sought to inflame the people of our state by exciting in the different sections of it, mutual distrusts of each other's power and influence in the government, were passed by disregarded; and we seemed at length to have become in feeling brethren of one great political family, in every section, intent only upon the welfare and advancement of our common state, and proud of the growing wealth and prosperity of this, its commercial metropolis. All have seen the workings of this change. Baltimore, under the shelter and fostering aid of the state, undertook with Herculean energy, the prosecution of her great works of internal improvement; and at the last session of our general assembly, when our city seemed to be tiring under the effort to continue them, the legislature at one bound provided all the means necessary for their completion, and for the elevation of our city to the pinnacle of commercial prosperity. All our hopes for her welfare seemed at length gratified in prospect. In anticipation, we already beheld her the queen of the commercial cities of the east, the *Zenobia* of American commerce. Fired by the prospect, the energy of our citizens sprang up to fresh exertions, inactive wealth poured itself out from the coffers where it had long lain into the lap of industry, and the eye of enterprise every where throughout our land was turned to our city. High in credit, rich in our internal and expected resources as a people, our city during the past summer has every where presented the evidences of a rapidly growing and prosperous population.

At this very moment, when we are just about to reap the fruits of state aid to our great enterprises, and when with all the evidences of present and prospective prosperity around us, flowing from the beneficence of our state government, one would suppose we were filled with grateful recollections, the cry of *revolution* is raised amongst us, the hand of the disorganizer is uplifted to strike down our state government and all its institutions; and we are called upon at the bidding of men, unknown to us in all our efforts for the advancement of our

city, or known only as hostile to it, to dash the cup of prosperity from our lips; to suspend all our works of internal improvement; to break our government into fragments and go back into a state of nature to recombine it, and to rekindle in the struggle over its formation, and in the contests for relative political power under it, all the petty, local and sectional jealousies which so long retarded our prosperity. Nor is that all—without a single developed plan, adopted or likely to be adopted for our future government, and agreeing amongst themselves in nothing but the intention to destroy the present, these disorganizers, whose schemes of government are so various that even the lifetime of a Sisydes could not manufacture constitutions enough to meet them, would have us to take no thought for the future; and having brought us to the brink of revolution would plunge us off and tell us to trust to the accidents of the future for our escape from the gulph of anarchy.

Before we consider this extraordinary proposition, we would ask:

“Who are they who have forced it upon our attention?” This bold proposition to overthrow the whole government at one blow, and to leave us in a state of nature and to the chances of the future for the establishment of a new one, is submitted to us by nineteen individuals, who were chosen electors of the senate of Maryland on the first Monday of September last, and who, in that official capacity, affect to have the right to propose it. They were elected to that office under the provisions of the 14th article of our constitution; and their powers are defined by the 15th, 16th and 17th articles.—The 15th article, as it now stands, declares: “That the said electors of the senate shall meet at the city of Annapolis on the first Monday of September, 1781, and on the same day in every fifth year forever thereafter, and they, or any twenty-four of them, so met, shall proceed to elect by ballot, either out of their own body or the people at large, 15 senators, 9 of whom to be residents of the western and 6 to be residents on the eastern shore—men of the most wisdom and experience, above twenty-five years of age, and residents of the state above three whole years next preceding the election.” The 15th article having thus declared in the strongest terms the obligation of those electors to perform this duty, the 16th and 17th articles direct the manner in which they shall qualify and conduct their elections. *This is the office which these individuals sought under this constitution; the office of the people's agent under it, selected for the single purpose of electing a senate to continue the government under it.*—They stand, therefore, in the attitude of individuals who sought at the hands of the people an office having but a single duty to be performed under it—the election of a senate; and they therefore stood pledged to their constituents, to the people of the state, and to the constitution of their country, to make that election, by the very act of asking the people to devolve upon them the *known* duty of electing a senate. They stand in the attitude of individuals who knew, when they offered themselves to the people, that they were asking them to put upon themselves the *solemn* duty of electing that senate. They stand in the attitude of individuals who, by asking the office of an agent under the constitution, stood pledged to their country to act *under* that constitution, and not *against* it. Men may sometimes assume offices which cast upon them duties they had not anticipated, and sometimes unexpected duties which put their own judgments in conflict with that of their constituents—we stop not to speak of the propriety of surrendering their official power in such cases, as there is no parallel between such and the case of these electors. Every elector, before he was elected, knew the exact amount of influence he would have in electing a senate: he knew that he could have but one vote out of forty; that, if he was elected, the constitution required that he should elect a senate, and that twenty-one electors, elected from any section of the state, great or small, had, under the constitution, the majority of power in the electoral college. If the power which the constitution gave him when elected was too little, he knew it, and, by accepting it with this knowledge, he agreed to take it and exercise it as the constitution gave it to him, and in no other way.—And even if it were for a moment admitted that, when the power is accepted with a knowledge of its extent, the agent could turn back from the exercise of it upon the pretence that it was not large enough, this is a question the consideration of which belongs solely to his constituents, and with which he has not the least right to meddle. His constituents elected every elector to give his vote under the constitution as their vote, and not as his own: and until they had expressed their discontent with the power they had given him, and enjoined him not to exercise it, it was his bounden duty to act it out as

he found it. We do not admit that a constitutional duty thus assumed could even then be properly disobeyed. The people who gave the power under the constitution, and the agent who so took, are alike bound by that constitution to the rest of the state, to exercise it as that constitution gives it.

This being, in our view, the character of the office accepted by these nineteen electors, they repaired to Annapolis at the time appointed for the election of a senate; and, instead of proceeding to discharge their duty of making the election, they refuse to qualify, and, thus declining the duties of that office, they yet claim, by virtue of it, that the other 21 electors shall surrender to them the exclusive right of electing a majority of the senate, and if this be not yielded, refuse to act as electors, upon the sole ground that the very power to which they were elected is not as great as it ought to have been. Of these nineteen, thus acting, a large majority acted wholly without even the color of instructions from their constituents; and we say, without the fear of contradiction, that several of those electors acted not only without such, but, on the contrary, in direct defiance of the will of their constituents, as manifested on every occasion in all past times since the formation of the constitution. Passing by all the rest, the recorded votes of Annapolis, Caroline, Queen Anne's and Montgomery have ever been found rallied in support of the present constitution: and the rights which these have under it are the very rights which were most assailed by this proceeding. Yet these counties furnish six of “*the illustrious nineteen*,” and if these six, or any three of them, had discharged their duty, the senate would have been now elected. To such a proposition, coming from such a quarter, there could be but one reply from the electors who had qualified. The men who made it had refused to assume their duties, and had therefore no more right to make it than any other individuals in the community. It was a proposition which, on the part of several of the nineteen, struck at the dearest rights of their constituents, and violated their will, as manifested by all their public acts and votes in all past times. *It was a proposition which required the twenty-one electors to commit wilful and deliberate perjury, and (in violation of the solemn obligations of their oaths to exercise their own best judgments in the selection of a senate) to elect for a majority of that body such senators as the nineteen might be pleased to select for them.* Such a proposition was, of course, not even received; and upon its declension, “*the nineteen*” turn their backs upon their constitutional duty, refuse to elect, and gravely maintain that “the constitution expressly secured to any seventeen of them the right to defeat the election of a senate,” or, in other words, that the constitution, in expressly saying that they shall go in and elect a senate, gives the right to keep out and refuse to elect. Having thus, as far as in them lay, plunged us into revolution, and conceiving that they had thus pulled down in ruins, at one fell swoop, our whole government, they call upon us to come forward and follow them in the work of rebuilding another. *These are they, who, without a thought for the future,—having, as they conceive, at one blow, cast down, to its very foundations, the government of a people, who, one short month since, never even dreamed of the possibility of this mad experiment,—now claim to be our pioneers, and undertake to dictate to us in what mode we shall escape from the consequences of their rashness and misconduct, by obeying their instructions in the endeavor to keep peace and order amongst us, and to get up some scheme to protect our lives, liberties and property, and to avert a state of anarchy until the people can agree upon a new government.*

Fellow citizens! to you we appeal to answer the question, “where did these *destructives* find their warrant for this mischievous experiment upon our government? who gave them the power to pull down and build up governments at their pleasure, as if they were the toys of an hour? who authorized them to plunge us without a moment's warning, into a condition where, by their own admission, our lives, our liberties, our property, the security of our homes, the sanctity of our firesides, the honor of our wives and our children, are at the mercy of the lawless and the depredator, unless you, the people, will step in and rescue us from this condition, by some temporary provisions for the protection of all these. They advise you to assemble in November next, to select a provisional government, “clothed with full powers to extend the authority of all civil and military officers now in commission, until a convention, hereafter to be chosen, can be convened, to amend the old or form an entire new form of government for the people of Maryland.” We quote their language: and in it you find their own impression of the consequences of their own acts if persisted in, in the necessary inference that if

this be not done, your courts are prostrate, your laws have ceased to operate, your governor and all subordinate officers are no longer in authority, and your persons and property left to self-protection, without the aid of laws, courts or officers. Where, fellow citizens, we repeat the question, did these men find the warrant for the attempt to hurry the people of this state, without even a warning into such a condition? They pretend to have found it in your recent elections—will they tell us where? will they point to that county where they even dared to hoist the banner of *revolution*, or whispered that they sought office to proclaim us in a state of *anarchy*?—we appeal to you, fellow citizens throughout the state, to answer the question, “did any of them ask you to elect them for such purposes?” We are aware that in several of the counties of this state, as well as in this city, there has been a great and growing desire to reform some obnoxious features of our constitution, and that in these places, at the recent elections, this subject was much agitated—yet, will any of the destructives pretend that even the subject of *constitutional reform* was touched in one half of the counties of this state? Did the people of Somerset, or of Worcester, or of Dorchester, or of Caroline, or of Talbot, or of Kent, or of Queen Anne’s, or of Charles, or of St. Mary’s, or Calvert, or of Prince George’s, or of Annapolis, or of Anne Arundel, hear any thing in those counties of the necessity even of *constitutional reform* from the candidates, for their suffrages, at the late election, and more especially from the candidates there, agreeing with the “illustrious nineteen” in their presidential preferences? Did the people of Montgomery or of Allegany hear any thing of the intention of their electors to diminish their representation, and at their expense to increase that of the larger counties? In the remaining counties of Frederick, Washington, Baltimore and Harford, was the design to change the whole form of government even there fully disclosed? It is fresh in all our memories, that one of these very “nineteen,” Mr. Fisher, of Frederick, upon being questioned through the press, immediately after he became a candidate, as to his friendliness for constitutional reform, in a card published in the papers of that county, stated to the people, that “having been brought out against his wishes, he would not consent to be catechised on that subject,” and thus remaining mute in this great reform county, he was nevertheless elected. In fine, fellow citizens, wherever reform was agitated, it is known to you all that it was advocated as reform to be made through the constitution, and by your constitutional agents: and that even where thus advocated, it was used as the vague and undefined watchword of parties, without even a definition of what it meant. And if plans of reform ever were proposed, like the Chambleon, they took their color from the soil they were placed upon.—In Allegany they meant one thing, in Montgomery another, in Washington and Frederick another, in Harford another, in Baltimore city something very different from all the rest. Yet, admitting the design of reform to have pervaded these counties, did any of you, fellow citizens of the counties, ever hear of reform to be accomplished by *revolution*?—Did you, the people of Allegany, or Washington, or Baltimore, ever hear of the design to break down your government, to suspend all your great improvements until you could get a new one, to revive all your old sectional squabbles and jealousies about relative powers under it, and to check the high tide of your prosperity until these could be adjusted amongst yourselves and with your sister counties, and then to take your chances under the new government, for regaining all the benefits already secured to you by the law of the last session, and lost to you without the sanction of the new government, if the measure of the destructives be persisted in? Did you, the people of the slave counties of this state, embracing nearly all, ever hear of the design of a revolutionary reform to be based upon an attack on federal numbers?

Fellow citizens, shallow as this pretence of the destructives is, there is yet another feature which reveals more fully the secret purposes of the *anarchists*. Reform (until this attempt) has always been advocated as a measure into which party considerations were not to enter; and even now the attempt is to be made to lull us by that cry. In the great county of Frederick, particularly, it was conducted avowedly upon that basis: and many whigs there and elsewhere are enlisted zealously in the cause. Now, however, reform can be entrusted only to Van Buren electors: and revolution we are to have in all its dreadful consequences, unless the twenty-one, will not only consent to elect a reform senate, but also a reform senate, the majority of which is to consist of Van Buren electors.

Fellow citizens of the Van Buren party, we speak to you with more sincerity than have hither-

to these pretended friends of reform without distinction of party, when we say to you, the question which these destructives have presented to you, is one far above all party considerations, and we know that many of you will so regard it. Whatever office seekers, men who have nothing to lose and every thing to gain by revolution, men who scruple at no means to accomplish their ends, men who hate peace and riot in change, may think of our present crisis, we know that there are amongst you as amongst us, many actuated by a sincere desire to act uprightly in all things, and to advance the welfare of our common state and the happiness of its people. Behold this measure of revolution therefore, exhibited in all its nakedness, as a mere expedient to gain a temporary party advantage! Are you prepared to sanction such a measure? Are you prepared to justify a high public officer in wilfully violating a high public duty involving the very continuance of your government, for the hope of a momentary party triumph? Are you prepared, in the effort to promote the elevation of a New York candidate for the presidency, to blight for the present all the fair prospects of your own state, and your own city, to give a dangerous if not fatal stab to the credit of your state and city by shaking all confidence in the security and stability of your institutions, and to commit yourselves and all you hold dear, to the hands of such revolutionists? It may suit the views of New York to produce all these results, at this moment when with gigantic strides your state is reaching at the commerce of the west. It may suit her views at this moment, when it is known to you all that the people of the south irritated at the continued attempts from that quarter to inflame their slave population, are turning to Baltimore as free from the disorganizing spirit. What are, presidential questions to you, compared with the preservation of peace, law and order amongst you, with the constant and steady inculcation of respect for these, with peace and security at home, with tranquility and prosperity throughout your state? A few short years hence, and the very presidential preferences you feel will be forgotten. But the step of revolution once taken on such pretext, the sense of public or private security once shaken by such a measure, who can tell the impression it will make upon all the future prospects of your state? The downward step to anarchy and tumult is easy: but once taken, who can tell the time of your recall from it?

But fellow citizens of all parties—friends of law, order and religion, to you we appeal to mark the crisis at which this revolutionary attempt has uplifted its head amongst us—*The beginning of the end now is*—The enemy of all republican government is amongst us—It comes, as it ever has come in all such governments, under the guise of jacobinism—with great affected respect for the rights of the people, it strikes at the very root of their security by inculcating insubordination to our laws and institutions, and substituting the lawless and licentious impulse of the moment for the well regulated liberty of the freeman—with great pretended regard for the poor, under a government which opens to every man and to every man’s children the door to the highest offices and stations of the nation, it strives by its base appeals to envy, to excite discord in the relations of employer and employed, and to make these relations of mutual benefit and protection, sources of social strife—Property acquired by honest industry is held up as a cause of jealousy and offence; and a sincere desire for the peace, order and stability of society is denounced as warring against the supremacy of the people—It is the cardinal maxim of such a spirit that there is no right of personal liberty or private property so sacred, that it ought not to be subject to instant demolition, at the will and bidding of any demagogue who can excite and turn upon it a momentary odium. To restrain such a spirit all governments are established: and in the anxious care and numerous provisions of the constitution of the United States, and of all your state constitutions, to protect the government, themselves and all rights of person and property under them from the hasty inroads or lawless assaults of faction or violence, and to subject them only to the calm, deliberate and settled action of the people through their laws and authorities, you find your fathers of the revolution manifesting their horror of that spirit—they knew that such a spirit, unhinging all public and private morality, diffusing distrust and jealousy through all society, and inculcating habitual disregard for every thing like the authority of government, was the sure forerunner of social and political anarchy; and that from such a state there was but one step to despotism. Already is the bold and decided action of this spirit manifest in two of your sister states, in the open assault upon rights of private property as much protected by the constitu-

tion of your country and the laws of the states as any right of any of you to any property you have. Admitting as its chief advocates do, that the rights of prosperity thus assailed are expressly protected by the constitution of the United States, and that legislatures cannot and ought not to spare them because they are rights of private property originating in and protected by contracts and the laws of the land.

A *convention* is to be the process by which the gordian knot of public truth and honor, public law and private rights is to be averred—Even here by some amongst us, the doctrine is already proclaimed, that private rights of property are to be at the mercy of this process amongst us—We ask you then, to whom we make this appeal, to go with us a little further in marking the traces of this spirit in the revolutionary movement of the destructives in our own state.

Assuming that the case justifying instant revolution in our state government has arisen, the destructives affect to rest their right to bring it about upon the assertion of the right of revolution, in our bill of rights—of that right we shall speak hereafter: and we now only ask: whose right is there asserted?—the right of the people, or the right of mere officers and agents under the government? Who gave these insubordinate and disobedient agents the right to proclaim revolution? The sole right resides in the people of the state to change their government: and when have the people delegated to them the right to make revolution? They elected them to make a senate: do they find in that the power to overthrow the government? They elected them as officers who were to be sworn to act and elect under the constitution: do they find in that the warrant to demolish it all at one blow? No, fellow citizens, disguise it as they will, they know that in this step they have acted the parts of the sheer usurpers of your rights: and having as they conceived by one rash step plunged you into revolution without authority or notice, they want to father the bantering of their mischief upon you. We recognize amongst them several who have heretofore filled high stations under our state constitution, and took their official oaths to support that very constitution: and who, therefore, in our judgment had still less right to attempt its overthrow.

But, fellow citizens, what is the right of revolution? Is it a plaything to be wielded in every moment of excitement? Is it an instrument to be used whenever party expediency may require it; or discontented office seekers may lament the temporary loss of power! Is it not on the other hand, the last fearful resort of a free people, when all other means have failed; when every spark of hope is extinct; and when it is calmly and deliberately settled after the fullest consideration, that they are suffering actual practical tyranny and oppressions from the government under which they live, of so intolerable a character, that it is better to incur all the evils of anarchy than continue to endure them, and when there is a rational hope that by the step of revolution they may relieve themselves from such oppressions?

In a word, it is like the thunder of Jupiter, only to be wielded on these great occasions of elemental strife between society and government. What rational man ever dreamed of precipitating a people into revolution for mere theories in government; for mere improvements in its form, or in a word, for any thing but actual and intolerable oppression? *Government is not an end but a means*. It is a mere instrument to protect the rights of the citizen, and advance the happiness and prosperity of the people; and the causes of its overthrow in our favored land are to be found only in its utter prostration of these.

Fellow citizens, before we speak of the pretended necessity for revolution alleged by the destructives, we deem it proper to say that we are the friends of constitutional reform in our state government, and that we believe it may and ought to be improved by amendments in several particulars.—Whether we will agree with the destructives in all their contemplated reforms, we are unable to say; for to this day reform has been “THE VEILED PROPHET,” which they call upon men to fall down and worship, and yet will not show us its features. If they desire to change the representation in the house of delegates, they will not tell us whether they mean to adopt representation according to population, so as to place Baltimore at the head, or whether they will take arbitrary numbers, which only put Baltimore with twice the population, on a level with Frederick county, and thus by adopting a rule without any fixed basis of representation engraft the very same inequality in the new constitution, to be a subject for future squabble and perhaps attempts at revolution. If they seek to break down the se-

nate, where we have almost always had two senators, or two-fifteenths of the power of that body, to give us in its stead one senator out of twenty, or one-twentieth of its power; they will not tell us whether they will make up this loss in that body by a proportional increase in the house of delegates. And so it is with ever proposed reform. "Reform" means "reform;" and that is the only definition we can get from them. The destructives have however given us an insight, into their views, or views of some of them as to the proper ratio, in their modest request to us to go into an election on the first Monday of November next, to elect for their conservative by six delegates from each county and city; or in other words, from Annapolis, with her three hundred voters, as well as from Baltimore with her ten thousand, and twelve from Frederick county, as she too has a city in her limits. This is called reform!!!

But, fellow citizens of the counties, whilst we who address you, agree in the propriety of moderate and constitutional reform, and will co-operate with the majority of the people of the state, in the endeavor to procure the amendments they may desire in the proper mode, we are not amongst those who call you our tyrants and oppressors. If you have sometimes by your legislation acted injuriously upon our interests and against our remonstrances, yet we deny that your course to us has been one of systematic, wanton and long continued oppression—were we to make this assertion, the millions which you have poured out by your legislation for the last eight or ten years, to aid us in works of improvement, all leading to our own city, would stamp upon it the character of a libel—we remember the period when, as we have already said, sectional jealousies infested our state, to the great prejudice of Baltimore: fomented too by many who are now leading in the cause of destructive reform—And yet at that period when Potomac interests, and Eastern Shore interests, and country interests, generally, were sought to be arrayed against Baltimore, and the want of due power in the legislature was most felt, did any of the pretended reformers cry out "revolution," much less attempt it—Where were they found in the counties?—For the most part, in the ranks of demagogues, inflaming country jealousies, and railing at propositions merely to increase the delegation of Baltimore to four!—But in the last eight or ten years we have perceived and hailed with pleasure the gradual subsiding of all these causeless jealousies of us, and have seen you with delight taking a pride in the advancement and welfare of our city, as identified with the prosperity, power and happiness of the state.

And, fellow citizens of the Eastern Shore and of the lower counties on the Western Shore, we cannot but remember that at the last session of our legislature when the counties of Baltimore, Frederick, Washington, Harford and Cecil, either in part or in whole, were all agitated either in hostility to the aid of the state to our improvements, or to clog it with restrictions, to your generous and public-spirited support were we indebted for that aid—Nor can we trace your hostility to us in the legislation of the last eight or ten years—If our chartered rights to appoint the inspectors of flour, or whiskey, or fish were wrested from us, we know that it was the work of the great reform counties of Frederick, Washington, Baltimore, Harford and Cecil, constituting in their combined action for these purposes what was factiously termed by one now a revolutionist, "the holy alliance"—If our auction duties were taken away in 1827, we know that it was the act of the representatives of a large majority of the people, led on by the now very head and chief of the revolution-party of Frederick and of the state. If the right to regulate your markets was assailed, the blow came from Baltimore county, aided again by the large and reform counties—These are not injuries we can trace to your having too much power in the government: for the recorded votes on all these subjects show that with any representation which any plan of reform would give us the large counties, would still have accomplished all these measures—The legislation of Maryland for the last eight or ten years shows conclusively that instead of being our peculiar oppressors, the action of the small counties towards Baltimore has been more kind and beneficent than that of the large counties.

But even upon the subject of reform, where did these destructives find the proof that every possible hope of amendment without revolution had failed—You are all aware, fellow citizens, that our constitution embodies in itself the mode of its amendment: and that that mode is by a law passed at one session, then published and submitted to the people of the state for their consideration before the next election, and then confirmed by the next legislature. One legislature proposes the amendment to the people: and the next legislature either adopts

or rejects, according to the will of the people as ascertained at the election when it is submitted—We know that it is the fashion in these days, with some of the revolutionists, to deride and laugh to scorn our forefathers of the revolution, the men of '76, who rescued us from tyranny, who gave us a name among nations, and built up for us the government under which we live—Whatever we may think of their mode of amendment, we respect their opinions and reverence their memories; and the times are sadly out of joint, when coarse sneers upon them and their works, such as some of us have recently heard amongst us, could not only pass without censure, but even receive applause. In adopting that mode, the men of '76 have handed down to us their opinion that every amendment of a constitution ought to be specially submitted, well considered and deliberately sanctioned. Now what has been the course of many of the reformers towards the legislature—Have they, or a majority of the people or their representatives ever gone forward to the legislature at any time presenting specific propositions of reform, and asking their adoption in the constitutional mode? Have the majority of the people or their representatives ever yet distinctly told the legislature the exact reform which they want?—Nay have the majority ever been able to agree even amongst themselves as to the reform they desire?—Have reform conventions themselves been as yet able to agree upon any definite plan of amendment?—Whenever a majority of the people of this state shall distinctly and unequivocally declare to the legislature the amendments they desire, we cannot but believe that full justice will be yielded to them—We know that our brethren of the smaller counties are animated with a very different spirit from that of the destructives, and would not involve us in discord and revolution rather than make reforms which might involve a sacrifice of some of their political power—And if those of the nineteen from the smaller counties have truly represented their constituents, there is at once a sudden accession of power to accomplish such amendments from sections of the state hitherto in the front ranks of opposition to reform.

In the face of all these facts, what language, fellow citizens, can characterize this measure of revolution. In a moment of general tranquillity and prosperity, when the citizens of the state were dwelling together in most perfect amity, and each day was drawing all of them nearer to each other in feeling and in interest; when the proper steps were just about to be taken to conduct to speedy consummation our great works of internal improvement, on which all the future prosperity of our city depends, when every citizen was in the full, secure and uninterrupted enjoyment of every right of person and property, the firebrand of revolution is hurled amongst us, like the thunderbolt from a clear sky. We hope the rash men who have done this, have ere this felt regret for their step. They have, in our judgment, not only disgraced a high duty, but have also committed a high misdemeanor against our laws. But if deluded by the excited purposes of party feeling, their consciences whisper no reproaches for the step they have taken, we know there is a tribunal to whose award they cannot be indifferent—public opinion is the greatest of all reformers. Let but the people of Maryland speak but in their majesty: and we have no doubt these towering revolutionists will sink into obedient public agents. An occasion for the people so to speak is at hand. On the first Monday of October next an election for delegates takes place under our constitution. On that day, let all the friends of law, order and government; let all who fear revolution; let all who desire reform by peaceable and proper means; let all who would preserve for their families, themselves and their fellow citizens protection and security; let all who love peace and hate anarchy, rush to the polls, and with united voices proclaim that they are not revolutionists. By their votes and proceedings on that day let them make that manifest. This done, we have no fears for the future. These agents, who have attempted to subvert the government, will then know their duty beyond the possibility of doubt; and if knowing they still disregard it, we know there is yet redeeming power enough in our judiciary to enforce the performance of a high public duty, thus made manifest even to the agent. He will then learn that high public trusts involving the very continuance of the government, cannot be abandoned at his pleasure.

For ourselves, fellow citizens of Maryland, under the stripes and stars of the glorious old thirteen, we take our stand in the defence of our government and institutions—we want no revolution, and least of all such as these would bring us—we are here assembled to pledge ourselves one and all to all that men can do to save us from anarchy. On the first Monday of October next, we hope to shew you that

Baltimore is not for revolution—Our motto is "constitutional reform and no revolution."

Therefore resolved, by us citizens of Baltimore in town meeting assembled, That the nineteen electors of the senate, in their refusal to elect that body, in our judgment have disobeyed the express command of our constitution; have disregarded a high public trust involving the very continuance of government, and the security of our persons and property; have committed a high misdemeanor by their wilful abandonment of a high public duty to the discharge of which they stood pledged by their acceptance of it, and merit the severest reprobation of the people of Maryland, and of the friends of liberty, order and good government throughout the union.

Resolved further, That in their attempt to overthrow the government of this state, and to introduce anarchy and revolution in its stead, the said nineteen electors have warred against the peace, order and happiness of society; have sacrificed the best interest of the people of Maryland, have endangered the present prosperity, and blighted for a time all the fair prospects of this city; and that in so doing, they have proved themselves destructives, and forfeited all claim to the title of reformers.

Resolved further, That in their proclamation of revolution, and in their attempt to dictate to the people of this state the manner in which they shall form a new government to escape the consequences of anarchy, the said nineteen electors have usurped the sovereignty of the people of Maryland, and put in jeopardy the vital principle of all republican institutions.

Resolved, further, That in the attempt, and by the disregard of a high public duty, to prostrate the government, laws and institutions of this state, for the accomplishment of mere party ends, the said nineteen electors have forfeited all claim to the support of the virtuous and patriotic of all parties, who abhor the use of wrong means to accomplish any end, and who hold the welfare of their country and the permanent prosperity and happiness of their state and city above the mere expedients of party.

Resolved, further, That the twenty-one electors of the senate, who have qualified for the discharge of their duty, and who are still continuing their sessions at Annapolis from day to day, for their endeavors to preserve to us the inestimable blessings of peace, order and government, are entitled to the confidence and affections of the people of Maryland; and that it is the most earnest wish and request of this meeting that the said electors will there remain prepared to discharge their duty of electing a senate, until the people of Maryland shall have had time, by the power and majesty of public opinion, to quell revolution, and to return their agents to the post of duty.

Resolved, further, That the said 21 electors, in refusing to receive propositions coming from individuals who would not assume the office under the color of which they professed to act, and propositions, too, involving a degrading surrender of their duty, and asking nothing less than the commission of deliberate perjury in their surrender of their own right of choice, have acted the part of honorable men and faithful public servants.

Resolved, further, That we are for reform, and against revolution.

Resolved, further, That, to make manifest to the people of the state, and to our fellow citizens throughout the union, that Baltimore prefers peace, order, good government, stable institutions, and inviolate public and private credit, to faction and revolution, this meeting will proceed forthwith to nominate two suitable persons as candidates for the office of delegates from this city to the next general assembly of Maryland; and that, for that purpose, the president of this meeting be requested to nominate forthwith a committee of 12 to select and report to this meeting for their approbation two suitable individuals for those offices.

Resolved, further, That, from this period until the first Monday of October next, we will devote our time and energies in the endeavor to make manifest, by the success of our candidates, "that Baltimore is against revolution;" and that that day we will set apart as a day sacred to the cause of peace, order, and the preservation of our institutions, persons and property, and, on that day, closing our shops, our stores and our offices, and abandoning all other avocations, we will devote ourselves to the endeavor to secure the success of the candidates whom this meeting may select.

On motion, a committee was appointed by the president, consisting of S. C. Leakin, J. Frazier, Wm. H. Conkling, Thomas Kelso, Thomas Wilkey, G. R. Gaither, A. E. Warner, F. Tensfield, Thos. Sheppard, Joshua Dryden, Thomas W. Hall, and Joshua Medart, esqs. to consider and report suitable persons to be nominated as candidates for the

legislature. The committee, having retired, reported the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

*Resolved by this meeting,* That SAMUEL JONES, jr. and SAMUEL THOMPSON be and they are hereby nominated as delegates from this city to the general assembly of Maryland, and that we pledge ourselves to use all fair and honorable means to secure their election.

WM. McDONALD, *president.*

VICE PRESIDENTS.

John McKim, jr.	Jacob Wolfe,
Solomon Etting,	Solomon Belts,
John Dushane,	Saml. Hoffman,
Luke Tiernan,	John Gibson,
Robt. D. Millholland,	Joshua Wall,
Wm. H. Conkling,	Jos. W. Patterson.

Secretaries.

Thos. W. Hall,	O. C. Tiffany,
W. Crawford, jr.	Wm. G. Harrison.

Baltimore, Sept. 26, 1836.

The Van Buren central committee of Frederick county, in the present condition of things, deeming the election of a delegate ticket inexpedient and useless, have, as will be seen by their proceedings, recommended the withdrawal of their ticket,—and that their candidates have, accordingly, withdrawn.

*Monday evening, 26th Sept. 1836.*

Central committee met, Henry Nixdorff and John Kunkle in the chair, and Wilson W. Kolb and Michael Baltzell, secretaries.

Whereas, by the arbitrary and arrogant demand of the representatives of a small minority of the people of this state, the spirit and letter of the constitution of the state have been violated, and the election of a senate has been frustrated by their refusal to allow the representatives of a large majority to participate in the creation of one branch of their legislature, arrogating to the minority the right to choose one entire branch of the legislature. And whereas there is not the most remote probability of any of the representatives of the majority succumbing to the unreasonable demands of the minority, and that consequently no senate can be chosen for the state of Maryland. And whereas, under such circumstances, the election of a delegate ticket is inexpedient and useless; therefore,

*Resolved,* That we, the central committee of Frederick county, in view of all the circumstances above rehearsed, recommend that the republican Van Buren delegate ticket for this county be withdrawn—at the same time we thus recommend to the republican party to withdraw their delegate ticket, we would suggest to the people the propriety of attending the polls, not only for the purpose of electing a sheriff, but to carry out the measures recommended in the address of the nineteen electors.

*Resolved,* That we not only approve of the course pursued by the nineteen electors in the discharge of their duties as representatives of the people in the electoral college, but that we also recommend to all good citizens to carry out the measures proposed by them in their address, by repairing to the places of holding their respective elections in the districts, on the first Monday of October next, for the purpose of holding meetings, to appoint delegates to attend a county convention in Frederick, on the second Monday of October next,—which convention is to nominate six persons to represent this county in a convention to be held in Annapolis, as recommended by the nineteen electors, and approved by the republican meeting at this place on Saturday last.

*Resolved,* That these proceedings be signed by the chairmen and secretaries, and published in the papers of the county friendly to reform.

HENRY NIXDORFF, } *chairmen.*  
JOHN KUNKLE. }

MICHAEL BALTZELL, } *secretaries.*  
W. W. KOLB. }

TO THE PUBLIC.

The undersigned, having been nominated as candidates for a seat in the house of delegates of this state, avail themselves of this mode to withdraw their names from the canvass, in obedience to what they believe the wishes of a large majority of the party who nominated them, and in accordance with the recommendation of the republican central committee of this county.

The reasons which have induced the party to suggest, and us to comply with the suggestion, being contained in the preamble and resolutions adopted by the central committee, supercedes the necessity of our recapitulating them.

ISAAC SHRIVER,  
HENRY KEFFER,  
JOHN SIFFORD,  
JOHN W. GEYER.

In Allegany county, the Van Buren party, as appears from the following card from their candi-

dates for the legislature, are opposed to the course pursued by the members of that party in Frederick, and are resolved to keep their ticket in the field.

TO THE VOTERS OF ALLEGANY COUNTY.

As we are candidates before you asking your support for a seat in the next general assembly of Maryland, it is your right to ask and know our views on the prominent measures now agitated in the state; the more especially when various rumors are industriously set afloat misrepresenting our sentiments on these important topics.

1st. Then, we are and have been the warm and undisguised friends of internal improvements.

2d. We are decidedly reformers: but be it distinctly understood, that we do not advocate or support representation according to population or numbers: that we are deeply interested for the welfare and best interests of Allegany county and the state, WE ARE DECIDEDLY OPPOSED TO ANY MEASURE TENDING TO REVOLUTION BY ANY PARTY.

JOHN M. BUCHANAN,  
JEREMIAH BERRY, Jr.  
THOMAS PERRY,  
HENRY HAMMILL,

*Van Buren candidates for the house of delegates.*

The following preamble and resolutions were also passed by the citizens of Allegany county.

THE VOICE OF ALLEGANY.

*Large meeting of the constitutionalists.* In pursuance of public notice given to all parties, an unusually large assemblage of the citizens of Allegany county convened at the court house in the town of Cumberland, on Saturday evening the 24th September, 1836. The meeting was organized by calling John Hoye to preside, assisted by David Shriver and John Gephart, and appointing Thomas J. McKaig and Joseph Shriver, secretaries.

The object of the meeting, which was to express the sentiments of the people in relation to the recent revolutionary proceedings at Annapolis, was then fully set forth by B. S. Pigman. S. M. Semmes then, after some appropriate introductory remarks, offered a preamble and resolutions for the adoption of the meeting, which, upon full discussion, in which many of the citizens joined, were with some amendments, separately and deliberately adopted without a dissenting voice, as follows: Preamble and resolutions, adopted by a meeting of the citizens of Allegany county, held at the court house, in the town of Cumberland, on Saturday evening, the 24th September, 1836.

WHEREAS, from information received of the proceedings of a portion of the senatorial electors, recently chosen by the people to elect a state senate, it appears to this meeting that an important crisis has arisen, not only involving our character and standing in the estimation of people abroad, but the very existence of our government itself; and whereas, it is the unanimous voice of this meeting, that all such violent measures merit the strongest disapprobation of every good and peaceable citizen; and that, in order to protect their right and liberties, it is incumbent upon the people every where to assemble and unite in discontinuing all proceedings of a revolutionary character; Be it therefore,

*Resolved,* That we are ready, at the risk of our lives and our property, to sustain the constitution and laws of the state.

*Resolved,* That the course of the twenty-one electors, who met and were ready, in fulfillment of the law, to do their duty, is highly approved of by this meeting.

*Resolved,* That in the opinion of this meeting, it would be wise in the people of the several districts of this county, to meet and organize, so as to be ready at the first warning, to carry into effect such measures as may be deemed most advisable to protect the rights of property and to preserve the liberties of the people.

*Resolved,* That the president appoint a committee of vigilance for the Cumberland district, consisting of nine members, whose duty it shall be to communicate information of any revolutionary movements to the several committees appointed in other districts, and to advise with them as to the best course to pursue.

*Resolved,* That these proceedings be forwarded to the electors from this county, and that they be requested to lay the same before their colleagues.

*Resolved,* That the proceedings of this meeting, signed by the officers, be published in the newspapers of this place, and forwarded for publication throughout the state.

The following gentlemen were then announced by the president as the committee of vigilance:

B. S. Pigman,	John J. Hoffman,
S. P. Smith,	Saml. M. Semmes,
Thos. J. McKaig,	Alpheus H. Gross,
Gustavus Beall,	George Rizer.
Joseph Shriver,	

On motion, the meeting then adjourned.

JOHN HOYE, *pres't.*  
DAVID SHRIVER, } *vice pres'ts.*  
JOHN GEPHART, }

Th. J. McKaig, } *secretaries.*  
Joseph Shriver, }

It is stated that the Van Buren ticket in Anne Arundel county has also been withdrawn.

The following handbill is circulating in Anne Arundel and the other small counties.

TO THE PEOPLE OF MARYLAND.

§ A handbill has been circulated and is now going the rounds in the several counties of the state, which is a gross libel upon the democratic citizens of Baltimore. It charges them with desiring to obtain for themselves a representation in the house of delegates proportioned to the population of the city.

The reformers of Baltimore look for nothing more than a representation adequate to their wants, one which will render irresponsible lobby members [those banes of just legislation] unnecessary.—They wish to see the palpable abuses of the old constitution abated, and will be content with whatever a fair reform convention shall grant them; they know that it will be their duty to submit to the will of the majority, and they have full confidence in the justice of their fellow citizens of the counties. We believe that a representation for Baltimore, equal to that to which the largest county will be entitled, would be acceptable to her people, and that their fellow citizens throughout the state could not and would not object to it.

On behalf of the democratic general committee of Baltimore.

WM. KREBS, *president.*

J. J. GRAVES,	} <i>vice presidents.</i>
JOSHUA TURNER,	
SAMUEL LUCAS,	
WM. H. COLE,	

M. H. Keene, } *secretaries.*  
James R. Hayman, }  
Baltimore, 27th Sept. 1836.

#### MILITARY CONTROVERSY.

It seems to be necessary to a proper understanding of the merits of the controversy involving the names general SCOTT and general JESUP, and an individual in this city not officially connected with the army, that we should copy from the official paper the subjoined publication. We insert it as we find it, comment and all, that the parties concerned may have the full benefit of their united statements.

[*Nat. Intel.*

*From the Washington Globe.*

GEN. SCOTT AND GEN. JESUP.

Some time after the publication of general Jesup's note to the editor of this paper, (which was made necessary by the aggravated misrepresentation of its contents and objects by the *Courier and Enquirer*), we were informed that its publication was considered unjust to general Scott, inasmuch as the character of the transaction presented by gen. Jesup's note was calculated to prejudice the former, containing as it did the opinion only of one of the parties interested, without the correspondence to which it referred, and which contained the views of both the parties. We understood that this circumstance would probably prompt general Scott to make a publication embracing the correspondence. This intention, it appears, was not persisted in, and was probably deemed superfluous by general Scott after the elaborate anonymous article put forth in the *National Intelligencer* on his side, but without his knowledge. This paper most shamefully traduced the president, general Jesup and the individual who had committed no offence save that of receiving and delivering general Jesup's letter. It was our purpose to have replied to the calumnies of the labored anonymous article of the *Intelligencer*, but finally concluded that it was proper to leave the vindication of the truth, and the motives of those who were impeached by the *Intelligencer's* communication, to the facts which would be elicited before the court of inquiry which is to pass upon the subject.

We communicated the course we had resolved upon to general Jesup, but suggested that, in justice to himself, as well as to general Scott, we thought it would be proper that the letters of general Scott to him, and his reply, should be laid before the public. In consequence, we suppose, of general Jesup's multifarious engagements, we received his reply to our letter only a few days since. We lay it, and the copy of the correspondence we asked of him, before the public. The explanatory notes accompanied the copies of the letters.

Tallassee, (*Alabama*), Sept. 3, 1836.

DEAR SIR: I regret that I should have been the cause of bringing you into difficulty. I wrote to