

M. Hooper

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POET'S CORNER.

[For the Star.]
FRIENDSHIP.
TO HER WHO UNDERSTANDS.
Friendship! the sweetest theme that poets
breathe,
The purest flower that gems affection's
To see the virgin heart's soft tendrils twine,
In youth's bright morning, round affection's
shrine.
Friendship! that word sounds sweetly in my
ear,
And tells me what I long had wished to
From those bright lips of richest rose hue,
Melting in sweetness like the honey dew.
Friendship! the crown that on thy brow re-
poses,
In fragrance, far transcends bright Persian
Ty coronets, and brilliant flowery diadems,
My heart holds dearer far than golden gems.
Friendship! the best beginning love could
ask,
To found his flower—inwoven, sacred task;
Of ivy, lilac, myrtle, emblems sweet,
When lover's hearts in mutual rapture meet.
Friendship from woman! is a gift sublime,
It is the soul's devotion—fitting for a clime,
Where spirits of the just, in glory reign,
Where all we love shall flourish bright again.
Friendship! and may I still the treasure find,
Pure as thy image painted on my mind—
As life advances, may our hearts together
twine,
Like bowers of roses wreathed with jessa-
mine.
Friendship! from a heart and mind like thine,
Can language give me words that will define
The glowing ecstasy—the rapturous bliss,
That is contained within a word like thine.
Dr. J. MILLER.
St. Michaels, Feb. 6, 1844.

[For the Star.]
On the Death of Margaret Elizabeth Ridg-
way—in the 18th year of her age.

The companions of our early years are
gone, some to distant places, others to an-
other state of being. The dying pang, the
last groan, the pale face, and the gloom that
hangs over the grave fill the hearts of the
survivors with melancholy feelings. O how
dark and dismal would be the prospect did
we believe our friends must remain under
the empire of death forever; that they should
not come forth renewed in all the strength
and beauty of immortality. Death shall not
extinguish the hope of the Christian. The
light of a brighter morn shall dawn on the
long night of the grave, and our friends who
die in the Lord shall see him in his uncloud-
ed splendor, and shall hear him say, "Come
ye blessed of my father inherit the kingdom
prepared from the foundation of the world."
She is laid in the tomb where the lone dead
are sleeping,
And noiseless the tread as it oft lingers there,
Where fond hearts come drooping, all with-
ered and weeping,
To bring their sweet garlands undying
and fair.
That beam is seen no more which that bright
eye imparted,
And the heavenly charm which it tender-
ly wore;
That kind angelic look has forever departed,
The sweets of that countenance will light
up no more.
Now pale is that fair brow where once in its
brightness
The pure rays of feeling shone lovely and
true;
It wears now in stillness the chaste lily
whiteness,
And they've hidden their last—their eter-
nal adieu!
She has left us a dark world of sorrow the
drearest,
And blighted the fond hopes of friendship
and love;
Yet hearts now in anguish bereft of their
dearest,
Shall mingle their joys when they meet
her above.
If there aught is in life to be prized as a bless-
ing,
'Tis to share in the pure joys which true
friendship afford;
There is not in this world a boon worth pos-
sessing,
When we've parted from those we have
ever adored.
Yet days that have borne us through scenes
that delighted,
We'll long hold in memory, cherished
and dear;
'Till the ties that are sever'd again are united
In the far realms of bliss unprofaned by a
tear.
We will worship the shrine where our lov'd
one lies slumb'ring
Beneath the cold sod where the green locus
waves;
And the tears which we shed as her virtues
are numb'ring,
Shall sparkle like pearls as they fall o'er
her Grave.
Bayside, Jan. 21, 1844. A FRIEND.

Rambles
AMONG THE ENGLISH PEASANTRY.
The paper, by Judge Carleton, of Louisi-
ana, entitled "A Recent Ramble among the
Peasantry of England," is uncommonly
interesting. It describes several visits
made by the author to the wretched cot-
tagers of that country—what a phrase to
use in connexion with "Merry England,"
as she has been called from the time of the
ballad makers downwards! The condition
of the English peasantry is described with
feeling, and with a picturesque effect that

Easton Star.

DEVOTED TO POLITICS, GENERAL NEWS, ADVERTISING, ETC.

Volume 3—No. 44. EASTON, MD.—TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1844. Whole No. 148.

seems to result from a simple and faithful
statement of what the writer saw.
A Visit to an English Cottage.—I enter-
ed a third cabin. Here the green earth
smiled again, as did the modest furze and
glossy holly, that felt the approach of win-
ter. The floor was much like the first.
Near the middle sat the mother, peeling po-
tatoes, which she threw into a pot at her
side, half filled with water. I introduced
myself on every occasion, by saying that
I came beyond the seas, and wished to in-
form my countrymen how the laborers lived
in England. Sixpence brought forth
willing answers to interrogatories, which
I put without stint.
"How many children have you?" "Eight."
"What did they feed upon this morning?"
"Potatoes." "What will you give them
for dinner?" "These potatoes you see
peeling." "Nothing else?" "No; nothing
else." "Have you no meat, no butter for
them?" She made no reply, fixed her
eyes upon them, and sobbed aloud. But
her countenance suddenly brightened into
a smile, and she said, with a clear voice,
"Thank God, salt is cheap." But her joy
was a transient beam, for her eyes again
overflowed as she showed me her eldest
daughter, fourteen years of age, whom she
made rise to her feet. Her tattered gar-
ments scarcely concealed her sex; it left her
bare to the knees behind, while it dangled
to the ground in front. She blushed deep-
ly, for want had not extinguished the mod-
esty of nature, as her mother drew aside
the rags that covered her snowy skin.
"These," said she, "are all the clothes my
child has; she cannot go to school in them
besides; she is obliged to stay at home to
take care of the children." This was palpa-
bly true, for her wasted form tottered
under a burden that would soon add another
inmate to this abode of misery.
The other children were grouped near
the elder sister, sitting on the naked hearth.
Their little hands and feet were red with
cold; their features set in melancholy;
they were not playful, as became their
innocent years, no, it has been truly said,
that the children of the English poor know
no childhood! Sorrow begins with life;
they are disciplined to privation from the
cradle. From the cradle did I say—I saw
no cradle, and I verily believe that such a
luxury was never known by the child of
an English laborer.
In the corner of the chimney was an
old man, sitting on his haunches, putting
fagots to the fire intended to boil the po-
tatoes. "Who is that?" "It is old Mr.
—; he has no home, and we let him
stay with us." He was eighty-three years
of age, and partook with the children his
portion of potatoes and salt.
I asked one of the little girls, where was
the cat? The mother answered, they had
none, "for a cat must eat." "Have you a
dog?" No, we cannot keep a dog; besides
he disturbs the game." "But you have a
cock to crow for day?" "No, we have
none."
I felt a sort of horror come over me at
the absence of these animals, sacred to ev-
ery household—the cat, the companion and
pastime of little children; the dog, the
well-tried trusty friend of man; the cock,
whose joyous song haunts the coming day—
yet poverty, that bitter blighting curse,
has expelled even these from the cottages
of the English peasant.
"Can your husband read?" "Yes, he
can read the easy parts of the bible."
"Can you read?" "No, I never went to
school."
"How many apartments are there in
your house?" "Two, one below and another
above." "May I go up stairs?" She
was evidently unwilling; my guide gave
me a discouraging look; I persevered, and
ascended a dirty rickety flight of steps to
a chamber, where the whole family slept;
near a narrow, broken window, stood a
wooden frame, on four legs, on which
were laid traversed laths, that supported a
bed of oat-chaff, sewed up in a dirty tattered
sack, over which was spread a coarse
woollen sheet, almost black; upon this lay
two pillows of straw and a thick striped
coverlet, worn into holes. Another sack
of chaff lay on the floor, in a corner, over
which was stretched a sort of blanket, torn
to rags. Here slept all the children, except
the two youngest, who lay with their par-
ents. The fate of the old man at night was
not made known to me, nor did I inquire.
The furniture of the apartment below
consisted of a stool, on which the mother
sat; a box occupied as a seat by the eldest
daughter; two broken chairs, unsafe for
either my guide or myself; fourteen or fif-
teen articles of crockery, of fractured
plates, saucers and cups; a tea-pot; two or
three small iron vessels for cooking, and a
broad table, sustained by diagonal bars
fastened with nails. On the wall, under a
broken piece of plate glass, hung a white
napkin fringed at the bottom, the only tes-
timonial of neatness that poverty could af-
ford. The whole chattel estate, including
the apparel of man, wife and children, could
not be sold for ten dollars.

the profligate and vicious course he pur-
sued, when he deserted her altogether. At
the period of her marriage she had scarce-
ly attained her seventeenth year, and must
at that time have been extremely good-
looking, judging from her present appear-
ance, which is roddy, and we add prepos-
sing, notwithstanding the wear and tear
she has since undergone. Her affection for
her unworthy partner, strong as it might
be expected to be in a female at such an
unsuspecting age, seems not to have been
in the slightest degree diminished by his
ill treatment. Rumor always busy in such
matters, had it that he had sailed for St.
John's, New Brunswick. The moment
Margaret heard the report she determined
to follow him; but, alas! how was she to
proceed across the Atlantic without the
means of paying for her passage? Money
she had none, and of friends she was al-
most bereft. In this dilemma, her resolu-
tion was instantly formed. Doffing her
female attire, and rigging herself out in a
sailor's garb, she shipped as an ordinary
seaman on board the *Thetis*, and sailed for
St. Johns, where she spent six weeks in
an unsuccessful endeavor to discover her
husband. Expecting further search to be
fruitless, she abandoned it, and, with the
amor patriæ strong upon her, she re-shipped
on board the *Thetis*, and was landed in
Liverpool. Strange as it may appear,
although the voyage out and home lasted
five months, and she constantly messed,
conversed and slept with other sailors, her
sex was never discovered, and still more
strange does it appear that, although rough
weather was encountered, and she had, in
the course of her ordinary duties, to mount
aloft, on stormy days and tempestuous
nights, she never betrayed the slightest
symptom of that fear which is supposed
to attach to woman only, but on all occa-
sions proved herself as good a "man," as
any other in the ship. Upon reaching
Liverpool she assumed once more the fe-
male attire; and, since then, owing, most
probably, to the penitence and defenceless
state in which she was left, she has gradu-
ally been falling from the path of recti-
tude into a vicious course of life; but the
sequel would seem to prove that she had
not wholly lost those finer and better feel-
ings of which in her out-of-life she was the
possessor. On Saturday she was brought
before Mr. Brushton, at the Police Court,
for having committed an assault upon Mr.
Sparks, the landlord of the Brunswick Hotel
at the Union Dock, and she availed her-
self of that opportunity to express a hope
that she would be placed in the Peniten-
tiary. Her demeanor showed that she was
in earnest. While Mr. Parkinson briefly
informed the Court of her exploits as a
sailor, she cast her eyes on the ground and
faintly smiled. Mr. Rushton, ever anxious
to rescue vice from its unhalloved path,
and to promote the ends of virtue as well
as those of justice, stopped the business
of the Court for a few minutes, while he
wrote and signed an order for her im-
mediate admission to the Penitentiary."

FALLS OF NIAGARA.—In the last num-
ber of *Silliman's Journal*—just issued—there
is a paper communicated by Mr. Z. ALLEN,
an engineer of reputation, in which he has
furnished a computation, based on actual
measurement, of the hydraulic power of the
Niagara Falls. The principal measurements
and the resulting mechanical power of the
Falls are thus stated:
The volume of the Niagara river, as mea-
sured at its discharge from Lake Erie, is es-
timated as equal to 374,000 cubic feet of water
per second.
This is stated to be equal to 22,440,000
cubic feet, or 167,862,420 gallons, or 701,250
tons, or 1,402,500,000 pounds of water flow-
ing out of Lake Erie every minute.
Mr. Allen then takes Watt & Bolton's es-
timate of the power of a horse, and deduces
from it the quantity of the hydraulic power
of the river at the Falls.
The estimate of a single horse power
makes it equal to a force that will raise a
weight of 33,000 lbs. one foot high, in one
minute.
The perpendicular fall of the water is taken
at 160 feet; and one third of the mechan-
ical power of the water is deducted, to cov-
er waste in the practical application of it.
The result is, that 1,402,500,000 pounds
of water, multiplied by 160, as the number
of feet of fall, and the product divided by 33,
000 as equal to the power of one horse, gives,
after subtracting from the quotient one-third
for waste, a net quantity of power equal to
4,533,334 horses. The formula is stated thus:
$$\frac{1,402,500,000 \times 160}{33,000} = 4,533,334$$

To illustrate the practical amount of this
power for business purposes, Mr. Allen
makes the following statement:
He states that Mr. Baines, of England, in
1835, estimated the total quantity of motive
power then at work in all the cotton mills in
Great Britain, as equal to a horse-power of
33,000; the whole motive power employed
in the woolen, flax, and other manufactures,
as equal to 100,000 horses; and the whole
motive power employed in mining, in pro-
pelling boats, &c. as equal to 50,000 horses.
Thus Mr. Baines made the entire motive
power employed in all these ways, in 1835,
in Great Britain, equal to 193,000 horses.
Since 1835, this aggregate of moving pow-
er is supposed to have increased about 20
per cent, or say 39,000 horse power, making
the entire aggregate of motive power now
in use in Great Britain, in all the manufac-
tures of cotton, wool, flax &c., in mining &c.,
equal to 232,000 horse power. But all this
power, the working of which produces so
vast a proportion of the wealth of Great Bri-
tain, amounts to no more than one sixteenth
of the motive power of the Niagara Falls.—
A considerable mill privilege is that, cer-
tainly.

ANOTHER FEMALE SAILOR.
The London Despatch gives the follow-
ing account of a female sailor who had just
been discovered at Liverpool by her volun-
tarily throwing off the sailor's garb and
assuming that of her own sex.
"Her Christian name is Margaret; but it
seems she is a native of Liverpool and a-
bout eighteen months ago married a man
by the name of Johnson, with whom she
led an unhappy and discontented sort of
life for a few months, in consequence of

From the *Charleston Mercury*, Jan. 29.
The Address of Mr. Calhoun
TO HIS POLITICAL FRIENDS
AND SUPPORTERS.
I have left it to you, my friends and
supporters through whose favorable esti-
mate of my qualifications, my name has
been presented to the people of the United
States for the office of Chief Magistrate, to
conduct the canvass on such principles,
and in such manner, as you might think
best. But, in so doing, I did not waive my
right to determine, on my individual re-
sponsibility, what course my duty might
compel me to pursue ultimately, nor have
I been an inattentive observer of the can-
vass and the course you have taken.
It affords me pleasure to be enabled to
say, that on all leading questions, growing
out of the canvass, I heartily concurred
with you, in the grounds you took, and
especially in those relating to the mode in
which the Delegates to the proposed Con-
vention to be held in Baltimore, should be
appointed, and how they should vote. You
have, in my opinion, conclusively shown,
that they should be appointed by Districts
and vote *per capita*; but your reasons, as
conclusive as they are, have proved in vain.
Already New York and some other States
have appointed Delegates en masse by State
Conventions, and one State (Virginia) has
resolved that the votes of her Delegates
should be given by the majority, and be
counted *per capita*. Their course would
necessarily overrule that which you have
so ably supported, should you go into Con-
vention, and would leave you no alterna-
tive, but to yield yours and adopt theirs,
however much you may be opposed to it
on principle, or to meet them on the most
unequal terms, with divided against united
and concentrated forces.
The question then is, what course, under
such circumstances, should be adopted?
And that question, you will be compelled
speedily to decide. The near approach
of the time for meeting of the proposed Con-
vention will not admit of much longer de-
lay. But as your course may depend in
some degree on that which I have decided
to take, I deem it due to the relation sub-
sisting between us, to make mine known
to you without further delay.
I, then, after the most careful and delib-
erate survey of the whole ground, have de-
cided, that I cannot permit my name to go
before the proposed Convention, constituted
as it must now be, consistently with
the principles, which have ever guided my
public conduct. My objections are insur-
mountable. As it must be constituted, it is
repugnant to all the principles, on which,
in my opinion, such a Convention should be
formed. What those principles are, I shall
now proceed briefly to state.
I hold, then, with you, that the Con-
vention should be so constituted, as to utter
fully and clearly the voice of the people
and not that of political managers, or office
holders and office seekers; and for that pur-
pose, I hold it indispensable, that the De-
legates should be appointed directly by the
people, or to use the language of Gen. Jack-
son, should be "fresh from the people." I
also hold, that the only possible mode to
affect this, is for the people to choose the
Delegates by Districts, and that they should
vote *per capita*. Every other mode of ap-
pointing would be controlled by political
machinery, and place the appointments in
the hands of the few, who work it.
I object, then, to the proposed Conven-
tion, because it will not be constituted in
conformity with the fundamental articles
of the Republican creed. The Delegates
to it will be appointed from some of the
States, not by the people in Districts, but,
as has been stated, by State Conventions
en masse, composed of Delegates appointed
in all cases, as far as I am informed, by
County or District Convention, and in
some cases, if not misinformed, these again
composed of Delegates appointed by still
smaller divisions, or a few interested in-
dividuals. Instead then of being directly,
or fresh from the people, the Delegates to
the Baltimore Convention will be the De-
legates, of Delegates; and of course removed,
in all cases, at least three, if not four de-
grees from the people. At each successive
remove, the voice of the people will become
less full and distinct, until, at last, it will
be so faint and imperfect, as not to be au-
dible. To drop metaphor, I hold it impos-
sible to form a scheme more perfectly cal-
culated to annihilate the control of the
people over the Presidential election, and
vest it in those who make politics a trade,
and who live or expect to live on the Gov-
ernment.
In this connection, I object not less
strongly to the mode in which Virginia has
resolved her Delegates shall vote. With
all due respect, I must say, I can imagine
nothing more directly in conflict with the
principles of our federal system of govern-
ment, or to use a broader expression, the
principles on which all confederated com-
munities have ever been united. I hazard
nothing in saying, that there is not an in-
stance in our political history, from the
meeting of the first Revolutionary Congress
to the present day, of the Delegates of any
State voting by majority and counting *per
capita*; nor do I believe an instance of the
kind can be found in the history of any
confederated community. There is indeed
something monstrous in the idea of giving
the majority the right of impressing the
vote of the minority into its service, and
counting them as its own.
The plain rule—that which has ever
prevailed, and which conforms to the dic-
tates of common sense, is, that where a

State votes as a State, by a majority of its
Delegates, the votes count one, be they
few or many, or the State large or small.
On the contrary, where the votes of all the
Delegates are counted, they vote individual-
ly and independently, each for himself
counting one. And it is to be noted, that
wherever this latter mode of voting exists
among confederated States, it is in all cases
founded on compact, to which the consent
of each State is required. In the absence
of compact, the invariable mode of voting,
in such States, is, in all cases, by the ma-
jority, their vote counting one. The course
which Virginia has resolved to take, is in
violation of this plain and fundamental
rule; and if it should become a settled prac-
tice, would be destructive of the foundation
on which the whole structure of the State
Right doctrine is reared.
I hold, in the next place, to be an indis-
pensable principle, that the Convention
should be so constituted as to give to each
State, in the nomination of a candidate, the
same relative weight, which the Constitu-
tion secures to it in the election of the
President, making due allowance for its re-
lative party strength.—By the election, I
mean the whole—the eventual choice when
it goes into the House of Representatives
as well as the primary vote in the electoral
college.—The one is as much a part of
the election as the other. The two make
the whole. The adoption of the one, in
the Convention, which framed the Constitu-
tion, depended on the adoption of the o-
ther. Neither could possibly be adopted
alone. The two were the result of com-
promise between the larger and smaller
States, after a long and doubtful struggle,
which threatened the loss of the Constitu-
tion itself. The object of giving to the smaller
States an equality with the larger, in the
eventual choice by the House, was to
counterpoise the preponderance of the larger
in the electoral college. Without this,
the smaller would have voted against the
whole provision, and its rejection would
have been the consequence. Even as it
stands, Delaware voted against it. In con-
firmation of what I state, I refer to Mr.
Madison's report on the proceedings of the
Convention.
Having stated what I mean by the elec-
tion, it will require but a few words to ex-
plain my reasons for the principles I have
laid down. They are few and simple, and
rest on the ground, that the nomination is
in reality the election, if concurred in, as
far as the party is concerned. It is so in-
tended to be. The leading reason assign-
ed for making it, is to prevent a division of
the party, and thereby prevent the election
from going into the House, where the smaller
States would have the advantage intend-
ed, to be secured to them by the Conven-
tion, by being placed on an equality with
the larger.
Such being the intended object and ef-
fect, I now submit to every candid mind,
whether the Convention ought not to be so
constituted, as to compensate in the nomi-
nation for the important advantage in the
election, which the smaller States surrender
by going into a Convention. Would it not
be unfair—a palpable want of good faith
and subversive of the compromise of the
Constitution to withhold it? Or, if demand-
ed would it be short of an insult to refuse
it? Can it be thought, that the smaller
States are so debased and absorbed in the
party politics of the day, as to permit them-
selves to be thus indirectly stripped of a
right, which their high minded and patriot-
ic ancestors held so dear, as even to prefer
the loss of the Constitution itself, rather
than surrender it.
I object, then, to the proposed Conven-
tion, in this connection, because it makes
no compensation to the smaller States for
the surrender of this unquestionable and
important constitutional right. Instead of
that, it advocates peremptorily and indignantly
refuse any, and treat with scorn ev-
ery attempt to secure it. Some have even
gone so far as to deny that the eventual
choice of the House constitutes any portion
of the election, and to manifest open hos-
tility against the provision of the Constitu-
tion, which contains it.
If there was no other objection the one
under consideration would be insupportable
with me. I differ utterly from the ad-
vocates of the proposed Convention, in refer-
ence to this provision. I regard it as one
of the first importance, not because I desire
the election to go into the House, but be-
cause I believe it to be an indispensable
means, in the hands of the smaller States,
of preserving their just and constitutional
weight in the Presidential election, and
through that, in the Executive Department
and the Government itself, which I believe
to be essential to the preservation of our
sublime federal system.
I regard the adjustment of the relative
weight of the States in the Government to
be the fundamental compromise of the Con-
stitution, and that on which our whole po-
litical system depends. Its adjustment
constituted the great difficulty in forming
the Constitution. The principle on which
it was finally effected was, that, while due
concession should be made to population,
a provision should be also made, in some
form, to preserve the original equality of
the States in every department of the Gov-
ernment. The principle was easily car-
ried out in constituting the legislative de-
partment, by preserving the equality of the
States in one branch, (the Senate) and con-
ceding to population its full preponderance
in the other. But the great and difficult
task of reducing it to practice was, in the
Executive Department, at the head of

which there is but a single officer. So
great was it, that it occupied the attention
of the Convention, from time to time, dur-
ing the whole session, and was very near
causing a failure at last. It would have
been an easy task to constitute that depart-
ment, either on the principle of the equal-
ity of the States in the government, or
that of population. To combine the two,
in the election of a single officer, was quite
a different affair; but however difficult, it
had to be performed, at the hazard of los-
ing the Constitution.
It was finally accomplished, by giving
to the larger States nearly the same pre-
ponderance in the electoral college, as they
have in the House, and to the smaller, in
the event of a choice by the House, the
same equality they possess in the Senate;
thus following closely the analogy of the
Legislative Department. To make it as
close as possible, it was at first proposed
to give the eventual choice to the Senate,
instead of the House, but it was altered and
the present provision adopted, for reasons
which did not affect the principle.
It was believed by the framers, the prac-
tical operation of the provision would be,
that the electoral college, in which the in-
fluence of the larger States preponderates,
would nominate, and that the House voting
by States, where their equality is preserv-
ed, would elect who should be the Presi-
dent. To give it that operation in prac-
tice, the provision, as it originally stood in
the Constitution, was that each elector
should vote for two individuals, without
discriminating which should be President
or Vice President, and if no one had a ma-
jority of the whole votes, then out of the
five highest the House voting by States,
should elect one, and the person not elect-
ed, having the highest number of votes,
should be the Vice President.
It has been since altered, so that the electors
should designate which should be
President, and Vice President, and the selec-
tion of the House was limited to the three
highest. It is manifest, that if this provi-
sion of the Constitution had been left to
operate by itself, without the intervention of
caucuses, or party conventions between
the people and the election, that the prac-
tical operation would have been such as I
have stated, and such as was clearly in-
tended by the framers of the Constitution.
The object intended is important. The
preservation of the relative weight of the
States, as established by the Constitution
in all the Departments, is necessary to the
success and duration of our system of
Government; but it may be doubted, wheth-
er the provision adopted to effect it in the
Executive Department, is not too refined
for the strong, and I may add corrupt pas-
sions, which the Presidential election will
ever excite. Certain it is, that if the
practice of nominating candidates for the
Presidency, by Conventions constituted as
they proposed, shall become the estab-
lished usage, it will utterly defeat the intension
of the framers of the Constitution, and
would be followed by a radical and dan-
gerous change, not only in the Executive
Department, but in the Government itself.
The danger was early foreseen, and to
avoid it, some of the wisest and most ex-
perienced statesmen of former days so
strongly objected to Congressional caucuses
to nominate candidates for the Presi-
dency, that they never could be induced
to attend them; among these it will be suf-
ficient to name Mr. Macon and Mr.
Lowndes. Others, believing that this pro-
vision of the Constitution was too refined
for practice, were solicitous to amend it,
but without impairing the influence of the
smaller States in the election. Among
these, I rank myself. With that object,
resolutions were introduced, in 1828, in
the Senate by Col. Benton, and in the
House by Mr. McDuffie, providing for dis-
tricting the State, and for referring the
election back to the people, in case there
should be no choice, to elect one from the
two highest candidates. The principle
which governed in the amendment propo-
sed, was to give a fair compensation to the
smaller States for the surrender of their
advantage in the eventual choice by the
House, and at the same time to make the
mode of electing the President more strict-
ly in conformity with the principles of our
popular institutions, and to be less liable
to corruption, than the existing. They
received the general support of the party,
but were objected to by a few; as not be-
ing a full equivalent to the smaller States.
The principle embraced is identical with
that on which you proposed to constitute
the Baltimore Convention, but which has
been so dictatorially objected to by some,
who then took so prominent a part in its
favor. If you have not succeeded, there
is at least some consolation in reflecting
that if others have since changed, you now
stand where you then did, in the purer
and better days of the party. I was in
favor of it then, as I am now, not because I
consider the resolutions as perfect, theo-
retically, as the existing provisions of the
Constitution, but because I believe it would
in practice more certainly accomplish what
the framers of the Constitution intended.
But while the provision stands as it does,
I would regard myself as little short of a
traitor to that sacred instrument, should I
give my assent, directly or indirectly to any
practice which would have the effect of di-
viding the smaller States of the due weight
which it secures to them in the Presi-
dential election, whether designed or not.—
And here let me add, that as objectionable
as I think a Congressional caucus for nomi-
nating a President, it is in my opinion, far
less so, than a Convention constituted as
is proposed. The former had indeed man-
ny things to recommend it. Its members
consisting of Senators and Representatives
were the immediate organs of the State
Legislatures; or the people, were respon-
sible to them, respectively, and were for
the most part, of higher character, standing
and talents. They voted *per capita*, and
what is very important, they represented
fairly the relative strength of the party in
their respective States. In all these im-
portant particulars, it was all that could be
desired for a nominating body, and formed
a striking contrast to the proposed Con-

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