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THE PROCEEDINGS OF A Convention of Delegates,

held at Hartford, in the State of
Connecticut, December 15, 1814.
(Concluded.)

A revenue, secured by a sense of honor, collected without oppression, and paid without murmurs, melted away the National debt, and the great concern of the public creditor from its too rapid diminution. The wars and commotions of the European nations, and the interruptions of their commercial intercourse to those who had not provided for their calamities, a fair and golden opportunity, by combining themselves to lay a broad foundation for national wealth. Although occasional vexations to commerce, arose from the furious divisions of the powers at war, yet the great and good men of that time, informed to the force of circumstances which they could not control, and preserved their country's security from the tempests which overwhelmed the old world, and drew the wreck of their fortunes from these shores. Respect abroad, prosperity at home, wise laws made honored legislators and prompt obedience yielded by a contented people, had silenced the enemies of republican institutions. The arts flourished—the sciences were cultivated—the comforts and conveniences of life were universally diffused—and nothing remained for succeeding administrations, but to reap the advantages, and cherish the resources, flowing from the policy of their predecessors.

But no sooner was a new administration established in the hands of a party opposed to the Washington policy, than a fixed determination was perceived and avowed of changing a system which had a ready produced these substantial fruits. The consequences of this change, after a few years after its commencement, were not sufficient to counteract the prodigious impulse towards prosperity, which had been given to the nation. But a steady perseverance in the new plans of administration, at length developed their weakness and deformity, but not until a majority of the people had been deceived by flattery, and inflamed by passion, into blindness to their defects. Under the withering influence of this new system, the declension of the nation had been uniform and rapid. The richest advantages of securing the great objects of the Constitution have been wantonly rejected. While Europe reposes from the convulsions that had shaken her ancient institutions, she holds with amazement this remote country, once so happy and so united, involved in a ruinous war, and excluded from intercourse with the rest of the world.

To investigate and explain the means whereby this fatal reverse has been effected, would require a luminous discussion. Nothing more can be attempted in this Report, than a general allusion to the principal outlines of the policy which has produced this vicissitude. Among those may be enumerated:
First—A deliberate and extensive system for effecting a combination among certain States, by exciting local jealousies and ambitions, so as to secure to popular leaders in one section of the Union, the control of public affairs in perpetual succession. To which primary object other characteristics of the system may be reconciled.

Secondly—The political intolerance displayed and avowed in excluding from office men of unexceptionable merit, for want of adherence to the executive creed.

Thirdly—The infringement of the authority and rights, by degrading judges of their offices in violation of the Constitution.

Fourthly—The abolition of existing Taxes, requisite to prepare the Country for those changes to which nations are always exposed, with a view to the acquisition of popular favour.

Fifthly—The influence of patronage in the distribution of offices, which in these States has been almost invariably made among men the least entitled to such distinction, and who have sold themselves as ready instruments for distracting public opinion, and encouraging administration to hold in contempt the wishes and remonstrances of a people thus apparently divided.

Sixthly—The admission of new States into the Union, formed at pleasure in the western region, has destroyed the balance of power which existed among the original States, and deeply affected their interests.

Seventhly—The easy admission of naturalized foreigners, to places of trust, honor or profit, operating as an inducement to the malignant subjects of the old world to come to these States, in quest of executive patronage, and to repay it by an abject devotion to executive measures.

Eighthly—Hostility to Great-Britain and partiality to the late government of France, adopted as coincident with popular prejudice, and subservient to the main object, party power. Connected with this must be ranked erroneous and distorted estimates of the power and resources of those nations, of the probable results of their controversies, and of our political relations to them respectively.

Lastly and principally—A visionary and superficial theory in regard to commerce, accompanied by a real hatred, but a feigned regard to its interests, and a ruinous perseverance in efforts to render it an instrument of coercion and war.

But it is not conceivable that the obliquity of any administration could, in so short a period, have so nearly consummated the work of national ruin, unless favored by defects in the Constitution.

To enumerate all the improvements of which that instrument is susceptible and to propose such amendments as might render it in all respects perfect, would be a task, which this Convention has not thought proper to assume. They have confined their attention to such as experience has demonstrated to be essential, and even among these, some are considered entitled to a more serious attention than others. They are suggested without any intention of disrespect to other States, and are meant to be such as all shall find an interest in promoting. Their object is to strengthen, and if possible to perpetuate, the Union of the States, by removing the grounds of existing jealousies, and providing for a fair and equal representation and a limitation of powers, which have been misused.

The first amendment proposed, relates to the apportionment of Representatives among the slave holding States. This cannot be claimed as a right. Those States are entitled to the slave representation, by a constitutional compact. It is therefore merely a subject of agreement, which should be conducted upon principles of mutual interest and accommodation, & upon which no sensibility on either side should be permitted to exist. It has proved unjust and unequal in its operation. Had this effect been foreseen, the privilege would probably not have been demanded; certainly not conceded. Its tendency in future will be adverse to that harmony and mutual confidence, which are more conducive to the happiness and prosperity of every confederated State, than a mere preponderance of power, the prolific source of jealousies and controversy, can be to any one of them. The time may therefore arrive, when a sense of magnanimity and justice will reconcile those States to acquiesce in a revision of this article, especially as a fair equivalent would result to them in the apportionment of taxes.

The next amendment relates to admission of new States into the Union.

This amendment is deemed to be highly important, and in fact indis-

pensable. In proposing it, it is not intended to recognize the right of Congress to admit new States without the original limits of the United States, nor is any idea entertained of disturbing the tranquility of any State already admitted into the Union. The object is merely to restrain the constitutional power of Congress in admitting new States. At the adoption of the Constitution, a certain balance of power among the original parties was considered to exist, and there was at that time, and yet is among those parties, a strong affinity between their great and general interests.—By the admission of these States that balance has been materially effected, and unless the practice be modified, must ultimately be destroyed. The Southern States will first avail themselves of their new confederates to govern the East, and finally the Western States multiplied in number, and augmented in population, will control the interests of the whole.—Thus for the sake of present power, the Southern States will be common sufferers with the East, in the loss of permanent advantages. None of the old States can find an interest in creating prematurely an overwhelming Western influence, which may hereafter discern (as it had heretofore) benefits to be derived to them by wars and commercial restrictions.

The next amendments proposed by the Convention, relate to the powers of Congress, in relation to Embargo and the interdiction of commerce. Whatever theories upon the subject of commerce, have hitherto divided the opinions of statesmen, experience has at last shewn that it is a vital interest in the United States, and that its success is essential to the encouragement of agriculture and manufactures, and to the wealth, finances, defence, and liberty of the nation. Its welfare can never interfere with the other great interests of the State, but must promote and uphold them.—Still those who are immediately concerned in the prosecution of commerce, will of necessity be always a minority of the nation. They are, however, best qualified to manage and direct its course by the advantages of experience, and the sense of interest. But they are entirely unable to protect themselves against the sudden and injudicious decisions of bare majorities, and the mistaken or oppressive projects of those who are not actively concerned in its pursuits. Of consequence this interest is always exposed to be harassed, interrupted, and entirely destroyed, upon pretence of securing other interests. Had the merchants of this nation been permitted, by their own government, to pursue an innocent and lawful commerce, how different would have been the state of the treasury and of public credit! How short-sighted and miserable is the policy which has annihilated this order of men, and doomed their ships to rot in the docks, their capital to waste unemployed, and their affections to be alienated from the Government which was formed to protect them! What security for an ample and unfauling revenue can ever be had, comparable to that which once was realized in the good faith, punctuality, and sense of honour, which attached the mercantile class to the interests of the Government! Without commerce, where can be found the aliment for a navy, and without a navy, what is to constitute the defence, and ornament, and glory of this nation! No union can be durably cemented, in which every great interest does not find itself reasonably secured against the encroachment and combinations of other interests. When, therefore, the past system of embargoes and commercial restrictions shall have been reviewed—when the fluctuation and inconsistency of public measures, betraying a want of information as well as feeling in the majority, shall have been considered, the reasonableness of some restrictions upon the power of a bare majority to repeat these oppressions, will appear to be obvious.

The next amendment proposes to restrict the power of making offen-

sive war. In the consideration of this amendment, it is not necessary to inquire into the justice of the present war. But one sentiment now exists in relation to its expediency, and regret for its declaration is nearly universal. No indemnity can ever be attained for this terrible calamity, and its only palliation must be found in obstacles to its future recurrence. Rarely can the state of this country call for or justify offensive war. The genius of our institutions is unfavourable to its successful prosecution; the felicity of our situation exempts us from its necessity. In this case, as in the former, those more immediately exposed to its fatal effects are a minority of the nation. The commercial towns, the shores of our seas and rivers, contain the population, whose vital interests are most vulnerable by a foreign enemy. Agriculture, indeed, must feel at last, but this appeal to its sensibility comes too late. Again, the immense population which has swarmed into the West, remote from immediate danger, and which is constantly augmenting, will not be averse from the occasional disturbances of the Atlantic States. Thus interest may not unfrequently combine with passion and intrigue, to plunge the nation into needless wars, and compel it to become a military, rather than a happy and flourishing people. These considerations which it would be easy to augment, call loudly for the limitation proposed in the amendment.

Another amendment, subordinate in importance, but still in a high degree expedient, relates to the exclusion of foreigners, hereafter arriving in the United States, from the capacity of holding offices of trust, honour or profit.

That the stock of population already in these States, is amply sufficient to render this nation in due time sufficiently great and powerful, is not a controvertible question.—Nor will it be seriously pretended, that the national deficiency in wisdom, arts, science, arms or virtue, needs to be replenished from foreign countries. Still, it is agreed, that a liberal policy should offer the rights of hospitality, and the choice of settlements, to those who are disposed to visit the country. But why admit to a participation in the government aliens who were no parties to the compact—who are ignorant of the nature of our institutions, and have no stake in the welfare of the country, but what is recent and transitory? It is surely a privilege sufficient, to admit them after due probation to become citizens for all but political purposes. To extend it beyond these limits, is to encourage foreigners to come to these States as candidates for preferment. The Convention forbear to express their opinion upon the insidious effects which have already resulted to the honour and peace of this nation, from this misplaced and indiscriminate liberality.

The last amendment respects the limitation of the office of President, to a single constitutional term, and his eligibility from the same State two terms in succession.

Upon this topic, it is superfluous to dilate. The love of power is a principle in the human heart which too often impels to the use of all practicable means to prolong its duration. The office of President has charms and attractions which operate as powerful incentives to this passion. The first and most natural exertion of a vast patronage is directed towards the security of a new election. The interest of the country, the welfare of the people, even honest fame and respect for the opinion of posterity, are secondary considerations. All the engines of intrigue, all the means of corruption, are likely to be employed for this object. A President whose political career is limited to a single election, may find no other interest than will be promoted by making it glorious to himself, and beneficial to his country. But the hope of reelection is prolific of temptations, under which these magnanimous motives are deprived of their principal force. The repeated election of the President of the United States from any one State, affords

inducements and means for intrigue, which tend to create an undue local influence, & to establish the domination of particular States. The justice, therefore, of securing to every State a fair and equal chance for the election of this officer from its own citizens is apparent, and this object will be essentially promoted by preventing an election from the same State twice in succession.

Such is the general view which this Convention has thought proper to submit, of the situation of these States, of their dangers and their duties. Most of the subjects which it embraces have separately received an ample and luminous investigation by the great and able assertors of the rights of their Country, in the National Legislature; and nothing more could be attempted on this occasion, than a digest of general principles, and of recommendations suited to the present state of public affairs. The peculiar difficulty and delicacy of performing, even this undertaking, will be appreciated by all who think seriously upon the crisis. Negotiations for Peace, are at this hour supposed to be pending, the issue of which must be deeply interesting to all. No measure should be adopted, which might unfavourably affect that issue; none which should embarrass the administration, if their professed desire for peace is sincere; and none, which on supposition of their insincerity should afford them pretexts for prolonging the war, or relieving themselves from the responsibility of a dishonourable peace. It is also devoutly to be wished, that an occasion may be afforded to all friends of the country, of all parties, and in all places, to pause and consider the awful state to which pernicious counsels, and blind passions, have brought this people. The number of those who perceive, and who are ready to retract errors, must it is believed be yet sufficient to redeem the nation. It is necessary to rally and unite them by the assurance that no hostility to the Constitution is meditated, and to obtain their aid, in placing it under guardians, who alone can save it from destruction. Should this fortunate change be effected, the hope of happiness and honor may once more dispel the surrounding gloom. Our nation may yet be great, our union durable.—But should this prospect be utterly hopeless, the time will not have been lost, which shall have ripened a general sentiment of the necessity of more mighty efforts to rescue from ruin, at least some portion of our beloved Country.

Therefore Resolved—
That it be and hereby is recommended to the Legislatures of the several States represented in this Convention, to adopt all such measures as may be necessary effectually to protect the citizens of said States from the operation and effects of all acts which have been or may be passed by the Congress of the United States, which shall contain provisions, subjecting the militia or other citizens to forcible drafts, conscriptions, or impressments, not authorized by the Constitution of the United States.
Resolved, That it be and hereby is recommended to the said Legislatures, to authorize an immediate and earnest application to be made to the Government of the United States, requesting their consent to some arrangement, whereby the said States may, separately or in concert be empowered to assume upon themselves the defence of their territory against the enemy; and a reasonable portion of the taxes, collected within said States, may be paid into the respective treasuries thereof, and appropriated to the payment of the balance due said States, and to the future defence of the same.—
The amount so paid into the said treasuries to be credited, and the disbursements made as aforesaid to be charged to the United States.
Resolved, That it be, and it hereby is, recommended to the Legislatures of the aforesaid States, to pass laws (where it has not already been done) authorizing the Governors or Commanders in Chief of their militia to make detachments from the same, or to form voluntary corps, as shall be most convenient and gen-

Private Sale.

I sell, at private sale, a Lot of land, Prince George's County, Maryland, situated, and an excellent one, or a person wishing to enter into some business, or to a person who wishes a stand for a tavern, perhaps no village in the state, and, at which a decent tavern could be erected.

The lot is a large store-house, with shelves, &c. ready for the use of a quantity of dry goods, &c. also, a two-story dwelling, with two rooms above, and a palled garden and yard, &c. building out of repair, with below and two above, for a tavern, as is known by application to Wm. Brogden, No. 24.

50 Dollars Reward.

Away on the 2d of May, a Negro man called Ned, who, with others, added that of Jones, in a suit in Anne Arundel County, to Goldar, for their right to freedom, at the last term of Court, was dismissed for the want of a surety. He is a straight likely fellow, 22 years of age, 5 feet 8 inches high, and has under one of his eyes a scar about an inch long. No descriptive information given as to his cloaths; he wears a straw hat, a country round striped jacket and trousers, shoes and stockings. It is proposed to endeavour to get to Baltimore or the City of Washington, pay a dollar a mile on the way, he may be taken, if committed, so that I get him again; fifteen dollars if taken at Annapolis and sent to the County Jail; ten dollars if taken in the neighbourhood, or twenty if taken in the County Jail. An informant that an old yellow man resides in Calvert who calls himself Hannah Jones; and who, who, who claimed their freedom—she is wife to a miller, and she did attend a mill, once the property of a Mr. Smith, and purchased by Capt. David Carcaud. W.M. BROGDEN, No. 23, 1814.

NOTICE.

The subscriber having obtained from the orphan's court of Anne Arundel County, letters of administration in the personal estate of Samuel Arundel, late of Anne Arundel County deceased, all persons having claims against said deceased are hereby required to bring them in, legally proved, to the subscriber, on or before the 1st day of February next, or they will be forever barred. The subscriber is indebted to the same persons, and is ready to pay the same immediately, more or less, as the law directs. Richard H. Harwood, Admr. D. B. N. No. 24.

the Committee of Claims.

The Committee of Claims will sit every day, during the present session, from nine o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon.

the Committee of Grievances & Courts of Justice.

The Committee of Grievances and Courts of Justice will sit every day, during the present session, from nine o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon.

50 Dollars Reward.

Away from the subscriber on the 22d of October, 1814, a negro man called DICK, he is a short, yellow pleated fellow, about 36 years of age, 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high, and has a pair of cotton country cloth breeches, with a broad blue stripe, & a red country cloth jacket and cap. He is a rough shod maker, and he always carries a pair of shoes with him, and he brings home the said negro on his back, so that I get him again; five dollars if taken with all the above charges. Benjamin Harwood, of A. A. County, South River Neck, near Annapolis, No. 24.

A LIST OF THE AMERICAN NAVY.

BRITISH NAVY.

Sale at George S. Smith's, and at this Office. Price 25 Cents. Blank Bonds, Decisions on Bonds, Appeal Bonds, Warrants—For sale at the